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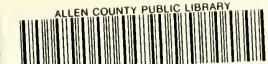

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THE

METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1843.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

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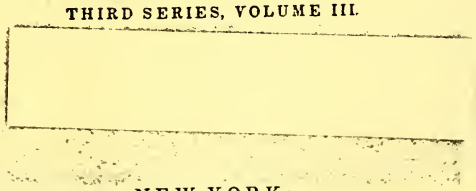

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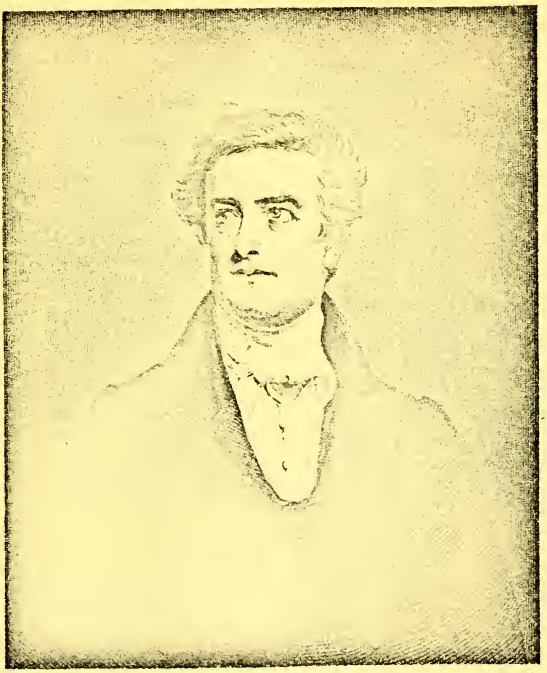

REV. W. M. WIGHTMAN A.M.

Ed. of the Southern Christian Advocate

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1843.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Rights of Conscience defended, in a Speech of Thomas Herttell, Esq., in the Assembly of the State of New-York, (on Thursday, the 7th of May,* 1835,) *on the Bill relative to the Rights and Competency of Witnesses. Also, his Reply to Mr. (Speaker) Humphrey's Remarks against the Bill and in Support of the Religious Test Act.* Second edition. 12mo., pp. 64. New-York: G. W. & A. J. Matsell. 1835.

SOME time since this tract came to us through the post-office from a young gentleman who was once a student in an institution of which we had the honor to have the charge. Upon the margin was inserted the name and compliments of our quondam pupil, with "please exchange." We gave the thing a careful reading, and laid it by with the purpose of giving it a review at some future time. This purpose it has not served our convenience to execute until now. It is only in view of two considerations that we can be justified in calling attention to this production. One is, that the subject is vitally important, and the doctrines of the pamphlet being still entertained and propagated, it is necessary that the real merits of the question should be presented, that it may be well understood. Another reason is, that the poison has probably been extensively diffused, and a remedy may be required. The tract is got up in a popular form, and this is the "second edition," and how many of them are now afloat it is difficult to tell. It is when men *sleep* that the enemy sows *tares*. It is now no time to give place to doctrines in politics and religion that are subversive of the great principles of government.

The author of this pamphlet will at once be recognized by many as the gentleman who for years made such strenuous efforts to imbue the legislature of this state with the principles and morality of the most exalted species of infidelity, and to purge the house of the "*licentiousness*" of public prayers. This gentleman, we are

told, (for we have never seen him,) is becoming somewhat advanced in years; and as he nears the point which is to test the truth of his speculations, he does not at all decline in his attachment to "liberal principles." Without the least unkindness toward this veteran infidel politician and philosopher, we shall proceed to an examination of the main principles of the production before us.

This "speech" was delivered "in committee of the whole, on the following bill, relative to the rights and competency of witnesses:"—

"§ 1. No person shall be deemed incompetent as a witness in any court, matter, or proceeding, on account of his or her opinions on the subject of religion; nor shall any witness be questioned, nor any testimony be taken or received, in relation thereto, either before or after such witness shall have been sworn."—P. 3.

And as the father and advocate of the bill, he thus explains it:—

"It is easy to perceive that the object of the bill now before the committee, is to repeal the existing *religious test act.* It is true, there is no statute bearing that title: but it is no less true, that it would be a very appropriate title for article ix, part iii, title 3d, vol. ii, p. 407 of the revised laws. If, however, it were intended more particularly to indicate the true character of the law by its inscription, it should have been entitled, 'An act to vest the courts of civil judicature in this state with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and to confer religious inquisitorial powers on every magistrate who is authorized by law to administer an oath.' Nor less appropriate would it have been had the law in question been entitled, 'An act imposing penalties and forfeitures for *unbelief* of certain *religious doctrines* therein mentioned.'"—Pp. 4, 5.*

The gentleman next proceeds to explain his ground, thus:—

"I deem it proper, while on the threshold of this discussion, explicitly to disclaim any intention to prove or disprove the truth or error of the doctrines contained in the *statutory* or any other religious creed. I stand not here as the assailant of any man's religion. On the contrary, I contend for the equal right of all mankind to *think, believe,* and *worship* as they please: and that political governments

* The following two sections show what the law is upon the subject:—

"§ 107. [Sec. 87.] Every person believing in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, shall be admitted to be sworn, if otherwise competent.

"§ 108. [Sec. 88.] No person shall be required to declare his belief in the existence of a supreme Being, or that he will punish false swearing, or his belief or disbelief of any other matter, as a requisite to his admission to be sworn or to testify in any case. But the belief or unbelief of every person offered as a witness may be proved by other and competent testimony."—*Revised Statutes,* vol. ii, p. 329.

neither possess nor can acquire a legitimate right to interfere with any man's *opinions* when not accompanied with any *criminal act*."—P. 5.

All very fair. At the beginning the worthy gentleman is by no means to be regarded in a belligerent attitude in relation to "any man's religion:" not at all. We will see whether he maintains his ground to the consummation. He is aware that he "may disturb some questions which by many have been regarded as fully and righteously settled." He "may take some positions which some, who have not reflected much on the subject, may consider as untenable; and possibly may be obliged to tread on ground which many have been in the habit of regarding as *holy*. But the protection and preservation of the natural, inalienable, and equal rights of men are" his "objects; in the pursuit of which, through the medium of the palpable, immutable, and equal principles of truth and justice," he holds "no ground too holy to be explored; no doctrines too sacred to be examined; and none *true* which have only '*old age*,' and honest advocates to entitle them to be respected." A fair start, to be sure! Now, for a most free, full, fearless, liberal, enlightened, and learned investigation of this most interesting and important subject. But next to his propositions:—

"I shall proceed to show to this committee,

"First. That the rights of conscience, of opinion, and of speech, are also inalienable.

"Secondly. That those rights are guarantied by the express provisions of the constitution.

"Thirdly. That the law in question violates those inalienable rights, and the provisions of the constitution by which they are intended to be secured; and hence that the legislature has no constitutional authority to pass it, nor the judiciary any legitimate power to enforce it.

"Fourthly. That the *principle* of the existing act is based on radical error."—P. 6.

Upon his first proposition the gentleman proceeds:—

"It is not my intention on this occasion to deliver a lecture on the human understanding; yet with a view to a clear illustration of the subject under immediate consideration, I deem it proper to remark, that each individual of the human species is to a greater or less extent endowed with *senses* and *intellectual faculties*. The *right* of each to the *use* of his own, is demonstrated by the natural impossibility that he can successfully resist the use of them."—P. 7.

We will most freely admit that all men have a *right* to use their *senses* and their *understanding*, and indeed that there is a physical and moral necessity that they should do so in some sort. But that they have a right to use these functions, and that there is any

"natural impossibility" that they should not use them *just as they do*, we shall be rather slow to concede. But hear our orator further:—

"The right, therefore, of each individual to the use of his *senses* and *intellectual faculties* is natural and *inalienable*. The right to *use* them, implies '*the right to possess* the thoughts resulting from their use. The right to *possess* those thoughts implies the right to *profess* them. The right to *possess* them, is the *right of opinion*—the right to *profess* them, is the *right of speech*; the unrestrained and unmolested exercise and enjoyment of which constitutes the freedom of opinion and of speech; and comprises also the liberty of conscience and the right of free discussion.'"—P. 7.

Upon this we would observe, that the right of opinion is above all human laws. A man is only accountable to God for his thoughts and opinions. But the right to *profess* opinions is quite another thing. We cannot concede to this gentleman the "unrestrained and unmolested exercise and enjoyment" of the privilege of saying what he pleases, irrespective of the rights of society. A man can think without infringing upon the rights of others. But when he gives tangible form to his thoughts by clothing them in words, he comes into contact with other men who also have rights to be respected and preserved. Consequently his right to speak must always be limited by his social relations. He can have no right to disorganize society or otherwise injure it, by the publication of his opinions, any more than by the employment of physical force. We must hasten, however, to meet the gentleman's main argument.

"Human *thoughts* are impressions made on the mind by evidence presented through the medium of the *senses* and the *intellectual faculties*. Man cannot avoid *thinking*, to a greater or less extent. He cannot resolve that he will not *think*, without instantly seeing the folly of such a pretence, and the futility of the attempt to execute it; for then he will *think* the more. Human *thoughts*, therefore, are *involuntary* and *irresistible*. Man cannot govern his *thoughts* nor restrain them."—P. 7.

Here is a most splendid specimen of infidel philosophy. By a single stroke the gentleman completely evades all responsibility, legal or moral, for any expression of sentiments whatsoever. If, then, we should happen to think "Thomas Herttell, Esq.," an infamous villain, a traitor to his country, a thief and a robber, and should exercise the right of speech by publishing our opinions to the world, what sort of treatment would we be likely to receive from that gentleman? We should probably be brought before a

civil tribunal to answer to a charge of slander. Well, suppose we should come before the court, and plead that we really thought Mr. Herttell to be all that we represented him; and as our thoughts are "involuntary and irresistible," and in expressing them we only exercised the "right of speech," therefore we beg to be discharged. What would be the decision of the court can be easily anticipated. But would our prosecutor have the magnanimity to withdraw his action upon our urging his own principles, as stated above? Is it not rather probable that, shrugging up his shoulders and shaking his head, he would reply, as did the lawyer in the fable to the farmer, "That, sir, *alters the case?*"

The learned lecturer proceeds:—

"Whence, then, does the legislature obtain authority to establish a censorship on the operations of the human mind, and to designate, by statutory enactments, what human *thoughts* shall be deemed *legal*, and what *illegal?* and where the *justice* of inflicting penalties for a violation of such an act of legislative usurpation? Can any conceivable absurdity exceed *that* of a legislature of a free people, gravely enacting that their constituents shall *think* that there is a 'supreme Being who will punish for false swearing?'"—Pp. 7, 8.

Here he stumbles upon the fallacy, "*ignoratia elinchi*," or missing the question. The obnoxious law says nothing about "what human *thoughts* shall be deemed *legal* or *illegal*." But let us hear him through. "And that if any shall think otherwise they shall be deprived of the right to give testimony, and thus be subjected to the many other deprivations consequent upon not thinking as the law directs." Here he is utterly in the fog. The law does no such thing. It simply says, "Every one believing in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, shall be admitted to be sworn, if otherwise competent." Now every witness is presumed to have this faith until proof is adduced to the contrary, and such proof can only rest on the *words* of the challenged witness. His thoughts can be no matter of proof unless he has expressed them. The law prescribes to him no faith, nor does it inflict upon him any penalty. It simply requires that a witness in solemn appeal to God for the truth of what he says, and an imprecation of the punishment of false swearing upon himself if he does not tell the truth, must not have denied "the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing." Now this sage philosopher condemns this as unauthorized oppression, and contends lustily for the contrary practice. He pleads that a man should be permitted to swear by a Being whose very existence he denies, and to imprecate upon himself a punishment, if he swear

false, which has no existence, or which by possibility can never take place. Now this is the true issue between the honorable gentleman and us, and the sum of his quarrel with the existing law. This profound philosopher gravely asks the representatives of the people of the state of New-York to sanction a solemn farce —to permit him to come before a court and swear by a *nonentity* that what he states is true, and to invoke upon his head another *nonentity* if it is not so! Profound philosophy! What a wonder that the notions of the gentleman did not meet with the unqualified approbation of every man of sense in the state! This is a defense of "*liberty*" and the "*rights of conscience*" with a vengeance! A few more such efforts will doubtless entitle the name of "Thomas Herttell, Esq.," to be enrolled with those of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

But to treat the subject gravely. Let it be observed, that an oath is itself a religious act—a recognition of the existence and government of God. And if the gentleman sees proper to set aside these fundamental principles of religion, and so to render it a perfect absurdity for him to be called upon to perform such an act, why who is to blame? The competency of an atheist to swear upon the Holy Bible can scarcely be made a question. The thing itself is evidently absurd. The gentleman should not quarrel with the law on account of his being abridged in his rights in not being permitted to swear, but should go a little further back, and show that oaths themselves are absurd, and that society is organized upon a false foundation. If he should question the propriety of oaths on the ground of atheism, there would be some consistency in his course. The question then fairly at issue between him and us would be, whether there be a supreme Being who exercises a moral government over the world. And when he shall convince the people of this commonwealth that there is no such Being, they will promptly make laws to dispense with the mummery of swearing by a mere nullity, and then the honorable gentleman will, in his civil privileges and relations, stand upon a level with other men.

The gentleman's notions of *conscience* are meagre and ill-defined, if not grossly absurd. He seems to use the terms conscience and opinion as synonymous. So, according to him, a man's *opinions* of religious matters are his *conscience*. Whatever these opinions may be, though *adverse* to all religion, these opinions constitute his conscience, and must not be disturbed. He may deny the existence of God, and denounce all religious institutions and moral discipline as false and absurd, and all this constitutes his religious

belief, his conscience; and every institution of the state which proceeds upon the supposition of the divine existence and government, so far as it affects him as a member of society, so far infringes the rights of conscience! Now we have been accustomed to think the very notion of conscience supposes the divine existence and government. It is a moral sense founded upon these principles. It has with great propriety been defined *a discriminating and an impulsive faculty, with reference to moral rules, obligations, and responsibilities.* But there can be no moral rule, obligation, or responsibility, without a moral Governor.

So, then, the doleful complaints made by this gentleman on account of alledged violations of the rights of conscience, whatever may be the object of them, are without the least foundation. For he has, in the first place, annihilated the very being of conscience. Upon the atheistic theory there is no such thing to have rights, and, of course, the violation of such rights can never be possible. If he say, his *religious opinions* are his conscience, and these are violated by the law in question, we answer: 1. Properly speaking he has no *religious opinions*. Opinions adverse to religion may properly be styled opinions *upon* religion, or belief *as to* religion, but can with no show of propriety be called *religious opinions* or religious belief; but more of this anon. 2. We admit his notions of religion are violated in the instance of which he complains: but, then, this is not the fault of the law itself, but of the principles upon which the law regulating oaths is founded.

Our author comes to his second argument, which he states at length, as follows:—

"Secondly. In further confirmation of the foregoing truths, and in order to show the unconstitutionality of the existing *religious test act*, I shall now proceed to prove, that so far is the government from possessing any legitimate authority to molest any citizen in the free exercise and enjoyment of his inalienable rights of *opinion* and of *speech*, or to prescribe or proscribe any *opinions*, religious or otherwise, the constitution expressly interdicts such interference, and guaranties the rights of conscience and freedom of opinion, 'without *discrimination*, or *preference*, to ALL MANKIND' (each and every individual) 'within this state.'

"The 1st section of article vii of the constitution declares, that 'no member of this state shall be disfranchised or deprived of any rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his *peers*,' viz., a verdict of a *jury*.

"The constitution is the supreme 'law of the land;' and the 3d section of article vii thereof declares, that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession' (*belief* or *opinion*) 'without *discrimination* or *preference*, shall for ever be allowed in this state to ALL MAN-

KIND.' This broad and explicit guaranty of the free exercise of religious opinion, or opinion on religious subjects; this unqualified assurance of the right of every person to profess' (speak) 'his *opinions* on religious matters,' is subject to no exception. It is true that a clause of the article under consideration provides that 'the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to excuse *acts* of licentiousness;' (not *licentious opinions;*) 'nor justify *practices*' (*acts*, not *opinions*) 'inconsistent with the peace or safety of the state:' still leaving the government unqualifiedly forbidden to take cognizance of the *opinions* of any of its constituents when not associated with any *criminal act*.

"The 7th section of said article vii of the constitution provides that 'every citizen may freely *speak* and publish his sentiments on *all* subjects,' (including, of course, those on religion,) 'being responsible' (only) 'for the *abuse* of that right,' and further, that 'no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of *speech* or of the press.'"—Pp. 11, 12.

In the first place, the reader should notice that we have a garbled quotation of the constitution. That this may be seen we will give the words as they stand in the book. The third section of the seventh article of the constitution of the state of New-York stands thus:—

"SEC. III. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed in this state, to all mankind; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state."—*Revised Statutes*, vol. i, p. 44.

Upon a comparison the reader will see that for "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship," the gentleman has "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession" "*belief* or *opinion*." Expounding the word "profession" to mean "*belief* or *opinion*," and leaving out the word "worship," and so most grossly perverting the sense. Is this a fair and honorable course? Let all judge for themselves how strong a claim a disputant who will take such liberty as this with a document has upon the confidence of the public.

But next we observe, that the gentleman makes a false issue. He proceeds upon the assumption that the constitution of the state of New-York is based upon atheism, and that it guaranties to atheists all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other men, whereas if he had looked at the first paragraph he would have seen his mistake. That paragraph reads as follows:—

"We, the people of the state of New-York, acknowledging with gratitude the grace and beneficence of God, in permitting us to make

choice of our form of government, do establish this constitution."—*Revised Statutes*, vol. i, p. 37.

Here is a distinct and explicit acknowledgment upon the part of "the people of the state of New-York" of "the grace and benevolence of God." Carrying with them this recognition, they advance to the various articles of the compact. Now having acknowledged "the grace and benevolence of God," they proceed, as is fit, to give all "the free enjoyment and exercise of religious profession and worship." But this is a very different thing from guarantying to any the right of denying the very existence and government of God, and, of course, of not "acknowledging" his "grace and benevolence." This would be to destroy the very foundation of the superstructure, which had been laid in the outset. Indeed the atheist throws himself fairly beyond the limits of the civil compact. He does not consent to the grounds and principles upon which the superstructure is laid. He does not *acknowledge* the *grace* and *beneficence* of *God*. And what singular effrontery is it for him to come forward and demand immunities founded upon this basis, and especially to plead that his avowed *unbelief* of all religion is that "religious profession and worship," the free exercise of which is secured to all in this constitution. Who did "the honorable member from the city" suppose himself addressing? Surely not the intelligent representatives of the empire state!

Again, his definition of "religious profession" is strangely absurd. He says, "This broad and explicit guaranty of the free exercise of religious opinion, or opinion on religious subjects," &c. So, then, "opinions on religious subjects" are "religious opinions!" More, they are "religious profession and worship!" So we suppose, by parity of reason, opinions on political subjects: the opinion of an old lady, that politics was a certain kind of mischievous *ticks*, are political opinions and professions—opinions on scientific subjects are, no doubt, very scientific opinions! The opinion of the king of Siam was, that water could never become so solid as to bear great burdens, and this was, according to our philosopher, a very scientific opinion! An ignorant person denies the rotundity of the earth, and declares that if the world were to turn over, it would empty all the mill-ponds, and throw down all the stone walls, and this being an opinion on the science of astronomy, must be a most scientific opinion!

The gentleman's long argument under this head rests entirely upon the sophism, *petitio principii*, or begging the question. He assumes that the *constitution of this state secures to an atheist the*

right of taking an oath. Now this is what remains to be proved. And this once proved, his argument upon certain articles of the constitution will be good and valid. It would indeed, as we have seen, be perfectly absurd for such provision to be made in the supreme law of the land after distinctly recognizing the existence of God; but still, if it were even so, he would have just grounds of complaint were he to be disfranchised of that right. Now *he is disfranchised of no right;* for he claims as a right what never did and never could in any consistency belong to him. He proceeds to give us a long list of grievances—to make an exhibition of the most forlorn condition of the poor *conscientious* infidel, who rejects "the statutory creed," that "there is a God who will punish false swearing." And his picture is really affecting. But, after all, how will a rational mind be moved in view of the whole case? Will any be moved with sympathy for the miserable disfranchised atheist, and indignation against the laws by which he is stripped of the rights and immunities of a member of the social compact, or will he pity and mourn over the wretched stupidity and perversion of all reason which are apparent in the man himself? What a spectacle he has before him! A fellow-man closing his eyes against the clearest light! laboring to blight for ever the last opening bud of reason! at war with the very foundations of our civil institutions, and of the great social compact! And writhing under the natural and necessary consequences of his own folly, he vociferates the most doleful complaints against the injustice of the laws, in depriving him of the "inalienable rights of *conscience!*" Miserable man! But who can help him? Upon the position he now occupies, his case is utterly hopeless, in any other event than the final annihilation of the foundations of society.

We come, finally, to the last proposition which the gentleman attempts to maintain, viz., "that the principle of" what he calls "the religious test act is based in radical error." In stating what he considers "the principle of that law," he says,—

"It assumes for its basis, that '*belief* in the existence of a supreme Being, and that he will punish false swearing,' is the binding tie or obligation of an oath: and that a witness who shall profess such *belief*, or in the absence of any proof that he shall have said that he did *not believe* in that doctrine, is admitted to be a *competent* witness, however bad his general reputation for truth and veracity may happen to be. The law in question assumes also that every man is dishonest who does not *fear* future punishment for perjury; and that no man will *fear* who does *not believe* in future punishment for that crime; and consequently every *unbeliever* of the statutory creed will perjure himself if admitted to his oath, however good his reputation for truth and veracity,

and however free from any interest or inducement to violate the truth." —Pp. 29, 30.

This, we are compelled to say, instead of being a fair and correct statement of the true principles of the law prescribing the qualifications of a witness, is a gross misrepresentation of the whole matter. The true principle upon which the law rests is simply this: that belief in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, is necessary to a feeling of the moral obligation of an oath. And this principle must be obvious to the common sense of all mankind. It by no means assumes that "every man is dishonest who does not fear future punishment for perjury," nor that those who profess to have this fear will always tell the truth, even under oath. All this is wide of the simple principle upon which the law is founded. A man who professes to believe "the statutory creed," as the gentleman calls it, may not be so far under its practical influence as always to "fear an oath," and an atheist may, from other than religious considerations, always speak the truth. But what is all this to the question? The question is simply, whether a recognition of the existence and government of a supreme Being is essential to the obligations and sacredness of an oath? Here we are at odds. We affirm, and Mr. Herttell denies: where the "radical error" is, the reader may judge.

All his flourishing about the superior virtue of infidels, and the views of "believers in the statutory creed," if what he says were to be relied upon as true, is wholly irrelevant. His whole argument rests upon his own "radical error" in conceiving of the real principles upon which the law in question "is based," and consequently having shown this "error" in the gentleman's statement, it is unnecessary to follow him through his various illustrations.

We shall notice one or two points more belonging to this part of the gentleman's speech, and shall then pass on. He says,—

"The existing religious test act, therefore, like all other laws which have emanated from the evil spirit of religious intolerance, oppression, and persecution, in its operation, holds out inducements to a hypocritical and dishonest profession of the statutory religious faith, and is not only *destitute of any moral influence;* but is *radically defective in moral principle.*"—P. 31.

Strange indeed! The act is "defective in moral principle," because "it holds out inducements to a hypocritical and dishonest profession." How so? It requires certain moral qualifications for certain acts. Now, if men have not the qualifications, and it would be a matter of interest to them to be competent to the acts,

it is in the nature of the case that there is a sort of motive presented to a corrupt mind for a false profession. But this is not the fault of the law, any more than it is the fault of public opinion that an abandoned villain has a motive to appear to be an honest man, in the approbation of community. The gentleman might, with the same reason, inveigh against the moral sense of community because it "holds out inducements to a hypocritical profession of" a sincere regard for the popular moral code. It is a pity indeed to try the virtue of our infidel friends in this way; for they abhor *hypocrisy* the most of all things. And if one of them should, by the force of circumstances, be induced to violate his "conscience," and make "a hypocritical and dishonest profession of the statutory faith," he might never again be able to recover the confidence of the fraternity. Such a violation of "conscience" and of all "moral principle" would be an unpardonable offense, or perhaps we should say, a sad departure from *infidel* "religious profession and worship."

Without any further notice of the principles or reasonings of the speech, we will bring our readers to the conclusion. This is not a little remarkable. Its most striking feature is the strong confidence which is exhibited of the success of the measure advocated. Mr. Herttell hopes "the bill will be agreed to by the committee;" he is "satisfied that such ought to be the case," and believes "such a result probable." He thinks it better be passed, and passed "promptly, and with a good grace." "It must become a law of this state at no very distant day." He deems this "just as certain as that the people have intelligence sufficient to understand their rights—virtue enough to respect them—spirit enough to assert them—and power enough to reclaim and protect them." And this is certain enough! The gentleman now takes his seat with "a good grace" indeed, having not a remaining doubt in his own mind of the truth of all his positions, and the conclusiveness of his arguments; and most confidently believing that he has conducted the house to the same results to which he had been conducted in his learned cogitations, he now looks for the bill to pass without further opposition. But to his great disappointment "Mr. (speaker) Humphrey" had the temerity (or something else) to arise and present several grave objections to the passage of the bill. This opposition of the speaker (or some other cause unforeseen by the able defender of the bill) was instrumental in bringing upon him the sad and unexpected mortification of a total defeat! But defeated, our champion of the "rights of conscience" is not conquered. He "took the *floor* to reply: but the lateness of the hour, and the

clamorous impatience of the house to adjourn, prevented the friends of the bill from exercising their right to reply to the *speaker's* allegations at the proper time and place." All the gentleman could do was to announce that he should not "attempt at the present time any further discussion of the merits of the bill;" but if ever his "argument should be published," he should avail himself of the "occasion and of the right—to reply to the speaker's remarks." This "reply" we have in the latter part of the pamphlet before us, and his success in meeting the speaker's objections we shall next proceed to look after.

In his rejoinder Mr. Herttell states several objections, which he represents as having been made by the speaker, to which he gives, what he doubtless wishes to have considered, a satisfactory answer. Most of this part of the pamphlet is but a repetition of what he had urged in the address, only differing in the virulence of its temper and the loudness of its complaints. One argument of the speaker's seems to have affected the gentleman more seriously than any other, and this is the only one we shall formally notice. According to Mr. Herttell it was as follows:—

"'Unbelievers in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing' have no religion—no sense of moral obligation—no ties of conscience to bind them to tell the truth when under oath; and therefore no right to be witnesses in a court of justice: and the law in question, which interdicts their being sworn as such, does not debar them of any right secured to them by the constitution, the provisions of which guaranty 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession' only, and not irreligious opinions!"—Pp. 51, 52.

To this he replies:—

"I did not intend, when advocating the passage of the bill in committee, to assail any man's *religion*, nor to controvert any man's *faith* in any of the various and numberless *sorts of religion* which have from time to time prevailed or been exploded in the different nations of the earth: nor did I mean to discuss the truth or error of the statutory creed, or any other theological doctrine or dogma, any further than was indispensably necessary to expose the injustice and unconstitutionality of the *ecclesiastical* statute under animadversion: and I so stated in the opening of my argument. But when the advocates of the existing *religious test act* undertake to defend it on *religious grounds*, and hold their own peculiar *religious creed* as exclusively *righteous* and *moral*, and as sufficient authority to justify an attack on the moral character of all *dissenters* from *such religious faith*, and deem their *unbelief* just cause for stigmatizing them as *infidels;* using that term as an epithet of reproach 'significant of religious error and moral dereliction:' . . . when the advocates of a legislative act, uniting political and ecclesiastical powers, thus voluntarily and indiscreetly throw open the por-

tals of their religious sanctuary, and make their *religious faith* subservient to the purposes of hostility and denunciation of all who do not *believe* in the *truth* or *moral influence of such religion*, however blameless their moral character; I claim the right and shall exercise it as an imperative duty, not only to reply to such *assumptions* and to repel such *imputations;* but if necessary, even to approach the very altar of such *religious faith*, with a view to exhibit its true character, and to show that *infidelity* to such *religion* is neither evidence of *error* nor *immorality*, and that legislative 'weapons of warfare' against such *unbelief* are 'carnal,' immoral, unrighteous, and oppressive."—Pp. 52, 53.

This paragraph contains a great many words, and threatens terrible execution; but upon the slightest touch it will burst like a bubble and expire. It contains one mistake, and that is, that those who urge this objection "hold their own peculiar *religious creed* as exclusively *righteous* and *moral*." Now they simply hold, that *faith in the existence and government of a supreme Being* is necessary to religion and a sense of moral obligation: that there can, consequently, be no security for truth under oath where this faith is wanting. And who that has a particle of common sense and common honesty left will pretend to doubt this? Now, Mr. Herttell, open your batteries and do your worst! "Approach the very altars of such religious faith with a view to exhibit its true character," and if you will not becloud its glory with volleys of fog and smoke, it will still appear in its native dignity and grandeur.

But when this minute philosopher complains so bitterly of the speaker's argument as *hostile*, *denunciatory*, *unrighteous*, and *oppressive*, has he forgotten that "human thoughts are involuntary and irresistible?" One would think he ought never to forget this great principle in mental philosophy, as he refers to it some half a dozen times in the course of his speech and defense, for the sole purpose of justifying his infidelity. And why not give Mr. Speaker Humphrey the benefit of the theory, which, if true, must surely be as applicable to him as to Mr. Herttell? What the speaker says is but the development of his thoughts, and these Mr. Herttell "*knows to be involuntarily received—sincerely entertained, and honestly avowed.*"—P. 59. And yet he complains, resists, threatens, and foams with rage at this result of a *certain* and *invincible fatality* which governs the origin and succession of "human thoughts!" But perhaps our philosopher exempts the minds of religious people from the operations of this universal law. And though infidels are not to be condemned for their opinions of religion and religious people, because they are "involuntarily received," yet the opinions of Mr. Humphrey and other advocates for religion

on infidelity and infidels, are *at all events* very much to be *censured*, whether they be "involuntarily received" or otherwise!

It will be recollected that Mr. Herttell declared in the outset, that he did not "stand as the assailant of any man's religion," he only stood up to "contend for the equal right of all mankind to *think*, *believe*, and *worship* as they please." But it would seem from what occurred subsequently that he intended to occupy this fair and pacific ground only on the condition that no one should oppose his favorite measure. For when the speaker gave him a little trouble he considers it a sufficient reason for shifting his position, and now he will "approach the very altar" of our "religious faith—and show that *infidelity* to such a *religion* is neither evidence of error nor immorality." And now we have the whole broadside in several pages, which are too blasphemous and shocking to the feelings of men of good taste to admit of repetition in our pages, the sum of which may be gathered from the following remarks.

Here, then, we are brought to our reflections:—1. If infidels are already good enough, what need of religion to make them better? Sure enough. But we happen to be so uncharitable as to feel some "involuntary" doubts arise in our mind whether these infidel saints are altogether so pure and good as the gentleman would have us believe. 2. He wishes us to be satisfied with a religion that only consists in men's being "just and kind to each other," leaving the idea of God and divine worship out of the question. But for our part, we must have a religion that recognizes a divine Being who is entitled to our highest adoration and best affections, or do without any religion at all. 3. We see the most indubitable evidence that this profound politician and philosopher has indeed read some portions of the Bible, for he makes several quotations from that book. This would be to us a matter of no little interest were it not for the fact, that these quotations are only made for the purpose of perversion and profane scoffing! 4. And, finally, in view of the spirit and manner of the whole, we can scarcely tell which has the predominance, ignorance, effrontery, or impiety. A man who is capable of such blasphemous rant is scarcely capable of feeling the force of an argument. But still it may be necessary for the admonition of others to exhibit the true features and the practical bearings of his speculations. This is our apology for presenting so many instances of the miserable sophistry and atheistic hallucinations of the pamphlet under consideration.

It will be recollected that upon the opening of our remarks upon this atheistic pamphlet we stated that it came to us from the hand of a *young gentleman.* That such a gross specimen of cold-blooded and heartless infidelity should find its way into the hands of a student is a matter of no small concern to such as have the smallest interest in the moral character of the young men of our country. This class of persons are vastly more susceptible of injury from demoralizing theories than many are apt to imagine. Infidels, however, seem to be fully awake to the fact, and hence they adjust their machinery to their vulnerable and defenceless condition. By mature and disciplined minds the grossness of the sentiments and language of such a tract as the one under consideration would be nauseated and instantly repelled. But to the young, especially if there be a predisposition in favor of skeptical views, they present another aspect, and can scarcely come in contact with such minds without inflicting upon them the most fatal injury—without thoroughly vitiating their moral feelings, and ruining all their future prospects. Are the morals of our youth to be poisoned and ruined in this wise, and will we slumber? Connected with this pamphlet is "a catalogue of liberal works," filling eight pages. Among these are the grossest productions of Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright. Here, then, we have the influence of the honorable representative from the city of New-York lent to the sanction and circulation of some of the most demoralizing and disorganizing productions of this, or of any former age. If the object of the *liberalists* of our country should be answered, they would control the intelligence of the next generation. Indeed, those who hold in their hands the destinies of the country would be wholly alienated from both the religion of their fathers and the constitution and laws of their country. And what would be the result of such a change? What? Look at the history of infidel France, and there read in lines of blood the fate of the institutions inherited from our patriotic fathers. Give infidelity the control of the popular mind, and the glory of our country and institutions will soon have departed. Corrupt the minds of those who hold the elective franchise, and what security have we for the preservation of the civil compact?

And very much depends upon the very principle so strenuously opposed and so severely condemned by Mr. Herttell in the speech under consideration. If our laws are no longer to recognize the incongruity and danger of admitting an atheist to swear where the dearest interests are at stake, then what security can we have for our rights, liberty, and happiness? If the oath of a man who

denies "the existence of a supreme Being" is all our security, sure we are that it is sufficiently small.

We agree perfectly with the gentleman that an atheist, upon the principles of what he calls the test act, "could not be legally qualified to discharge the duties pertaining to the offices respectively." For there can be no more consistency in such a man's taking the oath of office than his swearing as a witness. What sense can there be in electing a man to an office, for his good faith in the exercise of which he is bound by law to give the security of an oath, when he is necessarily incompetent for such a ceremony.

For a man who denies *the existence of God* to be elected by *the people* to an office, for the faithful fulfillment of whose duties they require him to recognize the existence of the supreme Being, by a solemn promise of fidelity, as *in his presence*, is a gross inconsistency. What binding obligation can an oath have upon an atheist?

And to complete the climax of absurdity, we often elect such men to offices, the nature of whose duties requires that they should administer an oath to others! The honorable gentleman publicly denies the existence of a supreme Being, and perhaps on the Lord's day delivers a public lecture against the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures, and laughs to scorn all the doctrines of religion: and on Monday morning he gravely takes his seat in his office, and taking up his Bible he stretches it out to a witness, and says, "You do solemnly swear in the presence of almighty God, that the evidence you shall give in this case shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. *So help you* GOD!" Now supposing the witness to be ignorant of the true import of this formula, and to require the instructions of the court, what sort of an exposition would be given upon the occasion? The court would gravely ask the witness, "Do you know what is implied in an oath?" The witness would remain mute or answer in the negative. His honor proceeds: "You *swear in the presence of* GOD, but 'who knows' that there is such a being? Indeed, I don't believe it. You put your hand on this book because '*the people*' who formed the constitution and laws appropriated to it a sort of sacredness, but I tell you it is a mere fiction of fools! But now, sir, you are most solemnly bound to tell the truth! You have promised in the presence of that shadow or fiction of a crazy imagination they call God: and you have kissed this book of priestly legends—a book which scarcely deserves the title of 'a cunningly-devised fable.' These, you must understand, are all most solemn and appropriate forms to impress upon your conscience a strong sense of your

obligations to speak the truth. Now, Mr. Witness, if under these circumstances, you should violate your *conscience* and *swear* to a lie, then—O! then!!!"——In what an enviable attitude is our magistrate now placed!

It is almost a wonder that infidels have no *conscientious* scruples in relation to this business of *swearing*. They are often extremely sensitive in matters of *conscience;* but, alas! here the honors and emoluments of office are rather in the way of their wonted consistency, and the free and full development of that moral philosophy which is so characteristic of the fraternity! Indeed, they can swear, but they must not pray! And if any obstacles are thrown in their way in this matter by "statutory creeds," "test acts," and the like, their *consciences* are violated, and the *constitution* is shivered to atoms! They now appeal to heaven and earth for justice! Because they are not permitted to swear upon a book they condemn as a fable, and by a Being whose very existence they deny, lo! they are "disfranchised of their rights!" and for these they must never cease to contend while one drop of the blood of *the pilgrims* flows in their veins! "O consistency, thou art a jewel!"

It cannot, in fairness, be pretended that we call in question the veracity of unbelievers. We only deny the consistency of their being permitted to go through the solemnities of an oath according to the common form. Perhaps it is worth while to inquire whether some form of solemn affirmation could not be instituted which would suit the case. We recollect a case which will illustrate what we mean. An old soldier who, in the revolutionary war, deserted from the British army and joined that of General Washington, when peace was concluded, was sometimes found capable of petty thefts. On a certain occasion he was brought before a magistrate upon the charge of stealing a silver spoon. The old soldier steadily denied the charge, and the testimony seemed scarcely sufficient to convict him. But not being quite certain of his innocence, and yet quite ready to discharge him if he could consistently do so, the court finally concluded to allow him his oath. The old soldier accordingly most solemnly swore to his innocence. The court still doubting whether there might not be some error in the assertions of the accused, finally said: "Now, sir, if you will lift your hand and swear by the honor of a soldier that you did not steal the spoon, I will release you." The prisoner dropped his head, and for a moment seemed thoughtful—and finally, putting his hand in his bosom, and drawing out the spoon, he dashed it on the floor, exclaiming, "Take your spoon,

for I'll not violate the honor of a soldier for all the spoons in America." Now, in this case, "the honor of a soldier" was a sacred and inviolable principle, while an oath proper was a matter of no importance. If, then, provision could be consistently made, that those who deny "the existence of a supreme Being, who will punish false swearing," might solemnly affirm *by the honor of an infidel*, perhaps all the ends of an oath might by this means be obtained. There seem to be but two difficulties in the way of such a provision in our civil code, and if these can be overcome, we pledge ourselves to use our little influence for the accomplishment of the object. The first is, to dispose of the fundamental principles of the constitution. The constitution, as we have seen, recognizes the existence and providence of God, whereas this provision would be a practical renunciation of that doctrine. The second is, the necessary security that *the honor of an infidel* would be sufficiently sacred to afford tolerable security for the truth. We should wish to be certain that it would, at least in general, be a principle of as much potency as was the honor of a soldier in the case which we have above related. The infidel philosopher can possibly help us over these barriers. The latter he will doubtless consider as having no existence except in our imagination, and the former will soon melt away before his immense powers of perception and reasoning.

ART. II.—*A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By M. STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Second edition, corrected and mostly written anew. 8vo., pp. 308. Andover: Allen & Morrill. New-York: Dayton & Saxton.

THE wisdom of God is exhibited in the medium through which he has given his revealed will to man. To his peculiar people, the Jews, he first made known those great and important principles which were to regulate their conduct as individuals. This portion of his truth we consequently find imbodied in the Hebrew language. But in after ages, in "the fullness of time," when his will was to be made known unto all the sons and daughters of Adam, his last revelation was given in the then almost universally diffused language of the Greeks. For in the time of the New Testament writers, the Greek was generally known throughout the Roman

empire, and was used most extensively in the eastern provinces. Cicero speaks of its prevalence, and Cesar asserts that it was spoken even in Gaul. The question as to its prevalence in Palestine is one of considerable importance, as the character of the style of the New Testament would, of course, depend upon the extent to which it was spoken. This point has been fully discussed, and though it may be that the Aramæan language was used, yet from the civil and political circumstances of the Jews, the Greek must have been in a measure prevalent among them.

The importance of an accurate knowledge of the original languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written, to him who aspires to be a correct interpreter of them, has been so often urged and insisted upon, that it seems hardly necessary for us to advert to it. We will, however, adduce some reasons why a just and discriminating view of the character of the New Testament dialect is important as a preliminary step to all further investigation. The whole system of correct interpretation must, of course, be founded upon the principles of grammar, but we must first rightly understand the nature of an idiom before we can deduce those principles which regulate its grammatical structure. Many mistakes which interpreters of the New Testament have made, have resulted from an ignorance of the distinctive peculiarities of its dialect. For how can it be expected that they should comprehend the great truths revealed if they proceeded upon a false view of the language in which those truths were imbodied? Many passages, interpreted according to the rules of the classic Greek, would give meanings foreign to the intention of the sacred writer. Thus in John viii, 24: *ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν*, rendered according to the Greek idiom, would mean, *You will persevere to the end of life in sinning;* but according to the Hebrew, *You will be condemned on account of your sins.** Hence a distinguished Biblical critic well remarks: "Theology would have been freed from many errors that have crept in if Hebraisms had not been interpreted as pure Greek."†

On the other hand, there has been a disposition among some theologians to interpret the writers of the New Testament as though they were not subject to those common rules of grammatical accuracy observed by the classic Greek writers. This view introduced an almost unbounded license of interpretation, and prevented the science itself from becoming established. For in explaining the sacred writers, this class of interpreters acted on the assumption that the analogy and the general laws of the Greek

* Stuart's Ernesti, § 131. † Ibid., § 121.

language were frequently violated: that all anomalous expressions were to be considered as Hebraisms, or to be referred to want of education in the writer. It may readily be seen that such a system of procedure would give rise to many loose and imperfect views of the principles and doctrines of the Scriptures. It would have been well for such interpreters to have first inquired whether the passages they had under consideration could not be explained by a reference to the rules of Greek syntax and usage. They would then have found that many of the so called Hebraisms were phrases common to all cultivated languages, and frequently used by the classic Greek writers; and they would have seen that their zeal in contending against the purity of the New Testament Greek had led them into unwarrantable hypotheses. For if the New Testament Greek be so different in its character from that of the classic writers, we might well ask, Where are the sources for its illustration? What fixed and certain rules of interpretation can we have for a dialect so heterogeneous in its character? But we often see that men in contending against one false theory are led to adopt another just as far removed from the truth. Never was this better exemplified than in the discussion as to the true nature of the New Testament dialect.

The reasons why its character was for so long a time misunderstood by Biblical philologists are very evident. They had not sufficiently investigated the history of the Greek language; they had not followed it in the decline of its purity to its later usage, when it became more in consonance with the principles of general grammar. There are three epochs which distinctly mark the history of the Greek:—1. Its youth; when Homer and Hesiod sung, and when Herodotus, the "father of history," wrote. 2. Its palmy days; marked by the writings of the great tragedians, Sophocles and Eschylus, and by the elegant prose of Zenophon and Plato. All of these wrote in the Attic dialect; for Athens had become the fountain head of literature—and so great attention was paid to the cultivation of their language that it has been remarked, an Attic herb-woman could detect the provincial accent of a philosopher. 3. Its decline; when Greece became subject to the dominion of Alexander, and the distinctions of dialect were lost in the general confusion of his conquests. Afterward, under the Roman yoke, when soldiers, collected from the different provinces, were dispersed throughout the empire, the language necessarily received many new terms and forms of expression, which would not have been tolerated by the critical taste of the Athenians. And thus was formed, what grammarians have called η κοινη

διαλεκτος, *the common dialect*, "a kind of speech mixed up from all the forms of the Greek idioms, and common to all those who spoke Greek in the later ages." The writers in this dialect are numerous. Among them we find Aristotle, Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus.

This, then, was the language prevalent in the time of our Saviour, and which was generally spoken, modified in accordance with the natural order of change, throughout the civilized world. Thus Alexandria, in Egypt, where Grecian literature was extensively cultivated, and which became the resort of learned men, gave rise to a peculiar dialect, called the *Alexandrine*, and by some the *Macedonian* dialect. Great numbers of Jews dwelt in this city; for Alexander allowed them the same privileges that he did the Macedonians, and, of course, they employed the language in common use. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which was made for them 280 B. C., was in this dialect; though somewhat modified, from the nature of the subject, by idiomatic Hebrew expressions. This modification of the Alexandrine dialect, with still further changes, is used by the New Testament writers, and by some of the early Christian fathers. And it has been called the *Hellenistic*, or, more appropriately, the Hebrew Greek. Still the New Testament diction is greatly superior in purity to the Septuagint, not having so strong a Semitic coloring.

From about the close of the sixteenth century to the middle of the last there have existed, among Biblical scholars, two classes, holding opposite views as to the character of the New Testament Greek. One class asserted that it conformed in all respects to the style of the Attic writers; that it equalled their purity and elegance of diction. The principle they proceeded upon seemed to be, "that as God spoke to man in Greek, he could employ only the most pure and perfect Greek; and therefore the idiom of the New Testament must be accounted as one of the purest models of the Greek language."* The other class maintained that it was far removed, in respect to the purity of its Greek, from the classic writers, and that it everywhere abounded in Hebraisms. The researches of later investigators have satisfactorily proved that neither of these positions was the correct one, and that both parties in the heat of controversy lost sight of the true nature of the idiom about which they were disputing. Our first Biblical scholars now unite in the opinion that it is "the later Greek as spoken by foreigners of the Hebrew stock, and applied by them to subjects on which it had never been employed by native Greeks." Such,

* Dr. Robinson's Inaugural Address.

then, in brief, is the character of the dialect upon which the New Testament interpreter is occupied; and his first object should be to have a clear view of its peculiarities. These are divided into two classes, *lexical* and *grammatical*. Under the *lexical* peculiarities we find, 1. Words were chosen from all the dialects; 2. To words used in the old dialects, new and different significations were given; 3. Words seldom used by the classic writers, or only by the poets, were employed as common; 4. New forms, commonly lengthened, were given to words—and words altogether new were formed mostly by composition. The *grammatical* peculiarities of the New Testament diction consist principally in the *forms*; some appearing which were entirely unknown to the old writers, or, at least, foreign to the Attic dialect. These, however, are not numerous, for the history of language teaches us that changes in words are much more frequent than the introduction of new etymological forms. A language in the course of time may receive many new words, as well as give different significations to old ones, but it does not readily change its grammatical structure. This principle is illustrated by our Indian languages, all of which probably had a common origin. For we see in the midst of all their diversity, they have, in common, some general principles of etymology and syntax. Hence we find that the grammatical character of the New Testament diction does not differ greatly from that of the later Greek. The common laws of syntax are applied throughout, and there are seldom any departures from them: even some of the nicer forms of the classic Greek appear. The most important grammatical variations are in the use of the prepositions, a fact which calls for the critical investigation of interpreters. When, therefore, we consider the New Testament diction in its true light, when we see that the sacred writers not only conform to those general rules which arise from the nature of all human language, but also introduce many of the niceties of Greek syntax, we find there is little reason for the charge which has been urged against them of a want of grammatical accuracy. On this point Tittman well remarks,—"The sacred writers duly observe the laws of grammar; but not always the laws of the grammarians."*

There are some other circumstances which, in this connection, demand a passing notice. We refer to the peculiar character of the Hebrew people, as exhibited in their social relations as well as in their mental efforts. In all parts of the New Testament, Hebrew modes of thinking and feeling develop themselves, which

* "On the grammatical accuracy of the writers of the New Testament."—*Biblical Repository*, vol. i.

have a corresponding influence on its diction. We must also consider the subjects which employed the attention of the sacred writers. They were treating not of the absurd and fabulous legends of the Greek poets, but of the nature of the true God, the sublime and holy mysteries of the incarnation, and of the relations which man sustains both to his Maker and to his fellow man. We may, consequently, expect to find many Greek words used, from the religious views of the writers, in a technological sense, as *πίστις, ἀπόστολος, βάπτισμα*, and many others, particularly such as are employed by Paul in his epistles. This use of them was unavoidable, for the classic Greek could furnish no words which would exactly convey the ideas of a Hebrew on these subjects.

There is another circumstance in connection with the New Testament Greek which gives it a marked Hebrew character. The greater part of the quotations in the New Testament are from those prophecies which relate to the advent of Christ. And as these prophecies, which belong to the class of poetic compositions, occupied the attention of the New Testament writers, their style received a stronger Hebrew coloring. Hence we find that *parallelism*, the distinguishing characteristic of the poetry of the Old Testament, is in many instances to be found in the New. Indeed the whole arrangement of the periods is regulated according to the Hebrew verse, in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of the Greek. Our Lord's sermon on the mount, the songs in Luke, and some of the discourses of the apostles, display the characteristics of Hebrew poetry both in structure and diction. These are clearly exhibited in the Apocalypse of St. John: and all commentators have observed the striking resemblance there is between portions of it and the writings of the prophets, both as to imagery and illustration. In its conformance to the structure of Hebrew poetry it necessarily violates the strict rules of the Greek grammarians. Thus a distinguished critic remarks:—"The harshest Hebraisms which extend even to grammatical errors in the government of cases are the distinguishing marks of the book of Revelation; but they are accompanied with tokens of genius and poetical enthusiasm, of which every reader must be sensible, who has taste and feeling: there is no translation of it which is not read with pleasure, even in the days of childhood; and the very faults of grammar are so happily placed as to produce an agreeable effect."* It is now generally acknowledged that, though the two Testaments are written in different languages, they resemble each other throughout. As the revealed truths of the New Testament

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i.

illustrate the Old, so the language and structure of the Old sheds much light upon the interpretation of the New. Thus they are mutually illustrative of each other, as parts of His revelation, in all of whose works is seen unity of design.

If we consider the character of the New Testament, as well as the circumstances under which it was written, it will afford some further light as to the cause of its peculiarities of diction. The New Testament writers were all Jews; men into whose very natures was interwoven a deep reverence for their holy books—and who had attended only to the prominent features of Hebrew literature. All of them, if we except Paul, appear to have been entirely unacquainted with the literature of the Greeks: and even he was more deeply versed in the writings of his own nation, being "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," having a Jewish, and not a Grecian education. Therefore we cannot but expect to find in the New Testament a characteristic idiom; and an acquaintance with this is an important qualification of the interpreter who wishes to be "thoroughly furnished for his work."

The means by which a knowledge of the New Testament dialect could be acquired have not hitherto been very ample. The advocates for the purity of its style supposed, of course, that the lexicons and grammars of the classic Greek were also suitable for this. But when their views were disproved, Biblical philologists began to investigate more critically its grammatical structure. As grammar is a science of observation, and as many individual facts have to be collected and classified, its progress is necessarily slow. In view of all this, it is gratifying to observe the improvements and discoveries which have been made, especially by the German philologists. Their labors and researches upon the classic Greek have had a great effect upon the general views of the grammatical structure of the New Testament. In the works which have appeared on the subject, we observe a progressive improvement, which leads us to expect that many important principles on this point will yet be developed; and that the grammar of the New Testament dialect will receive still greater accessions. Much has, however, been already accomplished: its character is now more generally understood, and the principles which govern its interpretation more clearly established.

The work we have placed at the head of this article is the latest that has appeared on the subject, and presents in a clear and concise view the researches of the German philologists. Its learned author is already favorably known to the public by his efforts to promote Biblical knowledge; and this work, if it adds nothing to

his well-deserved reputation, certainly will not detract from it. Our limits will not allow us to give an extended and critical notice of this volume. We shall, however, touch upon some of the most prominent points of interest to the New Testament interpreter. In the introduction our author presents us with his views of the character of the New Testament dialect, which correspond with those now generally held by Biblical philologists. He has explained at length the peculiarities of this dialect, and, at the same time, clearly developed the causes which gave rise to them. But as we have already sufficiently alluded to this subject, we pass on to notice, as a point of some importance, his observations on the nature and use of the accents. We could not expect that he would present the subject in all its details, and indeed such a course would be inappropriate for a work of this nature. He has, however, brought forward, and placed in a clear light, the few general and important principles.

The written accentuation of the New Testament is designed to be conformed to the common laws of the Greek. This grammatical notation of the accents appears to have been marked about B. C. 200. Its age in the New Testament, however, cannot be determined with certainty. Possibly as early as the fourth century; for we find at this time mention made of the Septuagint as furnished with various kinds of accents. Heretofore it has been too much with the system of Greek accentuation as with the Hebrew, that interpreters of the Bible have supposed a knowledge of their minutiæ to be unimportant. Though the system is not yet settled in all its details, and many points are still under dispute, yet a knowledge of it is serviceable to the learner, if not to the advanced scholar, from the fact that many words are distinguished from each other solely by the accent; as, *εἰμί I am*, *εἶμι I go*; *τίς who?* *τὶς* or *τις some one*; *ὁ the*, *ὅ which*, &c. Other questions as to the criticism of the sacred text depend upon principles of accentuation which have not, as yet, been fully settled. Let no one, then, suppose that a knowledge of the system is unimportant or superfluous. Still, after all that has been written of the subject, there are many things connected with the system of Greek accentuation which need further investigation.

To the vowel and consonant changes our author appears to have devoted considerable attention. We find among the Greek writers many of these changes made in accordance with their views of euphony. The cultivation which they bestowed upon their language, the degree of refinement to which their criticism was carried, produced a system of vowel and consonant changes which has

rendered the Greek language so highly musical. The delicate ear of the Greek could not bear that harshness which arises from the coming together of certain consonants. And we are to look to this as the source of many changes which this class of letters undergo. The whole subject is so closely connected with the different forms which words receive in the course of declension, and more especially in composition, that it demands the careful study of all who would understand the laws of Greek usage on these points. Our limits will not permit us to dwell upon the pages which our author has devoted to the etymology or grammatical forms of the Greek. The different classes of anomalies are distinctly marked, and the New Testament usage particularly observed.

The larger portion of this volume is devoted to the most important division of grammar, viz., syntax. The time has gone by when it was supposed that all its principles could be unfolded in the compass of a few pages. The great advances which have been made in developing the internal structure of language, the brilliant discoveries which have rewarded the diligence of the classical scholar, all demand that in a grammatical work the greatest stress should be laid upon its syntax.

The important place the *article* occupies in the Greek requires that its syntax be critically investigated. And in this instance it is more important, since so much has been made, in a theological point of view, of the use of the article. Some Biblical scholars have attempted to establish the principle, that, independent of the common laws of syntax, the Greek article was subject to some particular rules. This point has been deemed of so much importance that it was used for the purpose of proving the *divinity* of Christ. The subject, however, needs further illustration, and much remains to be done before satisfactory light will be cast upon it. We cannot quit the subject without, in the language of our author, though in another work,* "cautioning the young interpreter not to lay much stress on the presence or absence of the Greek article in his reasonings of a philological or theological nature. The ground is yet too slippery, and too imperfectly surveyed. There is scarcely a rule laid down for the article which does not admit of numerous exceptions; and in very many, if not most cases, it seems to have been a matter quite at the writer's pleasure whether he inserted or omitted it. How can we hazard the proof of an important theological doctrine, then, upon such ground as this?" We have alluded to this point both on account of the importance which has been attached to it, and from a con-

* Biblical Repository, vol. i, p. 173.

viction that many have been misled as to the correct application of the article, from an Essay on the subject by a learned classical scholar,* which appears in Dr. Clarke's Commentary. The writer having a favorite theory to sustain, very slightly alludes to those exceptions which would militate against his position. Viewing the subject in all its bearings, we cannot but regret that it has given so much occasion for false argument and unsound criticism. The interpreter who makes his appeal to the Scriptures in the original should not confide in any such unsettled and fallacious rules.

Under the syntax of the noun our author has very clearly illustrated the nature and meaning of *case*. This subject of late years has been fully discussed by philologists. Our author has presented us with their results. The various relations of nouns are philosophically developed, and he has especially succeeded in making plain the relations of cases after prepositions. Those departures from the classical usage which cause the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek are noticed.

We will briefly notice the view our author has taken of the force of θεου, κιριου, &c., when in connection with other nouns. It has been held generally by grammarians, that such expressions have merely the force of superlatives. Thus in Col. ii, 19, αὐξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, has been interpreted to mean *the greatest increase;* in 2 Cor, i, 12, εν απλοτητι και ειλικρινεια θεου, has been rendered *perfect uprightness and sincerity.* It was also a principle laid down by Haub that Χριστος, when joined to another word, serves only to denote intensity; thus in 2 Cor. xi, 10, αληθεια Χριστου was rendered *undoubted truth.* This idiom was thought to have been derived from the Hebrew mode of expressing an intense form of the adjective by placing the noun in connection with one of the appellations of the Deity. It is a question, however, whether all the instances of the so-called superlatives in the New Testament are not capable of solution in another way. Col. ii, 19, may better be considered as *an increase, of which God is the author.* 2 Cor. i, 12, is more properly rendered, *that uprightness and sincerity*

* H. S. Boyd, who commences his Essay in such a confident tone as this: "It has now been completely proved and irrefragably established by the labors of learned men, that, independently of the common laws of syntax, the Greek prepositive article is governed by a very remarkable rule, to which it is universally subjected." Granville Sharp and Bishop Middleton were the first who brought this subject before the public. Their reputation as scholars, and the quotations by which they seemed to fortify their position, gave it an importance it could not otherwise have obtained.

which is pleasing to God; or which springs from his work in the heart. In accordance with the rule hitherto observed, the passage in Acts vii, 20, speaking of Moses as ἀστειος τῳ θεῳ, has been translated *exceeding fair;* but both the Arabic and Syriac versions render it, *beloved of God*, and thus confirm the principle advanced by our author.

As in every language the verb is the most important element of speech, so its elucidation is generally attended with the greatest number of difficulties; and this is especially the case in the Greek. In a language so highly cultivated, the verbal forms present a very artificial arrangement. It is important for a correct knowledge of the language, that the different relations which the verb sustains to the sentence be clearly exhibited. The relations of time are expressed in Greek in so many different ways, and there is such a frequent interchange of the tenses, that the interpreter of the New Testament needs an accurate and critical knowledge of the whole subject. For many forced and unsound interpretations have resulted from ignorance of the right use of the tenses. On these points our author has displayed his characteristic diligence, and the labor he has bestowed upon them will be appreciated by the Biblical scholar.

From the importance of the Greek particles we cannot close this brief notice of the work before us without alluding to our author's view of their explication and use. Certainly great importance should be attached to the meaning of the particles, and we should never consider them as redundant. Indeed, "the whole connection of a writer's thoughts, the method of his logic, the force of his argument or illustration, depend oftentimes on the manner in which the particles of the Greek language are rendered." Prepositions occupy an important place in all languages. They serve to denote the various relations of nouns, and, in many instances, they essentially modify the meaning of the verb. A knowledge, then, of the nature and use of the Greek prepositions is of great importance in an exegetical point of view. Look at the controversy which has been for so long a time carried on as to the proper mode of baptism. It has been asserted that the prepositions which are used in connection with Βαπτιζω necessarily make it mean *immerse*. This is not the place to enter into the merits of this controversy, nor is there need of it, for the subject has already been fully investigated.* There is another consideration connected with

* It is clearly, though briefly, set forth in "Hibbard on Baptism." The argument derived from the use of the prepositions, though not satisfactory on either side, is shown to be against immersion.

the use of the prepositions which has been too much neglected. We refer to their composition with verbs. Our author has devoted the proper attention to these. The whole subject has hitherto been but little noticed; yet when we consider that some of the grammatical peculiarities of the New Testament dialect consist in the use of the prepositions, it will appear that the critical study of them is an object of great importance to the Biblical student.

Believing that this work is calculated greatly to facilitate the study of the New Testament in the original, we commend it to the attention of all who would qualify themselves, in the best way, to understand the import of God's revealed will.

New-York.

ART. III.—*Lectures on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a systematic View of that Science.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1839.

PREVIOUSLY to the era of the Reformation little had been accomplished toward the emendation of the text of the New Testament. The labors of Hesychius and Lucian, in the third century, do not appear to have been favorably received; nor their recensions to have obtained any very general circulation. For the correctness of this statement we refer to the testimony of Jerome. Neither is it probable that Origen, who did so much to amend the text of the Old Testament, labored also in this field. The text, therefore, was handed down through every form and variety of manuscript, attracting comparatively little critical attention, until the revival of letters, and the dawn of Protestantism, led men to think for themselves, and especially to examine the original records of Christianity. The thirst for knowledge was at first partially satisfied with the reproduction of the standard works of classical authors, but after a while Biblical literature received its due share of attention. A well-known name stands first in order of time among Biblical critics. Erasmus, with that ingenuous love of truth which seeks satisfaction in original investigation, was led to the study of the Greek of the New Testament. This was to have been expected. A true scholar, like Erasmus, whatever value he might attach to the Latin version of Jerome, then as now, as is well known, the authorized version of the Roman Church, would seek for an intimate acquaintance with the original

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text. In this study, the first thing which claimed his attention was, Did the text give "the original words written by the inspired authors?" To satisfy himself on this point, he had recourse to such manuscripts as he could readily obtain, collating them, and deciding upon the various readings with that critical sagacity for which he was so eminently distinguished. In 1516 his edition of the Greek Testament made its appearance. The art of printing had not before this time been applied to any extent to the propagation of the word of God in the original language, "although there already existed several impressions of the Latin and also of the German Bible." Some small portions only of the Greek had then been printed.* It was reserved for Erasmus to give, through this almost divine invention, wings to truth, as the first editor of a complete printed edition of the original language of the New Testament. In the following year, from a novel and unexpected quarter, owing to the intelligent countenance of a most distinguished statesman, Cardinal Ximenes, the Complutensian Polyglot was completed, but not published until the year 1517. Thus almost simultaneously two different editions of the Greek Testament, without concert, and from very different sources, fixed their indelible impress upon the literary character of the age.

It is not to be supposed, however, that at this early period the materials of Biblical criticism were very numerous, or that the principles of the science were clearly defined and established. On the contrary, both Erasmus and the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot had access to but few manuscripts; and such as they had, they examined without reference to priority of time, or the superior value of one codex to another. Manuscript copies of the Old and New Testament did not then form a separate branch of study for the Biblical critic—the grand line of demarkation between ancient and modern copies had not then been so clearly drawn—the peculiarities of each had not then been detailed with that minute accuracy, that acute and sound discrimination, which has pretty satisfactorily affixed the relative value to the most important of these rare and valuable memorials of antiquity, and depositories of divine truth. The critic was left chiefly to the exercise of his own skill in the solution of various readings, without any settled data as a clew to guide him through the difficult labyrinth. Under these disadvantages did these critical scholars commence the cultivation

* In the year 1504 Aldus edited the first six chapters of John's Gospel. Before this time there probably existed nothing of the New Testament but Mary's song of praise, Luke i, 42–56, and Zachariah's, Luke i, 68–80.—*Hug's Introduction to New Testament*, p. 180.

of this untrodden field. Still, with all these disadvantages, the edition of the Greek text by Erasmus, and the one contained in the Spanish Polyglot, (vol. v,) or Bible of Alcala, form, in fact, the foundation of the *textus receptus* of the New Testament of the present day.

As this is a subject of peculiar interest and importance, we will dwell upon it a little longer. In the city library of Basil are still found two MSS., one containing the Gospels, the other, the Acts and the Epistles, with corrections in the handwriting of Erasmus. These MSS., according to Hug, are marked, Codex Basil, b. vi, 25, (this contains the Gospels,) and Codex Basil ix, (this contains the Acts and Epistles.) These two MSS., the Codices Basileenses,* as they are termed by Michaelis, were the basis of Erasmus's edition. The antiquity of the above Basil MSS. is not well ascertained. Wetstein places them in the tenth century. Griesbach assents to this opinion. As to the Apocalypse, Erasmus had but a solitary manuscript; and this was imperfect. In those places where the letters were faded and illegible, he supplied the deficiency by translating the Latin into Greek. It is due, however, to this scholar to say, that after the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot, he corrected his edition of 1527 by it, and especially the Apocalypse. In addition to the two principal Greek codices at Basil, there were also a few others in the library of the same city, (marked, Basil, vi, 17, and Basil, b. x, 20,) together with some Latin MSS., which Erasmus examined and collated. He, however, in his first edition, in all likelihood, chiefly followed the text of the two principal manuscripts, as the term of five months which he gave to this work was too short to admit of thorough collation and examination. In his subsequent editions (and he published five in his lifetime) he had time and opportunity, as well as increasing facilities and experience, to amend and improve his important work. After his death, numerous editions in different countries were published, chiefly, however, (with the exception of Robert Stephens's,) reprints of the original work. Erasmus printed his first edition, as we have seen, in 1516, his last in 1535.

The Greek text of the New Testament in the Alcala Bible, or Complutensian Polyglot, was taken from a MS. sent from the

* These are to be distinguished from the Codex Basileensis, b. vi, 21, noted by Dr. Mill, b. i, by Bengel, Bos *e*, by Wetstein and Griesbach, E. This MS. was not used by Erasmus; but was collated by Samuel Battier for Dr. Mill; by Iselin, for Bengel; and by Wetstein.—*Horne*, vol. ii, p. 104. Hug describes it at length; places it in the eighth century, giving for this very sufficient reasons.

Vatican Library at Rome for this purpose. This MS. was extolled at the time for its antiquity; but upon investigation it has been found that in those places where the text in modern Greek MSS. differs from ancient Greek MSS., the Complutensian Greek Testament invariably follows the more modern instead of the more ancient copies.* This evidence is regarded, and justly so, as conclusive, "that the Complutensian text was formed from modern MSS. alone." The most ancient and valuable of all MSS., the Codex Vaticanus, was not used in the preparation of this edition. From this survey, it must be allowed, that whatever critical value we attach to the two earliest editions of the New Testament, and, consequently, to the *textus receptus* mainly founded upon them, yet the amount of critical apparatus used in amending and settling the text was small in itself, as well as of inferior value to that which was afterward discovered; while, at the same time, as has been before observed, those critical canons by which the age and value of MSS. should be tested had not then been elucidated and defined. From what has been said, the almost superstitious reverence which has been thrown around the usual text will at once appear. Can we, under the circumstances, regard it as infallibly correct? Ought we to look with distrust upon critical emendations? On the contrary, does not the case call for critical scrutiny? While an intelligent candor and a spirit of inquiry should admit this, at the same time it is a source of deep satisfaction, as well as of devout acknowledgment to almighty God, that important variations in the text of the New Testament are comparatively few in number—that they, in numerous instances, are mistakes of caligraphy easily rectified, and that, to use the language of another, "although a number of mistakes have been committed by careless *copyists*, as well as by careless *printers*, not one *essential truth* of God has been *injured* or *suppressed*. In this respect, all is *perfect*; and the way of the Most High is made so plain, even in the poorest copies, that the wayfaring man, though a fool, utterly destitute of deep learning and critical abilities, need not err therein."†

* Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i, p. 95.

† Dr. A. Clarke's Introduction to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.

On this subject, from the same source, we append the following additional remarks:—"All the *omissions* of the ancient *manuscripts* put together would not countenance the *omission* of one *essential doctrine* of the gospel, relative to *faith* or *morals*; and all the ADDITIONS countenanced by the whole mass of MSS. already collated, do not introduce a single point *essential* either to *faith* or *manners*, beyond what may be found in the most imperfect editions, from

We will advert to but one point more in reference to the two earliest editions of the Greek Testament. This relates to the omission, on the part of Erasmus, of the well-known passage of 1 John v, 7, in his first and second editions, and the insertion of the same passage in the Alcala Bible. This occasioned a discussion between Erasmus and Stunica, the most distinguished of the Complutensian editors. The Rotterdam scholar challenged his opponent to show the passage in any Greek MS., engaging, if he did so, to insert it. This at the time he could not do. But, after a while the disputed passage was discovered in the Codex Britannicus, a codex "written about the fourteenth century,"* and of no great value.† Having afterward been found in one, though but one Greek manuscript,‡ in compliance with his promise, Erasmus inserted the passage in his third edition, writing on the margin the words, "To avoid calumny."

In connection, by the way, with the allusion just made to this much-disputed passage, we may observe, that Mr. Davidson adduces the evidence for and against its genuineness, putting it in the power of the reader to weigh for himself the testimony in the case. From an ample, and, at the same time, minute summary of the evidence thus impartially presented, the reader will most probably infer that the passage is spurious. The weight of authority altogether inclines the scale this way, as the passage is not actually found in any Greek MSS., until at least the fourteenth century, and in but two of this modern date. To this it may be added, that the passage is not once quoted by any Greek father of the church, and not even fully and unequivocally by Cyprian, Tertullian, and other Latin fathers.§ It is true, it is contained in the Vulgate, yet it is not found "in the most ancient MSS." of this version itself. But the reader is referred to Mr. Davidson's work

the Complutensian editors down to the Elzevirs. And though for the *beauty, emphasis*, and *critical* perfection of the *letter* of the New Testament, a *new edition* of the Greek Testament is greatly to be desired; yet from such a one *infidelity* can expect no help; *false doctrine* no support; and even *true religion* no accession to its excellence; though a few *beams* may be thus added to its lustre."

* Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 182. Hug assigns a greater age to this codex than either Bishop Marsh or Griesbach.

† This is the same as Codex Montfortianus or Montfortii. It is also called Dublinensis; and is the sixty-first of Griesbach. Archbishop Usher presented it to Trinity College, Dublin, in whose library it is preserved.

‡ This passage is also found in the Codex Ottobonianus.

§ Davidson's Biblical Criticism, p. 133.

for a full and explicit statement of the argument respecting the spuriousness or authenticity of this celebrated passage.*

But to proceed with our main topic. The text of Alcala and of Erasmus formed, as we have seen, a general basis for future editions. In many instances, either the one or the other was literally copied. But in the edition printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, in the year 1546, additional MSS. were collated, and the various readings noted in the margin. Theodore Beza, also, the pupil and successor of Calvin in the Geneva church, (though Calvin transmitted not to his hands the same absolute ecclesiastical authority as he himself had possessed,) collated for his edition the valuable codex now in the library of Cambridge University, (known as Codex Beza or Cantabrigiensis,) comparing, at the same time, the text with an Arabic and a Syriac version, these versions having happily fallen into his possession. Beza's critical labors, as well as Stephens's, were not without their results. Hug says of Beza, that he "gave a new character to the text." Not satisfied with marking his new readings on the margin, "he frequently inserted them." says Michaelis, "in the text." This is, we suppose, what Hug means when he says, Beza gave a new character to the text; and as the first Elzevir edition was printed from Beza's text, and as the Elzevir edition has served as a model for all succeeding imprints, hence, Hug calls Theodore Beza "the real author of the textus receptus." But as Bishop Marsh justly observes—in effect, if not in so many words—this praise is due in fact to the Alcala and Erasmian editions, these forming the foundation of all the rest.†

* We give this passage as it is in the received text, the Vulgate, and in Griesbach's edition. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατηρ, ὁ Λογος, καὶ το ἁγιον Πνευμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εισι καὶ τρεῖς εισιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ] το πνευμα, καὶ το ὑδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἱμα· καὶ τρεῖς το ἓν εἰσιν. The text in the Complutensian edition differs slightly from the above. The chief omission is the last clause of the eighth verse. Thus much for the received text. The Vulgate reads thus:—Ver. 7. "Quoniam tresunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo: pater verbum, Et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. 8. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt." Griesbach, omitting the part included in brackets in the received text, reads the verse as follows:—Ver. 7. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ το ὑδωρ, καὶ το αἱμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς το ἓν εἰσιν.

† The following are Bishop Marsh's own words:—"The person who conducted the Elzevir edition (for Elzevir was only the printer) is at present unknown; but, whoever he was, his critical exertions were confined within a narrow compass. The text of this edition was copied from Beza's text, except in about fifty places; and in those places the readings were borrowed

We now approach the dawn of a new era in Biblical criticism. The London Polyglot was the herald of this new era; for the text of the New Testament in the Paris Polyglot, previously published, was not especially distinguishable from the editions which preceded it. But Bishop Walton in preparing the text of the New Testament for the London Polyglot had the aid of the celebrated Alexandrine MS.,* (codex a,) and, under the text, introduced some of its readings. The numerous readings disclosed by this work (we speak now especially of the New Testament) "disturbed," it is said, "the minds of many." To remove these fears, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, engaged deeply and extensively in the work of collation, printing the various readings *under* the text, thus giving at a glance ocular demonstration of the general unimpeachable integrity of the text. But chiefly is the science of Biblical criticism indebted to the venerable bishop from the circumstance, "that he incited Mill to employ his talents upon the New Testament, constantly animated his perseverance and energy, and afforded him his own efficient aid; that he did all that was in his power to cast his own work into the back-ground, and to cause himself to be surpassed by another, that science might be the gainer." The publication of this indefatigable critic's edition of the New Testament in the year 1707, after the labor of thirty years, "gave rise" indeed "to a new and better era in criticism." The general canon introduced by Mill into the science of Biblical criticism as applied to the original text of the New Testament, and which he educed from his close study and intimate acquaintance with MSS., was simple in itself, and such as one would think would readily present itself to the mind. It was to give to a various reading the greater or the less authority not so much in proportion to the number of manuscripts in which it was contained, as to the antiquity and intrinsic excellence of different manuscripts. Even Mill himself, in the commencement of his critical labors, had not adopted this rule as

partly from the various readings in Stephens's margin, partly from other editions, but certainly not from Greek MSS. The *textus receptus*, therefore, or the text in common use, was copied, with a few exceptions, from the text of Beza. Beza himself closely followed Stephens; and Stephens (namely, in his third and chief edition) copied solely from the fifth edition of Erasmus, except in the Revelation, where he followed sometimes Erasmus, sometimes the Complutensian edition. The text therefore in daily use resolves itself at last into the Complutensian and the Erasmian editions."—*Bishop Marsh's Lectures*, part i, p. 110.

* "A fac-simile of this codex has been published, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, precisely as in the original."—*Horne*, vol. ii, p. 77.

We now approach the dawn of a new era in Biblical criticism. The London Polyglot was the herald of this new era; for the text of the New Testament in the Paris Polyglot, previously published, was not especially distinguishable from the editions which preceded it. But Bishop Walton in preparing the text of the New Testament for the London Polyglot had the aid of the celebrated Alexandrine MS.,* (codex a,) and, under the text, introduced some of its readings. The numerous readings disclosed by this work (we speak now especially of the New Testament) "disturbed," it is said, "the minds of many." To remove these fears, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, engaged deeply and extensively in the work of collation, printing the various readings *under* the text, thus giving at a glance ocular demonstration of the general unimpeachable integrity of the text. But chiefly is the science of Biblical criticism indebted to the venerable bishop from the circumstance "that he incited Mill to employ his talents upon the New Testament, constantly animated his perseverance and energy, and afforded him his own efficient aid; that he did all that was in his power to cast his own work into the back-ground, and to cause himself to be surpassed by another, that science might be the gainer." The publication of this indefatigable critic's edition of the New Testament in the year 1707, after the labor of thirty years, "gave rise" indeed "to a new and better era in criticism." The general canon introduced by Mill into the science of Biblical criticism as applied to the original text of the New Testament, and which he educed from his close study and intimate acquaintance with MSS., was simple in itself, and such as one would think would readily present itself to the mind. It was to give to a various reading the greater or the less authority not so much in proportion to the number of manuscripts in which it was contained, as to the antiquity and intrinsic excellence of different manuscripts. Even Mill himself, in the commencement of his critical labors, had not adopted this rule as

partly from the various readings in Stephens's margin, partly from other editions, but certainly not from Greek MSS. The *textus receptus*, therefore, or the text in common use, was copied, with a few exceptions, from the text of Beza. Beza himself closely followed Stephens; and Stephens (namely, in his third and chief edition) copied solely from the fifth edition of Erasmus, except in the Revelation, where he followed sometimes Erasmus, sometimes the Complutensian edition. The text therefore in daily use resolves itself at last into the Complutensian and the Erasmian editions."—*Bishop Marsh's Lectures*, part i, p. 110.

* "A fac-simile of this codex has been published, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, precisely as in the original."—*Horne*, vol. ii, p. 77.

a guide. With his predecessors, according to Bengelius, he "at first formed his judgment upon the numbers rather than the merits of the MSS." So slow is the progress of real knowledge; and with so much difficulty do we attain important truths. Yet these truths once attained, we are often surprised that they were not discovered before, so essential do they seem of themselves, and so simple and easy of attainment. Mill, having at length found one general rule, so just in itself, and its application of so great importance in ascertaining and fixing the text, at once found that it involved a new branch of knowledge. This was not merely the collation of readings, but the examination of manuscript as such. The peculiarities of different manuscripts now underwent the most rigid scrutiny. All those marks which indicate the age of MSS., (of which a general and leading one, among various others, is, those written before the invention of stichometry by Euthalius, and those after,) the greater or the less accuracy with which they are written, and the place and country whence they originated, were now described; and each codex accordingly classed. The places also where MSS. were deposited were mentioned, and also the numbers which designated them in particular libraries. Over and above all this, Mill, says Hug, "not only collated them here and there, but in general made a continued collation of them from beginning to end."

The materials of Biblical criticism had also at this time greatly accumulated. Mill made diligent use of all the treasures of the science within his reach. Numerous were the MSS. he himself collated. He examined also "nearly all the ancient versions, and the citations of the fathers of the church." Not satisfied with this, he "procured the collation of foreign MSS. by the hands of others." He himself, by his familiarity with MSS., became eminently fitted to judge of their merits, "having acquired a peculiar sagacity in detecting additions, interpolations, and suspicious alterations, by which his decision was often happily directed." Thus through the rare and commendable diligence of one man—by the critical sagacity which he displayed—was a deep and broad foundation laid for the study of Biblical criticism. The student had not now merely the marginal readings to consult, he was not left to reap simply the effects of the labors of others, ignorant of the ground on which their decision was based, but he was directed to the sources of all these readings; he was made acquainted with the general rule or principle by which the value of different readings was tested; and could himself form, if not from the personal inspection of manuscripts, from the very minute and exact specification of the

peculiarities of all and each, a judgment of his own respecting their various degrees of excellence and importance. Here there was certainly a perceptible advancement in the science. With great justice, therefore, may Michaelis say that "Dr. Mill has acquired lasting honor by his edition of the New Testament as long as the words of Christ and his apostles are revered by men of learning and sense."

We proceed to another development of the science, which deserves notice, rather for the ingenuity and talent which it has elicited, and the labor which has been bestowed upon it, than for its solidity. We refer to the classification of Greek MSS. This new arrangement of manuscript, strictly speaking, commenced with Griesbach, though Bengel, "the first of the Germans who gained honor in this department of learning," first "faintly perceived" the idea, afterward so fully developed by Griesbach, and on which his critical system was built. Griesbach, following Bengel's original suggestion, discovered, or thought he discovered, "certain characteristics continuing tolerably alike throughout," belonging to certain MSS., and as these peculiarities prevailed, he classed or arranged them under three general heads, the Alexandrine, Occidental, and Byzantine, or Constantinopolitan recensions. The name of the Alexandrine betokens its origin, and the particular region where it circulated. The Western circulated more especially in Africa, Gaul, Italy, and indeed through the west of Europe. The Byzantine was chiefly used at Constantinople and the neighboring provinces. The readings peculiar to the Alexandrine recension are found, as Griesbach thinks, in the quotations of the early fathers of the Alexandrine church, especially Origen and Clement. So strongly marked did he imagine these to be that he represented the quotations of these fathers "as exhibiting a text differing in its whole habit and its entire coloring" from the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian, taken, as this critic supposed, from the Occidental recension. Matthæi in Germany, and Archbishop Laurence in England, both objected to the distinction; and the latter especially showed not only that the statement was exaggerated, "but that it was the very reverse of the truth:"* Archbishop Laurence made it appear by actual collation and comparison in numerous instances, not only that there was no material variation in the quotations of the Alexandrine and Western fathers, but that those of Clement and Origen actually bore a nearer resemblance to those of Tertullian and Cyprian, "than they did with those of the later Alexandrine fathers, Athanasius and Cyril."†

* Ed. Rev., 1840. † Ibid.

This was so evident that in an examination of two hundred and twenty-six quotations of Origen "one hundred and eighteen were found to be supported by Western authority alone, ninety by both Western and Alexandrine, and only eighteen by Alexandrine alone."* A conclusion based on such ground as this could not but seriously affect a most important part of Griesbach's ingenious but really fanciful theory; a theory which, though adopted at one time by Eichorn, was afterward relinquished by him as untenable, he himself pronouncing "the existence of two very early recensions, an Alexandrine and a Western, to be a dream unsupported by history."†

Hug, feeling the force of the objections to Griesbach's system, proposed a modification of it. It consisted in this:—He gave up the idea of any recension at the early period specified by Griesbach, substituting in its place one general text, called by him *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*, universally adopted, and spread abroad in all directions. This having become much corrupted, he supposes that Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen, prepared three distinct, independent recensions. That of Hesychius, circulating in Egypt, corresponded to the Alexandrine and Occidental recensions; (Hug yielding to the argument of Archbishop Laurence that there existed no material difference between the Western and Alexandrine recensions;) that of Lucian circulating northward, and corresponding to the Byzantine of Griesbach; while that of Origen was generally received in Palestine. This last, the Palestine edition, is regarded as an "excrescence" in Hug's system, there existing no good evidence of Origen's critical labors extending to the text of the New Testament. Setting aside, then, the Palestine recension, we have, according to Hug's theory, two manuscript recensions of the text of the New Testament, the Alexandrine and the Byzantine, springing from an emendation of the common text in the latter part of the third century, through the labors of Hesychius and Lucian. These editions, in their several fields of circulation, Hug supposes obtained such general, and indeed universal currency, as to supersede the common text, the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*. While, therefore, Hug agrees with Griesbach in the main as to the classification of Greek MSS., he differs with him chiefly as to the time when the recensions were made. The solidity, then, of Hug's system, as well as Griesbach's, depends upon his classification. So far, then, as "his classification is erroneous, is the critical system to which it led him." As this is still debateable ground, his critical deductions, so far as they are based upon his system, will be regarded either

* Ed. Rev., 1840. † Vol. iv, p. 273.

as sound or fallacious, according to the estimation in which the system itself is held. To discuss the merits of the system is not our present object, except so far as a general opinion may be given on the whole subject. This will appear, as far as it is proper for us to give it, before we close our remarks on the text of the New Testament. We will now notice what has been called the rival system of Scholz and Rink.

The system of Scholz, to a considerable extent, is opposed to that of Hug. While he "adopts, in a great measure, the statements made by Hug respecting the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*," he thinks that the Alexandrine recension "possessed no such authority as to cause it to supersede the unrevised text;" that it was, "in fact, nothing more than a variety of the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*." It may have met with greater acceptance than any other single variety of it; but the copies which conformed to it were probably a very small part of the copies transcribed after it was made.* Weakening thus the authority of the Alexandrine recension, Scholz has something in reserve. He would build the text upon the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan MSS., a class of MSS. remarkable for the uniformity of its text, and which, as is thought, at least by some, from plainly marked peculiarities or characteristics, "constitute a family, or recension, essentially distinguished from the Alexandrine." Scholz thus reduces all MSS. of the text to two great families, the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan—differing from Griesbach in giving a decided preference to the Constantinopolitan text (though the younger of the two, which we acknowledge does not necessarily make against its superior authority) before the Alexandrine. The preference, however, which Scholz and also Matthæi give to the Constantinopolitan text, is not supposed to rest on a sufficiently solid foundation. Griesbach prefers the Alexandrine; as does also Mr. Davidson. The Edinburgh Review, so often alluded to by us, (and the unknown writer is as candid, close, and comprehensive a critic, as he is thoroughly conversant with this intricate branch of Biblical science,) says, "That with respect to the

* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840. On this point, from the same source, we add the following remarks:—"That the recension of Hesychius did not supersede the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*, even in Alexandria, is at once apparent from an undeniable fact. The stichometrical division of the text was invented at Alexandria by Euthalius, in the latter half of the fifth century, and, of course, long posterior to the time of Hesychius; yet the principal MSS. of the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*, which are known to us, the Cambridge, Laudian, and Clermont ones, are all stichometrically arranged; and so, too, was that from which the Boernerian MS., another of the same class, was copied, as Hug himself has remarked."

Constantinopolitan MSS. we do not think that Scholz has established his position."

Amid such conflicting opinions on the subject of classification, requiring, as the system does, "a very delicate acumen to perceive more than two great classes, and, after all, leaving a good deal to the imagination,"* it is not surprising that with many the whole theory of classification is falling into disrepute; so much so, indeed, that Davidson remarks, that "we would not much marvel if the prevailing sentiments on this subject be in a few years those now entertained by Dr. Lee and Mr. Penn, who have spoken of it as one of speculation, or rather of nihility. Its intricacy and obscurity may afterward lead the majority of critics to cast it aside as unworthy of their sober regard. The classes are so much blended, that it becomes a matter of difficulty to disentangle them in particular instances. Hence its subtilty and minuteness may lead scholars to view it as utterly futile. There is a presumption in favor of such a result."†

As to Griesbach's original system of classification, such has already been the result. On this point the Edinburgh Review thus speaks:—"Many of the corrections which Griesbach made in the text were, no doubt, sound; they were such as any critical editor must have made; but a large proportion of them were of a different description; the sole ground for them was his theory of recensions. These corrections must now be considered as having lost all their authority; and as Griesbach made no distinction between them and the others, his decision, that a reading is right or wrong, can no longer be relied on. We must look to his authorities, and draw our own conclusion in each particular case."‡

Should the views of Dr. Lee prevail—and so far as we are prepared to express an opinion on the subject they form the most substantial foundation for real advancement in Biblical criticism—the genuineness of a reading would depend not upon "the authority of the most ancient MS.," that is, the Alexandrine; not upon "a preference given to the Constantinopolitan text;" but upon "the critical goodness of rival readings"—a method of criticism "particularly requiring sound judgment and nice tact." Here our limits, and the course we have marked out for ourselves in the present article, require us to conclude this portion of our subject. We pass now to notice, briefly, the state of the Hebrew text.

In the criticism of the Old and the New Testament, a marked difference (according to some) is to be observed in the mode of ascertaining and establishing the genuine text. In the former case,

* Davidson, p. 237. † See p. 239. ‡ Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840.

the sources whence a correct text is to be obtained are manuscript versions and quotations from the fathers. This authority is paramount. The internal probability of one reading rather than another is only taken into account when it is at the same time accompanied with at least an equal amount of external authority. The evidence, "the goodness and number of MSS.," is all and in all. Conjectural criticism is rarely, if ever, allowed. But when the text of the Old Testament is taken into consideration, instances occur where the very *exigency* of the case requires the aid to be derived from conjecture. The following instance will illustrate this point:—"In 1 Chron. vi, 28, the sons of Samuel are said to be 'the first-born, and the second, and Abiah;' we merely substitute for the Hebrew word רִאשׁוֹן its English equivalent. This Hebrew word is quite as unlikely to be a proper name, as its translation into English would be; and, besides, we are elsewhere told that the sons of Samuel were Joel and Abiah. Can we hesitate, then, to pronounce that the genuine reading in this place was, 'the first-born, Joel, and the second, Abiah?' A careless transcriber allowed the word 'Joel' to drop from the text; and a stupid reviser inserted between the two remaining words the conjunction, which he supposed to be wanting. Neither MS. nor version favors the proposed reading; it is a *conjecture*, and, as such, would be unceremoniously rejected by many. It is, however, absolutely required in order to reconcile the passage with the other texts where the eldest son of Samuel is named."*

The exigency arising from parallel passages is equally strong with that just referred to. There are extended passages—as in the book of Chronicles—evidently copied, if not verbatim, yet so that the same facts are substantially stated, "from the earlier historical books." In such a case as this, could any one doubt for an instant if the accounts clashed directly with each other, but that the exigency required, even in the absence of MSS. or version, that they should be made to harmonize?

Instances where conjectural criticism is required are not solitary, rare exceptions. "In a vast number of cases, the internal probability of one reading is so much greater than that of another, that a very slight degree of external probability will suffice to give the latter reading a decided preponderance."† The same able writer, taking wholly different ground on this point from Mr. Davidson, who entirely disclaims conjectural criticism, makes the following additional remarks:—"Generally in the New Testament, where there is an internal probability for preferring a new reading to that

* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1842. † Ibid.

which is generally received, the choice is between a good reading and a better. In the Old Testament it is often very different. In numbers of instances the received reading is such as we cannot conceive it possible that the sacred penman could have written; it bears on the face of it some evident marks of corruption. In such cases we anxiously search the MSS. and ancient versions, in hopes of finding there some trace of a different reading; and very frequently we are not disappointed: some one or more of these documents contains a reading which satisfies the exigency that we have observed to exist, and which, at the same time, might easily have been corrupted into the received reading. The amount of external evidence in favor of a reading like this, is of little importance. A single version may be conclusive. Nay, the exigency may be so strong, that a reading, which will meet it in a satisfactory manner, may have irresistible claims to be received into the text of a critical edition, though sanctioned by no existing MSS. or version."*

While, then, an absolute necessity appears to us to exist for the aid which the judicious application of conjectural criticism may afford in the emendation of the text of the Old Testament, it is equally clear that this liberty ought not to be taken but with the greatest prudence. Especially ought theological exigencies to be reprobated. Well has it been said, that "the object of criticising the sacred text is to ascertain how it was originally written, with a view to take that as the rule of our faith and practice. It would be obviously absurd to reverse this process, and to set out with assuming the existence of a necessity for molding the text to a conformity with our preconceived notions."† This, however, has been freely done. "Conjectures have been obtruded into the text to support doctrines which have no foundation whatever in the sacred writings."‡ A due regard to divine authority will serve as a sufficient check to the conscientious critic against such an unwarrantable freedom with the sacred text as this; a freedom which however tolerated when applied to the revision of the text of classical authors, would be unpardonable license when applied to the sacred Scriptures.

But while the necessity of the emendation of the text of the Old Testament is admitted, (though with more caution by some than by others,) still, as a whole, its general correctness is wonderful. This has been made sufficiently evident by the learned and untiring labors of distinguished critical scholars, among which

* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840. † Ibid.

‡ Horne's Introduction, vol. ii, p. 346, § 1, chap. viii.

illustrious list stand with special eminence Kennicott and De Rossi. But the integrity of the Hebrew text will more fully appear from the following brief account of its past and present condition.

Take the text then, first, as we find it, as is generally agreed, after its perfect revision by Ezra. It is now complete. This is the first stage of its eventful history.

From the establishment of the canon of the Old Testament by Ezra to the completion of the Talmud, about the commencement of the sixth century after Christ, may be regarded as the second period in the history of the Hebrew text. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan comport with the revised text of Ezra; as do also, to a considerable extent, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The Vulgate of Jerome, made in the fourth century, prepared by the labors of Jewish teachers, and the aid of Jewish MSS., exhibits also "a remarkable conformity to the Jewish recension, which we now possess."* The agreement of all which versions, through this long period of time, is collateral evidence, of the strongest character, of the purity of the Hebrew text. And though it is acknowledged that the memorials of the text are comparatively few, and scattered at intervals through a long space of time, yet the inference is highly probable, that, during those intervals when we have no specific records of the text, it "remaineth pretty nearly in the same condition."

In addition to the evidence in favor of the integrity of the Hebrew text derived from its conformity to the most ancient and valuable versions, there is reason to think from what we find in the two Gemaras, that something akin to the critical skill, for which the later school of Tiberias was so distinguished, was expended at a much earlier period upon the text, showing the pains thus immemorially bestowed upon it. In addition to the "many traces of a critical skill" which are found in these works, and are generally supposed to have been peculiar to the schools of Tiberias and Babylon, there are also found in the same works "certain kinds of critical corrections which were begun at a much earlier period, (that is, before the fourth and sixth centuries, the respective dates of the two Gemaras,) and were said to be originally derived from Moses." These traces of early, careful revision, are, 1. The removal of the prefix *vau*, erroneously put before several words in the passages, Gen. xviii, 5; xxiv, 55; Num. xii, 14; Psa. xviii, 26, 36, 37. 2. The correction of sixteen or eighteen passages, by

* Davidson's Bib. Crit., p. 214. See *in loco* for a fuller account of what is here condensed.

removing interpolated orthographical mistakes. Among these, Gen. xviii, 22; 1 Sam. iii, 13. 3. *Puncta extraordinaria*, marks of rejection, over fifteen words. 4. Readings not in the text, but which should be there. 5. Readings inserted, but which should be omitted. 6. Different readings. All this care, thus early bestowed upon the text, of course confirms its integrity.

The third period of the history of the text includes the space from the completion of the Talmud to the invention of printing. At Tiberias, strictly speaking, commences the Masoretic era. The Keris, or marginal readings, which are critical, grammatical, orthographical, explanatory, and euphemistical, constitute the most essential part of the labors of the Masorah. Biblical calligraphy, numbering the letters, the introduction of unusual letters, the selection of *voces honestiores*, also more especially belong to this period. The vowel system, it is also generally conceded, was now introduced. Amid all this varied and minute labor the purity of the text was the truly important object which the Masorites sought to attain. These annotations and rules were regarded as "the hedge of the law;" and though much of the labor of the Masorites may be esteemed "trifling and puerile," yet, on the whole, it is allowed to "have been of essential use in maintaining for so long a period the genuineness and integrity of the Hebrew text."

We come now to the printed text. The Hebrew MSS. now found, bearing, as they do, through their vowels and accents, the marks of Masoretic labor, have no claim to remote antiquity. The most ancient is not more than eight hundred years old. Of these comparatively modern MSS. the text was printed,* though it is not known what particular MSS. were employed for the first printed editions. Of the earliest editions of the Hebrew printed text three are specified, from which all the rest have proceeded. The first was published at Sancino in 1488; the second was that in the Complutensian Polyglot, published in 1517; and the third was the Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1525. From this last "almost all our modern printed copies have been taken." Among these various editions, Van der Hooght's, published in Amsterdam in 1705, is particularly "celebrated for its beauty and

* "Although the ancient copies are now irrecoverably lost, yet there is no reason for supposing that their preservation to the present time would have had any essential influence in altering the form of the text. It is almost certain that the later copies contain the same text as the more ancient, and that no important changes have passed upon the words of holy writ."—See *Davidson's Bib. Crit.*, p. 220.

convenience." This edition, revised by Hahn, "who has merely corrected the mistakes of Van der Hooght's text," is now regarded as the *textus receptus*. It has received the sanction of Simonis, Rosenmüller, Judah d'Allemand, and Haas. It is "in all respects the cheapest and the most accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible."

This detail, though brief, is sufficient for our present purpose. It would not, however, be proper to close this statement of the Hebrew text without a more particular reference to the labors of Kennicott and De Rossi. The edition of Kennicott, based on Van der Hooght's, appeared in two volumes, folio, the first in 1776, the second in 1780. Dr. Kennicott, in preparing his edition, collated, in connection with those who were associated with him in this work, six hundred and ninety-four MSS. "A number of printed editions were also examined, and various readings selected from them." He has also given quotations from the Talmud, as the critics of the New Testament did from the fathers of the church. But all this immense labor only showed the general integrity of the text. Of all his various readings, the greater number were "the mere *lapsus* of transcribers." To the above we would merely add, in reference to the edition of De Rossi, published in the years 1784–88, that his readings were taken from eighty-eight MSS. used by Kennicott, and collated anew by De Rossi, from four hundred and seventy-nine in his own possession, from one hundred and ten in other hands, besides what he derived from printed editions, Samaritan MSS., and ancient versions. But the critical result was pretty much the same, though De Rossi is said to have "displayed a better judgment" than Kennicott in the use he made of his materials.

The sum of all this is thus stated by Mr. Davidson:—

"Thus it appears that nearly thirteen hundred MSS. of the Old Testament Scriptures have been collated. We are not to suppose, however, that they all contain the entire of the Old Testament. Few, in fact, embrace all the books, as the MSS. of Dresden (Codex Dresdensis) and the MSS. of Norimberg 1. Some have the Pentateuch, either by itself, or with the Megilloth and Haphtaroth—others have the prophets; others, again, the Hagiographa; some have only one book, such as the Psalms, or Esther, or Canticles. A few possess merely the Haphtaroth.

"The labor expended on such critical editions as we have mentioned is not to be regarded as thrown away, because they exhibit so few essential variations in the text. A knowledge of the agreement of all known MSS. and versions is perhaps sufficient to compensate for all the toil and expense that have been employed. The Masoretic text appears to be, in general, so correct that we need not expect the

future appearance of many important deviations from it. It has been found that the older the versions of the Old Testament, and the purer their state, the nearer they come to the Jewish text. Still we believe that there are passages requiring emendation, though they cannot be numerous. In the mean time, we must wait for other undertakings in Hebrew criticism similar to Kennicott's. The criticism of the Greek Testament is still before that of the Hebrew Bible, having been earlier begun, and more vigorously prosecuted."—P. 225.

Having thus made some remarks based upon the work at the head of this article, it remains for us to give our opinion upon the work which has elicited them. It is what it professes to be, a systematic treatise on the science of Biblical criticism; and is undoubtedly the best work extant on this subject. It treats in a sufficiently full and comprehensive manner all the various topics connected with the science. Among these may be mentioned (not, however, following the arrangement of the author) the nature of the Hebrew and the Greek languages; the history of the text both of the Old and the New Testament; an account of MSS., versions, and citations, from the works of ancient writers, including those found in the writings of the fathers, as also in the Talmud; the causes of various readings; an examination of certain disputed passages in the received text of the New Testament, besides other collateral disquisitions incidentally introduced, especially an elaborate defense of Bishop Middleton's views of the Greek article. The entire ground is covered. We would, however, especially direct the attention of the reader to the chapter on the nature of the Hebrew language, "the most labored and original part of the work"—and to that on the language of the New Testament, explaining, as it does, in a clear, concise, and highly satisfactory manner, the three principal parts—the *κοινη*, or common, the Jewish, and the Christian, or ecclesiastical—of which it is composed. The examination of the disputed passages is worthy of especial commendation, on account of the impartiality which is exhibited. As the result of this examination it appears that, of "eight passages alledged to be interpolations, and after a full statement of the evidence for and against them, a decision is given in favor of all, except the doxology in Matt. vi, 13, and the well-known text, 1 John v, 7, relating to the 'heavenly witnesses;' while of texts, in which the correct reading is disputed, the author only notices the two celebrated ones, Acts xx, 28, and 1 Tim. iii, 16, deciding in the former case in favor of *κυριου*, and in the latter in favor of *θεος*."*

* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840.

The only real deficiency in the work is the part which relates to the account of MSS., which is neither sufficiently full nor minute in its details to meet the wants of those who have not access to other means of information relating to this interesting branch of the science. Perhaps, also, the arrangement might have been improved by a more natural evolution of the different subjects, one topic more readily leading to, and suggesting another. As a whole, it is indeed a work of great value to the Biblical student; enriched, as it is, with the latest investigations of German authors. As it has not been reprinted in this country, we think our publishing agents would confer an essential service to the cause of Biblical science if, with perhaps some alteration and additions, they should issue it from their press.

ART. IV.—*Psychology; or, Elements of a New System of Mental Philosophy, on the Basis of Consciousness and Common Sense, designed for Colleges and Academies.* By S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. 8vo., pp. 227. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

IT is a well-known saying of Lord Bacon that "in the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise:" and if there is in this remark any portion of the sound judgment and the wisdom which are characteristics of its author, is there not reason to fear that we have leaped over the previous stages, and are already far advanced in our decline? The age in which our lot is cast may well be called an age of materialism. Millions are eagerly expended on railroads and steam-engines; mechanical improvements succeed each other with unparalleled rapidity; the very elements are almost under man's control; he can bid defiance to winds and waves, soar aloft through the vast plains of ether, and yoke the winged lightning to his car, yet he himself remains the same poor insect, the same slave of his wild passions, the same wretched sport of the powers of evil that he has ever been. While all around him has been pressing onward, he continues stationary; while all around him is daily improving, he is still unchanged. The melancholy fact will hardly be questioned; and what cause can be assigned,

but that, in these latter years, attention has been almost exclusively directed to mechanical philosophy in some or other of its various forms? Without wishing to deny, what is indeed undeniable, that this philosophy has added in many ways to the sum of human well-being, and even prolonged the duration of man's earthly existence, we must not close our eyes to the fact that its influence is confined to this brief life and this material world; and it cannot surely be right that such transitory things should occupy the whole or the principal attention of beings endowed with immortality. Yet so it is: while our steam-presses pant with their gigantic efforts to keep pace with the rapid pens of the concoctors of diluted treatises on all the material sciences, how often do we meet with an original work aiming to investigate the hidden mansions of the mind of man? Thousands of telescopes are pointed to the heaven above, and thousands of mineralogical hammers tearing the bowels of the earth beneath; exploring expeditions turn their learned prows to every point of the mariner's card, but the microcosm within remains unexplored, a vast howling wilderness.

This sore evil appears to us to have arisen from the confounding of two things which have no natural or necessary connection; the external conveniences and comforts of society, as a whole, with the advancement in wisdom and virtue of the individuals who constitute society. What boots it for a man to know the construction of the steam-engine, unless the knowledge enable him to travel with greater safety or comfort in steamboats or railway-cars, or supply him more plentifully with the productions of the power-looms of Lowell or Manchester? An idea has gone abroad that children's minds must be vastly enlarged, and their wits wonderfully sharpened, by their being taught to trace the ascent and descent of the piston-rod, and the influence of the governor. Could we believe this idea well-founded we would readily acknowledge the study to have its use, albeit we cannot overlook the counter influence of the sickening vanity which this semblance of knowledge rarely fails to inspire: but we are by no means convinced that the passive reception of such information is much calculated to benefit the head; it will not be so much as pretended that it will improve the heart.

It should awaken some misgivings as to the correctness of modern theories of education to reflect that Plato, whose gigantic intellect has been the admiration of two thousand years, possessed less of scientific knowledge than many a modern belle, who bores her acquaintance to death with the merciless display of her vast stores of erudition; who prates everlastingly of oxygen and car-

bonic acid gas, who feculates her ruffles, and in whose learned mouth a king-cup becomes a ranunculus, a dandelion a leontodon, and a sow-thistle a sonchus.

The Novum Organon of Bacon banished from the world much error in natural philosophy; but it offered nothing that could take the place of the old scholastic philosophy in sharpening men's wits, or in exercising and improving their intellects; and so long as it shall be true that man is possessed of powers which elevate him immeasurably above the brute creation, so long will it be also true that it should be the aim of education to improve principally (not exclusively) those powers of the man which constitute his distinctive existence; which make him *man*, not *brute*. But popular education has dwindled down from the right formation of the whole man to the mere imbibition of knowledge; and this too, in many instances, knowledge which can be of no possible utility; which adds nothing even to the external well-being of the individual, while the immortal mind is suffered to be paralyzed from inactivity.

Could we evoke the mighty shade of Plato, and make the groves of Academus once again resound with his enchanting eloquence, or reawaken the echoes of the lyceum to the esoteric wisdom of his great disciple, who sat a patient auditor at his gifted master's feet for twenty years, before he thought himself fitted to instruct, we might, perchance, form a juster conception of the proper object of philosophy, (*the love of wisdom*,) and pause before we applied the name to the mechanical occupations of the chimist, with his blow-pipe and retorts, or of the bold impaler of butterflies on pins. We wish it to be clearly understood that we do not undervalue the investigations of the chimist or the entomologist: far from it: the physical sciences are all useful in their proper subordinate sphere—*me prius scrutor, deinde hunc mundum*—but we protest against such comparative trifles being suffered to usurp the place of that higher, nobler, better philosophy, whose prerogative it is to form the man; to fit him to discharge his duty here, and prepare him for heaven hereafter. The study (if study it is to be called) of the physical sciences has a tendency to puff up poor humanity with the vain idea of the vast extent of man's little knowledge and man's little power; and much of the presumption which is a melancholy characteristic of the present age, is assuredly to be attributed to the unfortunate influence of the employments of the school-room.

Deeply impressed with this vital error in the education of youth, we hail the appearance of the work named at the head of this article as one step toward remedying the evil; and the rather

because there was ground for apprehension that, as the effects of the error we have referred to should force themselves on the attention of the world, attempts would be made to remedy it by the introduction of the unhallowed philosophy of Germany, and so the last error should be worst than the first; for if we must make a melancholy choice between ignorance and presumption on the one hand, and pantheistic infidelity on the other, no Christian could for an instant hesitate which to prefer. Great is the reputation of German writers on metaphysics, though happily their works are but little known in this country. Kant and Schelling, and the two Fichtes and Hegel, have all written voluminously, and dignified their wild profanity (drawn partly from the *agri insomnia vana* of the ancient Gnostics, and partly from the daring speculations of Giordano Bruno and the pantheists) with the sacred name of philosophy. For the true character of this portentous philosophy we cannot do better than refer the reader to the able articles which appeared two years ago in the Princeton Review; and we are confident no friend of his country could read those articles and not shudder at the thought of introducing German philosophy into our schools and colleges.

The work before us is not a mere rifocciamento of old systems, *crambe bis repetita*, but in all essential respects entirely original, yet it were no recommendation of it to say that all in it is new. The plan the writer adopted, as stated in his preface, appears to us unexceptionable. After having made himself well acquainted with the principal systems of mental philosophy extant, he laid them all aside, and for ten years narrowly observed the phenomena of his own mind, and recorded them in the volume he has given to the world. For his patient perseverance in such a course in these days of flimsy compilations, we should owe our thanks to the author, even were the system he has laid down less intrinsically valuable than we believe it to be.

We have, then, in the volume a rigid analysis of an individual mind, somewhat after the manner of Locke, but with a different classification of the mental phenomena; for, while Locke divided ideas into simple and compound, Dr. Schmucker proposes a threefold arrangement, into, I. Cognitive ideas; II. Sentient ideas; III. Active operations; that is, knowledge, feeling, and action: thus substantially agreeing with the majority of recent writers in the number and designation of the mental operations, (not *faculties*, for of these we can have no immediate knowledge,) but differing from most in the order of the classes, the lines of division, and the subdivisions under the classes.

The first class (cognitive ideas) is made to include perceptions, acts of consciousness, conceptions, judgments, recollections, results of reasoning, and the dictates of conscience.

The second class (sentient ideas) comprehends sensations, emotions, affections, and passions.

The third, or active class, volitions, processes of reasoning, the act of memorizing, the intellectual act of communicating thoughts to others, &c.

The treatise, therefore, is naturally divided into three parts, corresponding to these several classes of mental operations.

Cognitive ideas are treated of under three heads: I. The external entities, or objects of knowledge; II. The ideas themselves, or mental representations of the entities; III. The organic process by which we obtain our ideas; and in the conduct of these several investigations many highly interesting considerations are suggested, for which we must refer to the work itself: we think, however, that the doctor might well have omitted the argument, brief as it is, to prove the existence of external entities, that is, of the material world. We hold, with Reid, that he who could really doubt it, would be a subject for physic, and not metaphysics: all argument with such a man is idle. Any one, who was so far gone as to deny that the ideas of taste, and touch, and sight were produced individually by external entities, might well deny that they were connected with each other; in other words, that the supposed apple that was tasted and felt, was the same apple that was seen.

We are, in the main, pleased with this analysis of knowledge and feeling, which is developed and established at some length; yet by no means so fully as to leave teacher and student nothing to do. Designing the work, as the title intimates, for a text book in colleges and academies, the author has judiciously confined himself to a rigid outline of his system, leaving detailed illustration chiefly to the *viva voce* instructions of the teacher; this is a feature of the work which pleases us much. We are presented, as it were, with an anatomical skeleton, which shows us clearly the connection and ramification of the operations of the mind; with a chart of our road which may guide us safely as Ariadne's clew through the labyrinthine windings of the darksome way: but this paucity of illustrations gives an air of harshness to the book, constantly compelling the reader to think closely in order to comprehend the author's conclusions. The time has not yet arrived, if it ever will, when all mankind may think alike on abstruse questions, and we find in this work, notwithstanding its general excellence, some minor points to which we must take exception: we cannot,

for instance, agree that number should be considered a substantive entity. That space and time (and perhaps the Deity) may well be called absolute entities, we are prepared to allow, notwithstanding the disposition among metaphysical writers to class them as mere relations of entities; but if space, for example, is a relation between certain entities, it is incontrovertible that if those entities were destroyed the relation must perish with them. Now what destruction of entities can be conceived that shall affect space? Might not the whole material universe be annihilated, yet space remain intact? Nor are we able, with our present mental constitution, to conceive the non-existence of time. We say with our present mental constitution, for that neither space nor time has any existence to God, we are ready to admit, and we are compelled to believe also, but it is with our faith, and not our understanding, that a period is approaching when the archangel's oath shall be fulfilled, and "time shall be no longer;" but this is a matter altogether beyond our present conception, and certainly affords no argument against their present existence except what would be equally applicable to the whole universe; for when time ceases it shall also perish. Bishop Berkeley defined time to be the succession of ideas; yet was ever even a metaphysician so far distraught as really to delude himself into the belief that time was nothing more than this? that when ideas were absent, time was not? and that the more rapidly idea succeeded idea, the more quickly did time seem to pass? This skepticism was in accordance with the philosophy of Berkeley, who denied the existence of matter itself; but we are pleased to find symptoms of a return to a healthier faith among the writers of the present day, for the doctor does not stand alone. The same ground has been taken (as to space) in a recent excellent article in the London Quarterly Review, and it cannot but appear strange to those unacquainted with the mystifying influence of the old verbiage of metaphysics, that so great an outrage on common sense as a denial of the existence of time and space should ever have been perpetrated. For ourselves, until we learn that the love-sick swain who put up to Olympus the modest request,—

> "Ye gods, annihilate both time and space,
> And make two lovers happy,"

has received a favorable answer to his petition, we shall be content to believe with the *ignobile vulgus*, who, relying in unquestioning simplicity of mind and heart on the evidence of the senses which the omniscient Creator bestowed on them for their sufficient guidance, have so often been found right when learned pundits had

argued themselves into folly, that space and time are real existences. But it seems to us that the case is very different with number; this we are disposed, with Locke, to regard as a primary quality of entities, and we think the author's reasoning to prove its objectivity utterly inconclusive. He says,—

"We can conceive of number separately from every other entity. Nay, a moment's reflection will convince us, that all the operations carried on with numbers, not only may be, but generally are, carried on independently of the objects from which the data of the calculation are derived, and to which its results are again to be applied. It is a matter of indifference to the mathematician, when requested to perform certain operations on given numbers, whether he knows to what purpose his calculations are subsequently to be applied or not. Any series of figures, stated in the form of a sum, with the customary mathematical signs, is nothing else than a sentence describing certain relations of number, or asking what those relations are."

It is true that a mathematician may reason, to any length, upon numbers without any regard or reference to the objects which they represent; but the very fact that such numbers do really represent objects is conclusive against the ential existence of number itself.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable portion of the volume is the third part; that which treats of the active operations of the mind under the five heads,—inspection, arrangement, modification, mental direction of physical action, and the process of intellectual intercourse. We have here an elaborate elucidation of the action of the human mind, the results of a most watchful and keen investigation of its *modus operandi*.

Our limits do not permit us to extract at any length; but we are convinced that those who have most deeply studied the constitution of the human mind will find here much matter for profitable reflection. We subjoin a portion of the author's remarks on the syllogism, as a fair specimen of his style and mode of handling his subject.

"Every species of syllogism is nothing else than a particular arrangement of certain entities, or rather of propositions expressing our ideas of them, such as is best calculated to facilitate their inspection; and the art of reasoning well is nothing else than the habit of arranging the related ideas in this way for easy inspection.—In pursuing our examination of syllogisms, we begin with the several parts, and first inquire, What are they? They consist of human language, of propositions. These describe some of our mental representatives or ideas; and the question is, Of what entities are they representatives, of substantive, or adjective, or composite entities, or of all combined? An example will best illustrate these observations in their application to the structure of the syllogism:—

"Major proposition: If there is a God, he ought to be worshiped.

"Minor proposition: But there is a God.

"Conclusion: Therefore he ought to be worshiped.

"• • • The major proposition, when closely examined, seems evidently to be nothing else than a sentence expressing in words our ideas of a composite entity, that is, of the relation of two simple entities to each other. The simple entities are, 1. A Being corresponding to the idea designated by the sound and word *God*; and, 2. Those actions of his rational creatures, which they perform with a view of worshiping him; and the relation between them is that of suitableness. The process by which this relation is known is none other than that of inspection. The result of inspection is, in all cases, knowledge; and in this case likewise we can trace no other operation than the act of inspecting the two parts of a composite entity, God, and the worship of him by rational creatures; and the result of this inspection is conviction of the relation. This knowledge or conviction is not optional, but necessary. The minor proposition, philosophically stated, runs thus: 'But there is an entity corresponding to the mental representative designated by the sound, which we describe by the letters G, o, d,' 'hence he ought to be worshiped' is the conclusion or relation perceived by the mind. It is evident that the only point to be proved in this syllogism is the minor, viz., that there exists an entity which we designate by the term God, and this must be done, and can be done, only by the successive inspection of the entities which constitute the proof." —P. 140.

Pursuing an independent course of investigation, the author has every now and then thrown out a hint corrective of long-established errors into which one writer so often leads another. Every one recollects the old doctrine of the association of ideas, and Brown's celebrated substitution of *suggestion* for *association*. Says Dr. Schmucker,—

"This word, though it conveys something of the character of these operations, seems not to be well selected as their generic and characteristic appellation. It seems to represent one item in a train of consecutive reminiscences or associations, as the agent that causes the occurrence of the other, while the mind is regarded rather as the passive recipient of these influences. In reality, however, *the mind is the active subject;* its spontaneous rambles result from the constitutional activity of its nature, while in these rambles it, by a law of its nature, pursues, in preference, the channel of those natural relations between the different entities or objects which really subsist between them, or those artificial relations constituted in the course of events, or those habits of mind which proceed from individual voluntary action. The principles regulating these associations are therefore intelligible, and it is also evident that, to a certain extent, they are the result of our most frequent voluntary actions."

We must draw our remarks to a close: but we cannot conclude without a hearty recommendation of the work to the attention of instructors. That it should be pervaded by a spirit of genuine but unostentatious piety would naturally be expected in the production of a professor of Christian theology, and we are confident it cannot be properly used without exerting a beneficial influence alike on the mind and heart of the student.

ART. V.—*The prosperous State of the Christian Interest before the End of Time, by a plentiful Effusion of the Holy Spirit, considered in fifteen Sermons, on Ezek. xxxix*, 29. By Rev. JOHN HOWE, M. A. Found in his Posthumous Works. New-York: John P. Haven. 1835.

"Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

THE curse of inactivity has not fallen upon the American people; and speculations in politics, philosophy, and religion, have not died away. From Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the frontier, we are a busy multitude. Mind, though never quiet, is more than ordinarily restless; old opinions are revived and discussed with great pertinacity; and new dogmas are thrust upon our attention with the utmost boldness and confidence.

Mesmerism has become a *science;* and Mormonism is considered well worthy the attention of the philosopher. The march of mind is wonderful! And when the few remaining gray-headed sires, who, all their life, have only hobbled along in science and religion, and who now sit as an incubus on society, shall have passed off the stage, the rising generation will astonish the world with a race of men giant in intellect, and super-Newtonian in discovery.

The millennium has engaged the attention of some portion of the church from Justin Martyr, the most ancient of the fathers, to the present time. Different views on the subject have been entertained. The millenarians, proper, believe that "our Saviour shall reign a thousand years with the faithful upon earth after the first resurrection, before the full completion of final happiness." Another portion of the church believe, that, by the millennium, nothing more is meant than "that, before the general judgment, Christianity shall be diffused through all nations; and that man-

kind shall enjoy that peace and happiness which the faith and precepts of the gospel are calculated to confer on all by whom they are sincerely embraced."

Against the former opinion, Origen and Dionysius early entered their protest. And through their influence and exertions, this doctrine, which rests on tradition and some doubtful texts of Revelation, and other scriptures, was materially checked. And many, as we are informed by Eusebius, after listening to the discourses of Dionysius, were thoroughly convinced of the futility of their doctrine. Of this number was Coracio, founder and principal leader of the sect in Assinoe.

Burnet and others maintain that Dionysius, in the third century, was the first to attack this doctrine; and that it generally prevailed in the church till the Nicene council, in 325. But Origen had assailed it previous to this. And Dr. Whitby proves, in his learned treatise on the subject, first, that this notion of the millennium was never generally received in the church of Christ; and, secondly, that there is no just ground to think it was derived from the apostles.

The authority on which this doctrine rests is very similar to that on which the Jews grounded their expectation of a temporal prince as the Messiah, who should sway a universal sceptre over the nations of the earth, and make Jerusalem the metropolis of his empire. And we are free to confess we look with quite as much expectation for the millennium of the Jew as the thousand years' reign of the millenarian.

The *time* of Christ's personal reign on the earth, it is more generally allowed, will be the *seventh millenary* of the world. This period is to be the great sabbatism, or holy rest of the people of God. "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." When this millenary will commence none were able precisely to tell. Chronologers, like philosophers and divines, do not always agree. Especially is this the case in the higher ages of antiquity.

But in this respect we have a great advantage over the reformers, fathers, and apostles. We are now informed, not what the millennium is only, but also the precise point of time when it will commence!

In the millennium, for which we are now to look, will be, first, the resurrection of the righteous, and then the burning up of the world with the wicked. After this, the new heavens and earth appearing, Christ will descend and reign personally with the righteous a thousand years. At the expiration of this period they will

be gathered into the "beloved city." This done, Satan shall be let loose upon the earth, which a thousand years before was burned up; and shall deceive the nations, previously destroyed, in the four quarters of the earth. Then shall follow the general judgment. And the devil, with the wicked, being driven into the lake of fire, there to remain for ever and ever, the gates of the city will be thrown open, and this earth will become *the final, the everlasting abode of the blessed.*

The commencement of this unequalled drama is to be in 1843; probably between the middle of March and the middle of April. One of the advocates of this sublime theory has found as strong evidence in the Bible of the destruction of the earth, the end of the world, in 1843, as he has of the Messiahship of Jesus Christ! And another, younger, and, of course, a little more confident, assures us, unless the event does take place at this time, the *Bible is false!*

But notwithstanding we live on the very eve of this eventful period, and are blessed with such infallible helps to an understanding of the subject, such is our obtuseness of intellect and want of credulity, that we can neither see nor believe it. And though our condition to some may appear any thing but an enviable one, our comfort is, while looking at a number of old, learned, and pious authors, on our shelves, if we be in error, we have along with us very good company.

Among this number we place John Howe; a name not to be forgotten as long as the "Living Temple" is appreciated. A man of strong mind, extensive erudition, and independence of thought; and whose various learning was sanctified to God. "He being dead, yet speaketh."

Mr. Howe's "fifteen sermons on the prosperous state of the Christian interest, before the end of time," were preached in the course of a Wednesday lecture, in the year 1678; and, as the editor remarks, "when he was in the vigor of life and height of judgment, between forty and fifty years old."

The style of our author, though not flowery and rhetorical, is, nevertheless, nobly eloquent and forcible. Mr. Watson, in introducing extracts from the "Living Temple," says,—"They [the extracts] bear upon the conclusion with an *irresistible force*, and are expressed with a *noble eloquence*, though in language a little antiquated in structure." He is *parenthetic*, and sometimes not a little obscure. Indeed, the writings of Howe, like the immortal "Analogy" of Butler,* must be studied. And it is study that we

* In the October number of the Quarterly for 1841, the reviewer of Butler's Analogy, says, his "Introduction to it was singular and impressive. A friend,

need at the present day, much more than cursory reading. A few choice authors, studied and understood, are worth far more than hundreds of volumes but imperfectly read. An individual may, with morbid appetite, gorge himself with every production, good, bad, and indifferent, that falls from the press. And though he may, in a certain sense, be *extensively* read, yet he is not *well* read. Truth, properly studied, will make a distinct and indelible impression on the mind. Much of light reading, instead of invigorating and expanding, weakens and *intoxicates* the mind. The mere reader, as Cassio remarks of himself, after a drunken carousal, "remembers a *mass* of *things*, but *nothing distinctly*."

We would by no means be understood as embracing all the sentiments contained in Mr. Howe's posthumous works. But it is to the "Work of the Holy Spirit in reference to the Christian Church" that our attention is especially directed.

After the introduction of the text, with suitable preliminary remarks, our author lays down the two following propositions, viz.:—

"First. That there is a state of permanent serenity and happiness appointed for the universal church of Christ upon earth.

"Secondly. That the immediate original and cause of that felicity and happy state, is a large and general effusion or pouring forth of the Spirit."

Upon the expression, "house of Israel" in the text, Mr. Howe remarks,—

"1. I doubt not but that it hath a meaning included, as it is literally taken, of that very people wont to be known by that very name 'the house of Israel'—the seed of Jacob.

"2. But I as little doubt that it hath a further meaning too. And it is an obvious observation, than which none more obvious, that the universal church, even of the gospel constitution, is frequently in the prophetical scriptures of the Old Testament represented by this, and by the equivalent names of Jerusalem and Zion, and the like. And we find that, in the New Testament too, the name is retained. 'All are not Israel that are of Israel. He is not a Jew that is one outwardly.' He means certainly a Christian. 'I know the blasphemy of them that say they are Jews, and are not,' Rom. ii, 28; Rev. ii, 9. And we

looking into his library, said, 'Here is a book which I purchased some time ago, having heard it recommended as one of the greatest of this or any other age. I have commenced reading it twice, and have twice desisted. It made my head ache: I cannot comprehend it. I will give it to you if you will study it.'" Apropos—I knew a gentleman who purchased Howe's Works, but finding them *dry*, and, as he thought, not answering the recommendation, rid his shelves by an early sale.

shall have little reason to doubt, and there will be occasion to make it more apparent hereafter, that so we are to explain the signification of this name here; not to exclude the natural Israelites, but also to include the universal Christian church."

The "house of Israel," meaning the universal church, the "better state of the Christian interest," so frequently the subject of lofty discourse and prophecy, both in the Old and New Testaments, is not therefore literally and exclusively Jewish in interpretation, but eminently Christian.

The "tranquillity of the church for a considerable tract of time" is briefly described. And from a number of considerations our author shows that this happy and serene state is yet in the future.

The second proposition, and that on which our author dwells more largely, is the general effusion of the Spirit as the immediate original, and cause of this happy state. "I will pour out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

What kind of communication, or pouring forth of the Spirit, shall this be? Ordinary in kind, extraordinary in fullness.

"Whether ever any extraordinary gifts shall be revived, that, because I know nothing of it, I shall affirm nothing in. If you speak of this communication formally, as to the nature or kind of it in itself considered, so we may understand it to be a very great and plentiful communication that is here meant. So the very expression in the text of pouring forth doth import, the same word being sometimes used to signify the larger and more remarkable issues of God's wrath, when, as a deluge, and inundation, it breaks forth upon a people and overflows. It signifies (as some critical writers do observe) both *celerity* and *abundance* in the effusion. And the expression having that use, to denote the breakings forth of the wrath and fury of God, and being now applied here to this purpose, it carries such an import with it as if it had been said, My wrath was never poured forth so copiously, so abundantly, but that there shall be as large and copious an effusion of my Spirit. I take it, that these two properties must be understood to belong unto this communication; the *fullness* of it, in reference to each particular individual soul; and the *universality* of it, so as that it shall extend unto vastly many, in comparison of what it hath done: but neither of them to be understood in an absolute sense."

When we look at the world lying in the wicked one, Mohammedism, Paganism, and Romanism, each in different places predominant; and then contemplate this better state of the Christian church, we may inquire, "How can these things be?" Inspiration furnishes the answer, "Not by might, nor by power, but *by my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts."

Hence our author next calls our attention to the "efficacy" of this Spirit. "This means will certainly do the business, nothing else can; and there is no other way to bring such a state of things about."

The Spirit may have influence to this purpose, both mediately and immediately.

"1. Mediately; by the intervention of some other things," as "kings and potentates of the earth—ministers of the gospel—family order—and more common and general example of serious and exemplary religion, in the professors of it."

2. Immediately; in its direct influence upon the souls of men. This will be manifest, "1. In numerous conversions; 2. In the high improvement and growth of those that sincerely embrace religion." The former is an increase of the church in *extent;* the latter, in *glory.*

The increase of the church in the "last days" is an inspiring theme of the prophets. "In the last days, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all *nations* shall flow unto it. And many people shall go, and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," Isa. ii, 2–4. "The stone cut out of the mountain shall fill the whole earth; the barren shall sing and cry aloud; the children of the desolate shall be numerous; the abundance of the sea shall be converted; and the subjects of Christ's kingdom shall be multiplied as the dew from the womb of the morning." With such "celerity" shall this Spirit be poured forth, and so numerous shall the converts to Christianity become, that the astonished beholder will exclaim, "Who hath *heard* such a thing? Who hath *seen* such a thing? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? Or shall a nation be born at once?" Isa. lxvi, 8. "The tabernacle of God is with men." There shall the song of praise and submission be heard from the mountain-top, from the banks of the flowing streams, from the sea, and from the land,—"Hallelujah! the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" Our author continues:—

"There shall be great improvement in the church in point of holiness; so that it shall increase, not only in extent, but in glory, and in

respect of the lustre, loveliness, and splendor of religion in it. Religion shall become a much more beautiful and attractive thing, according to the representation which it shall have in the profession and conversation of them that sincerely embrace it; which I suppose to be more especially pointed at in such passages as the following:—'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.'"

"What shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the *end* of the world?" is a question which the disciples, with much anxiety, in private, proposed to our Lord. The answer given by the Saviour, under circumstances deeply and lastingly impressive, was, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only."

Much better would it have been for the "Christian interest" if all the professed disciples of Christ believed that he *meant* what he said. But instead of this, the time has been set, again and again, when this event should take place. And yet the sun continues his diurnal course. These pseudo-prophets have only blocked his wheels with straw, and chained his car with gossamer cords.

With zeal is the sentiment now propagated, that the world's destruction shall be in 1843. With some it is the all-absorbing topic. Ministers of the gospel, in some instances, leave their appropiate work at the altar, and traverse the country with *chart* and *tent* to inform the people of "*that* day," which "*no man* knoweth."

Mother Anne had her believers; Matthias his dupes; and Joe Smith has his followers. Marvel not, then, that Millerism has its converts. There is a class of persons whose predominant development is credulity. It would seem from the history of man that nothing is too absurd to be believed. The wildest theory has never wanted advocates, especially if it "smacked" of a little notoriety.

If only the leaders themselves were to suffer we might let them smart a little in the fire of their own kindling. But many well-meaning persons are made the dupes of their "vain philosophy." A morbid excitement is produced in the minds of some, and much injury is done to the cause of *real* Christianity, and no little capital is furnished for skepticism and infidelity.

The remarks of our author on this part of the subject commend themselves to the attention of all "who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity:"—

"Those that do look forward unto what is future, if there be any representation set before them, any prospect of what is more pleasing and grateful to them, are more apt to be curious about the circumstances of such an expected event, than to be serious in minding the substantials that do belong to that state itself. And that vain curiosity to inquire, joined with an over-much boldness in some persons to determine about the times and seasons, when such and such things shall be, hath certainly been no small prejudice unto the interest of the Christian religion in our days, upon a two-fold account. The disappointment hath dashed the hopes of many of the better sort, and confirmed the atheism of those of the worst sort. Those of the better sort, many of them, that have allowed themselves to be so curious and bold, curious in their inquiries, and bold in their definitions and determinations; when they have found themselves disappointed, have been apt to conclude concerning all the concernments of religion, as concerning those wherein they have found themselves disappointed; as thinking, that their imagination was as true as the gospel about these things: and so, if they have not undergone the shock of a temptation to adhere more easily and loosely unto the Christian profession upon account of such disappointments, yet at least their spirits have been as it were sunk into despondency, because they relied upon false grounds, and which could not sustain a rational hope. And then the atheists and infidels have been highly confirmed in their skepticism and atheism, because such and such have been so confident of things, wherein they have been mistaken; and because they pretended to have their ground for their belief and expectation out of the Scriptures, therefore those Scriptures must sure signify nothing."

The expositions of prophecy are numerous and various. In the hands of some commentators, the writings of the prophets mean "any thing, nothing." They have as many applications as Proteus shapes; and are as easily conformed to the fancy of the expositor.

It would be almost infinitely amusing to read these various expositions, were it not so serious and important a subject; as it is, our "laughter is turned to weeping." For we can but see, and sensibly feel, too, that Christ is wounded in the house of his friends. The prying curiosity of some, and vain attempts of others, to explain those prophecies which are sealed up "till the end of days," have done no little disservice to the cause of Christ in the world.*

Our author remarks upon the importance of "a religious, pru-

* The critical notes of Dr. A. Clarke on the prophecies command the respect of the scholar and pious sensible reader. If the doctor does not inflate us with air, so that we can easily sail in the region of fancy and vision, he does what is far better for us, in our present corporeal state, he leaves us standing upon the terra firma of *plain, understood* truth.

dent fear of misapplying the prophecies, or restricting and determining them to this or that point of time, which may not be intended by the Spirit of God. It is certain there ought to be a religious fear of this, because they are sacred things, and therefore not to be trifled with, or made use of to other purposes than they were meant for; much less to serve mean purposes, to gratify our own curiosity, to please our fancy and imagination. And there ought to be a prudent fear of this, and will be in a well-tempered soul, because of the great hurt and danger that may attend such misapplications."

Those that would not be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and who would have that "good thing" spoken of by the apostle, "their hearts established with grace," will be pleased with the following extract:—

"I cannot but recommend to you that remarkable piece of Scripture in 2 Thess. ii, 1, 2: 'Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, (or by pretended inspirations,) nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.' You shall hardly meet with a more solemn, earnest attestation in all the Bible than this. That is the thing I reckon it so very remarkable for. 'I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; by what he knew was most dear to them, and the mention whereof would be most taking to their hearts; if you have any kindness for the thoughts of that day, any love for the appearance and coming of our Lord; if ever any such thoughts have been grateful to your hearts, we beseech you, by that coming of his, and by your gathering together unto him, that you be not soon shaken in mind, that you do not suffer yourselves to be discomposed by an apprehension, as if the day of Christ were at hand.'"

The sentiments of our author are so "congenerous" with our own, that we could with pleasure fill our paper with extracts. More satisfactory, however, will it be for the reader to consult the work for himself.

Our corollary from our author is, that the better state of the Christian interest, for an indefinite period of time, by the plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, is the only *millennium* we may reasonably expect. Christianity shall be diffused abroad. "The gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world." The stone cut out of the mountain will fill the whole earth; and all the *nations* of mankind will become *Christian*. Not that every individual, in every nation, shall become personally and experimentally a Christian. This we think the Scriptures do not authorize us to expect. There will be non-professors, unbelievers, "*scoffers*,"

even, in the Christian *world* as there are now in the Christian *nations*. But not in the same ratio. The Spirit being more abundantly poured forth, and Christian ministers, and Christians themselves, becoming more *holy* and *active*, the influence of religion will be more hallowing, and ten-fold greater upon society than ever before.

When this "better day" of the Christian church will come, we cannot, we *dare* not say. The knowledge of the "times and seasons" is with God. It may be near at hand, and it may be afar off. The prayer of the church should be, "Thy kingdom come!"

When we take into consideration what has been done in the last quarter of a century, what is now being done; see how God is opening a way in the wilderness, and preparing streams in the desert; and how intense the feeling on the subject of religion is becoming in all quarters of the globe, we may judge that the commencement of this glorious era draweth nigh. The Lord hasten it in his own good time!

Art. VI.—*Protestantism is the Ancient and Papacy the New Religion.*

(Translated from "*L'Europe Protestante*," *for the Methodist Quarterly Review.*)

The antiquity of their church, is the cry of Papists; nothing is more common than to hear them boast of this pretended antiquity; and nine times out of ten, where persons have been persuaded to exchange their Protestant faith for Catholic, we will find that Romanists owe their success to this imposition. This argument is the weapon with which they ever commence their attacks; it is this also which produces the greatest effect upon common minds, and most easily shakes the belief of illiterate Protestants. Our adversaries, it is true, do not advance this one argument alone, there are others which they endeavor to set forth, but *this* always figures in the front rank; it is, in fine, the great artillery by means of which they, on every occasion, attempt to make the breach.

It is in consequence of the importance they attach to this boasted ancientness, and the frequent use they make of it, that we have thought proper to devote a number of pages to a popular refutation of this Papal sophistry. It will not be difficult to demonstrate that this antiquity, of which the partisans of Rome so much

boast, is the most gratuitous of all their pretensions. We can only compare them with the Gibeonites, who came to the Israelites with clouted shoes and moldy bread, as if they had journeyed from a far country; but we must not suffer them, more than the Gibeonites, to impose upon the ignorant or unreflecting, by so futile means and so absurd pretensions.

Romanists, in their discussions with Protestants, affirm that "the reformers, before their separation, were in the communion of our church," and consequently we must admit that the Romish is the true church, and pronounce sentence of condemnation on the men who originally separated themselves from Papacy. We freely grant to them that the reformers were in the communion of the Romish Church; we grant to them also that, in a certain sense, we have gone out from the church; but we maintain that if we have separated from her, it is because she is alienated from the simplicity of the gospel; it is because she has rejected its fundamental truths. There was a time when the darkness of Papacy covered the earth; but the reformers broke through this darkness, and have shown to others the way of life. Thus, though we must say they went out from Romanism, it is not the less true that they separated from it as our Lord and his apostles separated themselves from Judaism: it was in the same manner that the great apostle of the Gentiles abjured the sect of the Pharisees, to which he had formerly been so strongly attached.

One thing new in Protestantism is its name. This has arisen from the protest made by many of the princes and towns of Germany, who appealed from the pope to the emperor and a general council; a protest which included a profession of faith, and which gave occasion to their enemies to designate them by the epithet of Protestants. But, in matters of controversy, names are nothing; doctrines are every thing. Our creed, so far from being new, is as old as the Bible, for it is contained in the Bible.

However, it is proper to define in clear and precise terms what we understand by the term Protestant. In the most natural acceptation of the word it is this, *Every man who protests against the errors of Papacy and defends the truth of the gospel.* This term was not in use before the sixteenth century; but the principles which it resumes are those of the times of ancient Christianity.

Papists, like all other supporters of unsound faith, take advantage of the fact that the name Protestant had not been in use before the time of the Reformation, to maintain that our doctrines are of the same date. "Where were," say they to the uneducated and unin-

formed man, "where were your doctrines before the Reformation?" An embarrassing question for many, who have not taken pains to examine into the matter; while others suffer themselves to be ensnared as an easy prey to this subtlety, by this Papal cavil. Our doctrines have never wanted witnesses to attest their truth; and at the time of the Reformation a standard was publicly raised, under which all, who prefer Christ to the pope, and truth to error, range themselves.

But first of all, let us prove what their doctrines are, all the doctrines of Papacy, which are of so recent an origin. It is not to the Bible that we must go to find them, but in the decrees of popes and councils. Only a few centuries had passed, after the death of our Saviour, when superstition and ignorance had enlarged far and wide their empire. The bishops of Rome endeavored, by various expedients, to set themselves up as lords over God's heritage, and to bring all Christians under their domination, as they were "universal pastors." Thanks to the gross ignorance which then reigned! thanks also to the tyranny exercised by the Roman pontiffs! some of their exorbitant pretensions gradually gained ground for many centuries.

When the despotism of the popes was completely established, other errors successively crept into the church, till at length Papacy came to that state where we now find it. The false doctrines of Rome did not spring up all at once, but they put forth gradually; afterward they completed their system, and reunited themselves in the creed of Pope Pius IV., in 1564. By the term Papist we wish to designate every man who adopts these new dogmas, and the creed of yesterday's birth. During many successive centuries the Church of Rome had been swerving more and more from the faith; but it was not till the Council of Trent, when the creed was digested, that her apostasy was complete, and appeared in its true light. What ought to excite the astonishment of every Protestant, of every simple and artless man, is, that Rome has been able to dupe the world so long; that the world has submitted to its unscriptural innovations. But, it is proper to say, there was in all this an uncommon depth of craftiness; at the time the errors were introduced, they had, so to speak, the force of law, before the mass of the people could perceive them; and as force protected them as well as fraud, the small number of those whose eyes were opened could do nothing more than weep in secret over the innovations. Thus it was at length that the ancient way disappeared under the brambles of Papacy, which encumbered it more and more to the day of the Reformation. At that glorious epoch the reform-

ers cleared the path of the primitive track; it was not a new road they had discovered, they only returned to the ancient path, and showed it to a wondering world. Whatever the obstruction was, it was the good old way, and the reformers only restored the church to its primitive purity. The truth had remained for ages concealed from the view of the great majority of the human race; although in all time there have been faithful men who were guided by its light; and the reformers wished only to dissipate the thick cloud with which Papal influence had enveloped it.

Meanwhile Papists persist in regarding their religion as the primitive Christianity, and branding Protestantism with the opprobrium of a novelty. One of the most interesting monuments in Great Britain is an old Saxon church; of its style of architecture there remains only a very few specimens in that country. After the lapse of years the magnificent arcades of this edifice, by reason of the number of coats of whitewash that had been put on it from time immemorial, by the direction of the different successive church wardens, presented only a surface perfectly smooth, in the place of the rich embroidery which characterized the Saxon arcade. A lady, residing near the church, who was passionately fond of the study of antiquity, the sister of a distinguished antiquarian, solicited, and obtained from the authorities of the parish, permission to restore the arcades to their primitive state; and so great was her anxiety to commence the work, she immediately provided herself with the necessary apparatus, and commenced scraping away the lime and mortar of many generations; and at this day the curious can admire the church restored to its ancient splendor. Now, we ask, is there any one who would think of denying that this edifice, in its restored state, was not the ancient Saxon church? or of saying that in removing the coats of lime, the lady had destroyed the edifice? Who would be so absurd as to hold such language? Yet do not the Papists the same thing in their manner of reasoning? Papacy is the plastering with which the truth has been masked; the chisel of the reformers has removed it, and truth shows itself again in its native beauty. But this does not hinder the Papists calling their church the ancient church; an absurdity as glaring as if we should maintain that this thick envelop which the chisel has cleared from the monument, of which we have spoken, was the ancient edifice.

The Greeks were accustomed to amuse themselves with a curious discussion on the ship Argo. This ship, in which Jason embarked to win the golden fleece, was preserved at his return as a sacred relic. After the lapse of years she gradually decayed and

fell to pieces; but they had so great a veneration for this monument of a famous expedition, that they constantly repaired it in those places where the corroding tooth of time had wasted any part. At length the hulk of the ancient ship entirely disappeared, and there remained only that which they had added from time to time, as the materials of the primitive structure had disappeared. The question which the Greeks proposed was, "Whether this ship, thus composed of successive pieces, was the same veritable ship that Jason had commanded, or was it another?" It is thus the Romish Church has omitted, little by little, the ancient truths of the gospel, and has replaced them by modern errors; and yet these sectarians presume to maintain that their church is that one whose foundations the Saviour laid, and whose construction Paul and the other apostles have completed.

How this Papistical crust is formed, how it has acquired its present thickness, we shall see by an exposure of the origin and introduction of the principal errors of the Romish Church. We shall be as concise as possible, and shall follow the chronological order in the arrangement of subjects for examination. We have been very particular to put down the proper dates, that all may be convinced of the slender foundation of this pretension to antiquity.

We will commence with *image worship*, the first in point of time of all the innovations we are called upon to examine. It was about the year A. D. 800 that images began to be introduced as objects of worship into the churches; but they were not generally admitted. Subsequently many general councils condemned the use of them, and it was not till a much later period that their worship became universal.

Transubstantiation next presents itself. According to Papists, at the moment the priest pronounces the word of consecration the bread and wine become, by an instantaneous metamorphosis, the veritable blood and body of Christ. And when was this monstrous doctrine received? It had been already decided as early as the year 1059 that the body of Christ was present in the sacrament; but it was not till 1215, at the fourth council at the Lateran, that it was decreed, "the species of the eucharist entirely disappeared."* Such is the high antiquity of this famous dogma.

* That is, the reality of bread and wine disappeared entirely; and nothing remained but "the body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ." The Catechism of the Council of Trent, which is of equal authority with the decrees and canons of that council, goes a step further in the minute specification, and says nothing remains but "the body and blood, bones and nerves, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ."—*Dr. Brownlee.*

Auricular confession was also established at the same time. According to the Romish Church, the sinner cannot obtain pardon for his sins unless he confesses to a priest.*

It is quite remarkable that the same council, by which the two last articles of faith were established, by a special act, declared in favor of celebrating divine service in the common language of each country. Therefore, in 1215, at the time of the session of that council, Latin prayers were not obligatory; and yet Papists would have us believe that this usage has prevailed in the church from time immemorial.

Papal supremacy, by virtue of which the bishop of Rome pretends that all Christendom should acknowledge his authority, was also established by the same council, in 1115. This decree was confirmed by the Council of Trent, and to this day it is a point which Papists specially endeavor to sustain.

The *seven sacraments* date back only to the year 1247; and this is the highest antiquity that can be ascribed to them. The subject was agitated in the century previous, and also in a preceding council this number had been proposed, but no decisive action was taken on them till the year 1447, a short time after the reunion of the Council of Trent.

Communion with one element, by which the cup is interdicted to the laity, was not established as an article of faith before the year 1414. We need not say the Romish Church still persists in this practice.

Purgatory is an invention unthought of till the seventh century; two hundred years after, this doctrine was received by only a small number of Christians; in 1146 it had but few advocates, and it was not till the year 1438 that it received the sanction of a general council. It is even true that there had never been any thing like a harmonious and unanimous agreement upon this point previous to the Council of Trent.

Indulgences were entirely unknown for many centuries. On this point there is no question; and it was only after the introduction of the doctrine of purgatory that the sale of indulgences was authorized by the Romish Church.

The *apocryphal books* were not admitted into the canon of the Scriptures until the year 1546, after the Council of Trent had pronounced in their favor. Romish doctors were not ignorant that these books were not credible, as they had been rejected by the Jews, as well as by the primitive church; but these books were necessary to give some consistency to their new Papal doc-

* Vide Coleman's Christian Antiquities, art., "Private penance."—*Tr.*

trines; and this was the reason they were received into the sacred canon.

The *necessity of the intention of the priest for the validity of the sacraments* was decreed in 1547 by the Council of Trent. According to the Romish notion no sacrament has any value until the priest or bishop who administers it has really attached, in his intention, the effects which depend upon it; and thus they subordinate the merit and value of the divine institution to the caprice of a mortal. We need not look beyond the time of the Council of Trent for the date of this antichristian system.

Such are the doctrines which constitute Papacy. We see clearly by their respective dates that they are only a false coin, stamped too late, and which were absolutely unknown in the primitive church. We sometimes hear it said, Papists have preserved many doctrines which are common both to them and to Protestants; we admit that some of them do agree, from the fact of their relation to some of the truths of Scripture; but what we call Papacy is the new system established by Pius IV., and this system annihilates all the other doctrines the Church of Rome may profess. These doctrines, as we have seen, are so recent that it is easy for us to fix the precise date of their introduction. They were not received before the times specified in the preceding enumeration, and they were only imposed under pain of damnation by the Council of Trent. The very points which compose the Papal system, and which constitute the new creed, were condemned by many ancient councils before Papacy had an existence. We can rightly apply to the Church of Rome the words of Bildad, "For we are but of yesterday," Job viii, 9. Papacy, it is evident after the above exposition, is only a kind of inlaid work. The pieces and bits of which it is composed have been arranged, some by such and such a pope or council, others by other popes and councils. At last the Council of Trent gave the finishing touch, adding some new pieces, and re-examining those which had been arranged in earlier times.

It is therefore without a shadow of a doubt that, on the one hand, for many centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, there had not been even a thought in the church of any of these peculiar dogmas which constitute Papacy; and, on the other hand, that many of these dogmas were not finally consecrated previous to the time of the Council of Trent. It was at that memorable epoch that the Papal Church filled up the measure of its iniquity by attributing to mere human traditions the same authority as to the word of God. What is the effect of tradition, if it is not the source

of all error? Indeed, if a time can be established when tradition ought to be received, there is no doctrine, be it ever so false, which cannot be sustained. Every thing the pope is pleased to imagine and enjoin, is regarded by Papists as an apostolical tradition.

Meanwhile, the poor Papists are constantly taught to believe that the doctrines of their church are ancient; that they are the very truth itself. But we challenge the advocates of Popery to show us a member of the Christian church who, during the first six centuries, was a Papist in the strict sense of the word; that is to say, who believed all the doctrines maintained at this day by the Romish Church. There is not one point, except that of the Trinity, in which the partizans of Rome do not differ from the primitive church. How, then, dare any one say that Papacy is the religion of Jesus Christ, when it would be an impossibility to connect these principles with any of the doctrines, to any of the words, of our Lord? We sometimes hear it affirmed, that as the Papists preserve the three creeds,* they preserve thereby the truth itself; but, let it not be forgotten, they also adopt another creed, that of Pius IV., which contradicts the others. It is proper to remark, moreover, as regards this last creed, it is a proof of the craft and deceit peculiar to their system. At first they mingle its drapery with that of the apostles' in such a manner that the illiterate Papist cannot say where the one begins or the other ends; then they prudently avoid speaking of this new creed when they engage in an attack upon Protestantism.

If Romish doctrines are true, of necessity those of Protestant churches are false. Both cannot be true at the same time, for they are contradictory. But Papists do not fail to advance that our doctrines were never mentioned before the Reformation. Very well; on this ground we desire to meet them. If the question is asked, How we wish to be tried? we reply, By the Bible, and by the Bible alone: Jesus Christ is our Master, and it is in the Bible that he has manifested his will. As Protestants we have nothing more at heart than to submit ourselves to its decisions; every thing which can be demonstrated from the sacred text we are ready to admit; but, at the same time, we have a right to reject all that is not based on the true meaning of the text.

But what say the Papists? "No, we do not wish the Bible alone to be our judge; tradition also, tradition ought to decide the dispute." True tradition would be all in our favor; but, we ask, what need is there of having recourse to tradition when we have the written word of God? Tradition, according to Papists, is made up of all

* The Apostles', the Athanasian, and the Nicene Creeds.—*Tr.*

those things that Christ said to his apostles, and which have not been recorded in the Bible. But, we assert, all that is necessary is contained in the Scriptures; there is nothing that has been revealed to the apostles which is not found in the Bible; and we maintain that not a single article of faith can be established except on the authority of the Scriptures. To this trial Papists will not submit. And why do they refuse? Does it not indicate the irresistible conviction that the Bible is not favorable to them? An ancient author calls heretics *Scripturarum lucifugas,—those who wish to divest themselves of the light of the Scriptures.* On this account Papists are the worst of all heretics, for they reject the Bible, and wish to replace it with the vain traditions of men subject to error.

As Protestants, truth is the object of our investigation; and never do we seek to avoid discussion, never have we recourse to shameful trickery, to base expedients. Truth demands the exercise of reason; but the Papist drags reason to the feet of the pope, and there they hold it prostrate. "Abjure," says he, "abjure reason and submit to the church." Yes, the Church of Rome flees the truth, and we are able, by consequence, to apply to her the forcible language of Paul, "For this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie," &c., 2 Thess. ii, 11. And is it not in reality to obey the spirit of error for them to prostrate their bodies before the host, as if that piece of bread was the true God! They esteem most those things which are pure fabrications. Is it not a fabrication that saints and angels, before God, make intercession for sinners who are on earth, when God has said, "Come to me;" and when we are invited to "come boldly to a throne of grace?" Is it not a fabrication that merit is attributed to our works, in the eyes of God? Is it not a fabrication to suppose that men can do more than God requires; and, by consequence, to amass for those who have need, when we are assured, that after all we have done we are only unprofitable servants? Is not the descent of souls into purgatory a fabrication? Yes, all these are the inventions which the word of God condemns, and which Papists, notwithstanding, believe. Is there truly any error more deplorable than that in which they persist to remain?

It is now time to reply to a very common objection of Papists. They pretend that in condemning their church, we condemn all who have lived prior to the Reformation, and have died in the communion of the Church of Rome. How can we reply to this otherwise than by an explicit denial of the fact? Papacy, it is well known, had not become a fixed system, had not received the

finishing touch till 1564, at the Council of Trent: the state of the Romish Church during the ages which preceded this council was very different from what it is at the present day. Before the epoch above mentioned, the new doctrines of Papacy were not necessarily, nor universally received. They were not forbidden, for example, to discuss the doctrines of the church, and they did discuss them; but now they have become obligatory, and whoever hesitates to receive them, from that moment ceases to be a Papist. Now the Church of Rome and Papacy are one and the same thing, formerly it was otherwise; for before the decisions of the Council of Trent a man could be a member of the Romish Church, that is to say, in the communion of that church, and yet object to many articles of her creed; but at the present day this cannot be done. Therefore, before the Reformation, there were some faithful Christians in the pale of the Romish Church, but who abjured her errors. They wept in secret, they awaited their deliverance, and the hour of their deliverance sounded at the Reformation. But, it is asked perhaps, why did they not immediately and openly leave the communion of the church? Why? Because they were retained by the sword of authority, the sword which the church wields, and which she draws against all who are suspected of holding Protestant sentiments. Thus, until our reformers separated themselves from modern Romanism, Papacy and the true church remained united in the bonds of a visible communion. Among the things which appertain to the true church, many have also been preserved by the Romish, as the Scriptures and the sacraments; but as the patrimony of the church, they have been the inheritance of the reformers. In the same manner that the ancient Jews preserved pure the deposit of the law and the prophets, and transmitted them in all their integrity to the Christian church, the Christian church also, despite of the corruption which crept into her bosom, has preserved the Scriptures, the creeds, and many portions of the truth, even down to the Reformation. And in this divine Providence is displayed in a remarkable manner.

Such was the state of things before the Reformation. The truths which faithful Christians maintained before that revolution, are the same now; they are those which compose in our day the doctrines of Protestant churches. There is between the reformed church and the Church of Rome the difference that is found in a well-cultivated field, and a field covered with weeds; or between Naaman cured and Naaman the leper. The reformers separated themselves from Papacy, and not from the church. The church, it is true, had almost disappeared under the Papal doctrines which

obscured it; but Papacy was not the church, it was only a malady that infested the church. The vitiated part was cut off at the Reformation, and, by consequence, Papacy is not now a part of the church. Before this glorious event the church held the same relation to Papacy as does grain to the tares in the midst of which it grows, or to the husk that envelops it. It is a fact, that in the darkest times there were some faithful Christians, and these constituted the true church. God has never left himself without a witness; and even in the worst epochs of the history of the Jews, when the prophet thought that he was almost the only faithful one, he yet found seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. The promise is not that the church shall be numerous, but that she shall never perish; the promise is not that the truths of the church shall be universally received, but that there will always be those who will receive them in sincerity of heart. Augustine compares the church to the queen of night, whose disk increases and diminishes alternately; and she is eclipsed sometimes, yet no one can doubt her existence. The moon is not always full, and the church does not always shine in the brightness of her glory.

Despite the pretensions of the Papal party, we maintain, and can prove, that it is our religion, and not theirs, which is the ancient religion, the religion of Jesus Christ. Our doctrines are those that were taught by the Saviour himself, and are those contained in all the books of the Bible.

"But," it is said, "Papists admit the Bible." True; but they admit also many other things which we look for in vain in the Scriptures, and which are in palpable contradiction to the sacred book. Therefore they virtually reject the Bible. The words of Pope Pius IV., and the word of God, are in direct opposition; accordingly it is not acknowledged as the only rule of faith, for the Papists know too well that the Bible and their new creed are at variance with each other. Papacy overthrows the foundation of faith; not, it is true, in express terms, but not the less really, by loading it with superstitions which endanger it, and expose its security. Is not the great doctrine of justification by faith alone annihilated by the views of Papists respecting the personal merits of men? Does not the all-sufficiency of Christ's atonement disappear by the side of the sacrifice of the mass? Does not the satisfaction for sin by the great expiation of Jesus fail by reason of the doctrine of purgatory? In fine, what becomes of the mediation of our Saviour, by the side of prayers addressed to saints, angels, and to the Virgin Mary?

There is not a single article of the Romish doctrine that is not contradicted by the Holy Scriptures; as it is easy for any one to satisfy himself by referring to the texts we are about to name.

The indifference they manifest toward the Bible is contrary to the Scriptures: John v, 39; 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17, and many other passages.

The invocation of saints is contrary to the Scriptures: Matt. xi, 27, 28; John vi, 37; xiv, 13; xvi, 23, 24; Acts iv, 12; x, 25, 26; xiv, 13–15; Rom. viii, 27; Eph. iii, 12; Col. ii, 18; 1 Tim. ii, 5; 1 John ii, 1, 2.

The worship of images is contrary to the Bible: Lev. xxvi, 1; Deut. iv, 15, 16; v, 7, 8; x, 20; Josh. xl, 18–20; Micah v, 13; Matt. iv, 10; Rev. xix, 10.

Communion with one element is contrary to the Scriptures: Matt. xxvi, 26–28; Luke xxii, 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi, 26–28.

Purgatory is inconsistent with the Scriptures: Gal. iii, 13; Heb. i, 3; ix, 14; x, 10; Rom. v, 1, 2, 10, 11; Rev. xiv, 13.

Transubstantiation is contrary to the word of God: Luke xxii, 17–20; 1 Pet. iii, 18; 1 Cor. xi, 26.

Indulgences are at war with the Scriptures: Heb. xx, 10–21; ix, 24–28; vii, 25.

Prayers in a language not understood is contrary to the Bible: 1 Cor. xiv, 2.

Auricular confession at the feet of a priest is contrary to the word of truth: Isa. lv, 7; Acts ii, 38; iii, 19; xvi, 31; Rom. x, 19.

But that our readers may be, if possible, still more convinced that Papists hold doctrines subversive of evangelical faith, we will place before them in parallel lines some of the dogmas of the Romish Church, and the declarations of the Holy Scriptures in relation to them:—

According to the Romanists, Papacy is the foundation rock of the church.	But the Bible declares Jesus Christ is the only true foundation. Matt. xvi, 18; 1 Cor. iii, 11.
They maintain that the Scriptures are not sufficient to teach the way of salvation.	But the Bible assures us they are all-sufficient. 2 Tim. iii, 15–17.
According to the Papists, the Virgin Mary was exempt from original sin.	But the Scriptures declare that all men are sinners, without exception. Rom. v, 12, 18.
They maintain that the body of Jesus Christ is present in the sacrament of the eucharist.	But the Bible declares that his body was in all respects like ours, sin alone excepted.* Heb. iv, 15.

* Hence it follows, from the declarations of the Bible, either the body of Christ cannot be present in the sacrament, or it cannot be like ours.

According to Papists the priest can recover souls from purgatory.

But the Scriptures declare, in the most positive manner, that Christ is the only Redeemer. Acts iv, 12.

Papists teach that the flames of purgatory, as well as our own satisfactions, can drive away the uncleanness of sin.

Protestants believe, on the authority of the Bible, that the blood of Christ can alone wash away the sins of men. 1 Pet. i, 18-23.

According to the Romish Church, man is formally justified by works.

But the Bible affirms, many times and oft, that it is by faith, and faith alone, that we are justified. Rom. iii, 28.

Papists prescribe certain penances by which they expect the pardon of their sins.

Protestants believe that Jesus Christ was wounded for our transgressions, and that it is by the stripes and bruises he received that we are healed. Isa. liii, 5.

Papists teach that some sins are venial, and others are mortal; and that a little holy water, and certain ceremonies, are sufficient to efface the former.

Protestants, on the authority of the Scriptures, believe that every sin merits eternal death. Gal. iii, 10; Rom. vi, 23.

Papists affirm that the sacrifice is daily repeated in the celebration of each mass.

Protestants found their hope of safety upon a single sacrifice once offered by our Lord Jesus Christ. Heb. vii, 27, 28.

The Church of Rome teaches that we may dispense with all faith toward heretics, and that the most solemn engagements ought to be violated for the good of the church.

Protestants think that a promise or an oath is a sacred thing; and an indissoluble obligation is imposed on the conscience. Eph. iv, 25; Zech. viii, 17.

Thus if we compare the doctrines of Papists with the Holy Scriptures, it is impossible not to be struck with the diametrical opposition that exists between them. There is *one* argument which the uneducated Protestant can employ, and the wisest Papist cannot refute it. The process is very simple, and the success is infallible,—*It is an undeniable truth that all who become Papists commence to contemn the Bible, and place more confidence in the word of a priest than in the word of God.*

We sometimes hear even Protestants affirm that the Church of Rome is the true church, and that her members are Christians. But can those well claim the title of Christians who hold opinions that are contradictory to the Bible? Papists entertain doctrines which Christ never taught, how then can they be regarded as the followers of Christ?

If Protestants would weigh well these reflections, if they would

verify them, Bible in hand, there is not a priest that can mislead them. The examination to which we have now devoted ourselves will show every thing that is erroneous or false in the assertions of the Romish Church relative to its antiquity. We think we have clearly demonstrated that the Reformation is only the restoration of the church in all its primitive purity, in doctrine as well as worship. The reader will not fail to perceive, also, that previous to the Council of Trent a man could be in the communion of the church without belonging to that Papacy which is only a faction in the bosom of the church. After the decisions of that assembly the faction embraced the whole Church of Rome. Formerly it was permitted to protest against errors; now all the doctrines must be admitted—doctrines of such a kind that the only conclusion to which we can arrive is, that no one can be in the communion of that corrupt church without exposing his immortal soul. The doctrines of Rome are new, opposed to the Scriptures, idolatrous, and, consequently, cannot be admitted without compromising our eternal safety. Whatever may have been the state of things before the Council of Trent, the Church of Rome, since the acts of that assembly, has ceased to be a branch of the true church. She has not done well to deck herself with the title of "the church of Christ;" as she teaches doctrines fundamentally false, she can only usurp a sacred title to which she has no right. She might properly be called the church of the pope, or the church of Satan; as she teaches doctrines which can only be the work of the father of lies; but the church of Christ! No, no, a thousand times.

However, we will pray with no less devotion or fervor for our Papal brethren; we will not cease earnestly to entreat the Lord that it may please him to pluck out from their hearts the lie which has taken root there. May he, in his gracious and infinite mercy, shed his Holy Spirit upon the Papal Church, disabuse her of the shameful train of saints, images, relics, and penances, and lead her to Christ, the only hope of the sinner, who alone is able to conduct him in safety through life, and to the bright realms of bliss!

ART. VII.—1. *A Treatise on the Millennium.* By GEORGE BUSH, A. M.

2. *Sentiments concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ.* By JOSHUA SPALDING, Minister of the Gospel in Salem.

WE know no better reason for associating these two works at the head of our article than the fact that they wholly disagree with each other; and no better reason for our reviewing them than the fact that we agree with neither, and would hope to refute them both. The former, we need not say, is the production of no ordinary master of Biblical criticism; and the latter is one of the ablest, as well as earliest written works issued on this side of the Atlantic in favor of the doctrines of modern Chiliasm.

Professor Bush is one of the noble phalanx of scholars who have given a high stand to American Biblical literature, and whose fair fame is the sacred property of our American Protestant church; and we have no intention to diminish its amount, by depreciating his reputation. Had we indeed the wish, such productions as his commentaries on several of the books of the Old Testament, particularly the one upon Exodus, would haply defy our powers of depreciation; and would he but walk, in the same style, through the books of the entire Old Testament, he would leave behind him a noble monument of piety and learning. In all his productions we have recognized a high union of patient research, with a sound and logical judgment; and if we, in a great degree, except the volume at the head of our article from this commendation, it would, of course, be merely one way of saying that we differ *toto coelo* with the professor in most of his processes and results.

His book is not so much a treatise upon a doctrine as an exegesis upon a text. He does profess, in heroic opposition to a "throned opinion," that the millennium is past; but then he means not the popular millennium of our churches, *the conversion of the world*, but the χιλια ετη, the philological *millennium* of the twentieth chapter of Revelation. These are in his view two very different things; the former of which not only does he deny to be past, but he denies that it ever will be past. He believes in a perpetual millennium on a perpetual earth. In this sense he is not only millennial in his theory, but ultra-millennial, nay, extra-millennial. Whether, therefore, he can lay claim to independence of opinion, or must lie under the charge of heresy, it will not be so much in regard to the millennium as in regard to the conse-

quences which his theory produces upon the doctrine of a judgment day. We are not particularly fearful that the professor will prove either a heretic or a heresiarch, and do not intend to press him with any supposed consequences of his scheme. Believing with him that the twentieth chapter of Revelation, the stronghold of Chiliasm in all ages, is a most important passage, we think it might be of some service if any contributions can be made toward a conclusive settlement of its meaning.

The general outlines of his theory, and the logical dependence of its parts, may be very briefly stated. The binding and incarceration of Satan, though occurring late in the narrative, transpired centuries ago, and are nothing other than the downfall of paganism under Constantine and his successors. The old serpent, the devil of the twentieth chapter, is not the personal devil, the arch tempter of all mankind, and therefore his binding and banishment are not the overthrow of the general principle of universal evil and the millennium of the church and world. The dragon of the twentieth chapter being identical with the great red dragon with seven heads and ten horns of the twelfth chapter, who is a mere symbol of paganism, is nothing but "paganism personified;" and his incarceration is the long past suppression of idolatry in the Christian world. Such being the theory, it seems to us nearly as brief a matter to refute as to state. The whole depends upon the question, whether the dragon of the twentieth chapter be a mere impersonal symbol, or the real individual Satan.

Now we see no difficulty whatever in supposing the apocalyptic Satan may be both a *representative of a principle* and a *personal being*. When paganism imbodied the great ALL of the depravity of the whole world in its own stupendous self, it was most fitly represented by the devil *in person*. When the whole world was wrapped in paganism, the proper representative of paganism was the god of this world. And as in the great battle of the twelfth chapter Christianity is identified as anti-paganism, so the battle is fought by the two great *personal* leaders and representatives, Christ, born of a woman, and the devil in his pagan guise; and as the same anti-pagan man-child of the twelfth chapter appears as the great millennial champion of the human race in the nineteenth chapter, so his victory is gloriously completed by the overthrow of Satan as the great adversary of the human race in the twentieth chapter. If the personal is not merged in the symbolical character in the case of Christ, we see not why it should be in the case of Satan.

That the sacred writer takes particular care to preserve the personal individuality of Satan under his symbolical guise, Professor

Bush gives a very satisfactory testimony. "As a magistrate in making out a warrant for the apprehension of a villain who had palmed himself upon the public by different names, would be careful to specify them all by the prefix of an *alias*, so the Spirit, in the present instance, studiously specifies the various designations of this grand adversary, as if to preclude the possibility of mistake. 'The great dragon, *alias* the old serpent, *alias* the devil, *alias* Satan—by whatever appellation he may be distinguished, here he is, you may know him by his escutcheon.'" Why, then, we ask, if he be the real *personal* devil, does Professor Bush, at the very moment the officer of divine Justice has "laid hold on the dragon," stand by, and exclaim, "No, this is not the real old serpent, the devil, the arch enemy of all the human race; it is only '*paganism personified!*'" Why should the professor attempt to rescue him from his true deserts, by affirming that his special pagan habiliments, and apparatus of heads, and horns, and crowns, disproved his identity? And if, through all his various masquerades and metamorphoses, of which his pagan phase was but one, he is still the same immutable devil, why may not the angel bind him as the great author of evil to the human race, and introduce the millennium into the earth by casting him out of it? To us the conclusion seems inevitable.

But granting to the professor the immutable truth of his postulate, that the dragon is "*a standing symbol of paganism*," or "*paganism personified*"—the admission is fatal to his theory. For then, what is signified by this long incarceration and subsequent liberation of the pagan dragon? The former, he expressly tells us, is "a figurative mode of announcing the suppression of paganism, for a definite period of years—its banishment from the bounds of Christendom during the period specified." His release, then, can be nothing else than this same paganism revived. "The dragon," he tells us, "is paganism; *his deceiving the nations is his seducing them into idolatry*, and the consequence of his being bound is a happy immunity from his diabolical arts by those who were formerly his victims." When, then, at the close of the thousand years, paganism comes forth and deceives the nations by "*seducing them into idolatry*,"—Gog and Magog, numerous as the sands of the sea—who, according to the professor, are these countless hosts of armed pagans? They are—will our readers believe it?—that horde of the most fierce exterminators of paganism that ever held a sword—the Turks! The fiercest theists that ever lived are Professor Bush's pagan Gog and Magog. The creed of these pagans was, "*There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet;*"

their argument was the sabre, and their bloody mission was to exterminate idolatry from the earth.

If it be replied, (the only hint upon this point we can find in his book,) that the ancestors of the Ottomans were once pagan hordes of the north, such an evasion will complete the fate of this theory. We will not reply now that the emancipated dragon "*deceives*," that is, as the professor defines it, "*seduces them into idolatry*," and that, therefore, in strictness, they must be previous anti-pagans then and there by him converted to paganism. But is the fact that the theistic Ottomans were the posterity of ancient pagan nations sufficient to place them under the auspices of the dragon as their demon? Then, as the ancestry of every nation of the earth has been pagan, the dragon may be the arch fiend of all nations, the personal devil. If he come up from the pit ready to be the inspirer of the Ottoman tribes, he may have descended into it as the great tempter of any and all other tribes, and his banishment may be the last stroke that emancipates the world from the dominion of depravity.

Such, then, is the solemn verdict which we are in conscience obliged to pronounce upon this well-elaborated theory. It is based upon a shadow, its contradictory parts mutually explode each other, and the very evasions that should prop, completely undermine it. At the same time we see nothing in the common view for which the apostle's language has not made ample provision. When it is affirmed, that under his dragon form he is personally "that old serpent, the devil, and Satan which deceiveth the whole world," it is denied that he is, like the beast, a mere figment of the imagination, created for a present symbolical purpose; and it is asserted that he has a personal history; a history beginning before his fall from his angelic state, including his authorship of the ruin of our race, and extending onward to the "*judgment of the great day*," to which he is "*reserved*." His pagan dominion and battle is but one chapter in the arch fiend's history; his dragon shape is but one of the mutations of the great diabolical Proteus. Arrayed in all the symbols of pagan imperial Rome, the ten horns and seven crowned heads, (chap. xii,) he breaks upon the vision, solely as the great red dragon; nor is it until cast down to earth that he is designated by all his *personal* names and titles. Confounded with his pagan overthrow, he retires from view—"*wroth with the woman, he went to make war with her seed*"—still acting as the invisible prince of the power of the air, until he reappears in the twentieth chapter, to complete, by his exile, the liberation of mankind. His subordinate and successor, the Papal beast, instantly rises as he retires, endowed heir to all his Roman symbols of horns, heads,

and crowns, until his own final overthrow. It is not said, when Satan reappears, that he possesses the Roman emblems, or the dragon shape; and he is then specified by one of his *aliases*, as *dragon*, only to identify him. When, at the close of the thousand years, he emerges from the bottomless pit, the last vestige even of the name of dragon has disappeared; and in that part of the text, as well as in that part of the professor's commentary, he is no longer the Roman pagan *dragon*, but *Satan*, the deceiver of "*the nations*." With what propriety indeed could the animating genius of the Ottomans wear the seven heads and crowns, the insignia and regalia of imperial pagan Rome? We see not, therefore, the slightest shadow of proof, that his temporary dragon form forbids our settled belief in the real personality and the future millennial incarceration of the apocalyptic Satan.

To the copious philological details with which Professor Bush's rich scholarship adorns his pages and illustrates his theory, as well as to the arguments which Mr. Spalding and the Chiliasts of the day advance in favor of their hypothesis, we shall administer some occasional notices while we attempt to give this much-contested and very important passage a new exposition. We say a new exposition, for though it may ultimately bring us to essentially the same result in regard to the future millennium, as the common view of the church generally at the present day, (very ably stated in Dr. Scott's commentary on the passage,) yet the *modus interpretandi* will, we trust, be such as to elude the objections which the advocates of Chiliasm advance against the common exposition. We make no pretensions to the dignity of a theory; on the contrary, we claim to be, not only rigid literalists, but unsparing iconoclasts—ruthless demolishers of all theories. We wish to strip the passage of all the superincumbent strata which ingenious men have deposited all round it, and come down to the plainest and most obvious literal meaning of the text. The advocates of Chiliasm boast of being, by eminenee, *the literalists;* if therefore we detect them in unnatural figure, and show them both a more natural and more literal mode, they are bound either to give up their boast or adopt our exposition. To Professor Bush we object that upon one of the most simple-hearted and inartificial of writers, his explanation of words and phrases is too subtle and far-fetched. He seems to prefer the refined and the recondite to the simple and the obvious. We are sometimes inclined to suspect that too acute a philologist is a bad judge of the natural force of human language, just as too abstract a metaphysician is often the worst judge of human character.

We claim to be literalists. The Christian public are greatly indebted to Professor Stuart for the powerful and persevering manner in which he has maintained the principle that the Biblical writers are to be interpreted on the same principles as any other authors; and that no interpretation which violates the known principles of grammar and lexicography, can for a moment be allowed as legitimate. Many expositors, especially of prophecy, interpret Scripture language in a manner which they would condemn as disingenuous, if practised upon their own compositions. Should the words of a debater in Congress, for instance, be construed in a manner violating both grammar and English philology; should his sentences be capriciously resolved into figure, his paragraphs be transposed in their order, or his words be strained into rare and far-fetched meanings, he would reply, not so much by disproving the logic, as by denouncing the dishonesty of such a perversion. Undoubtedly, different styles have their own specific principles, but no author would desire his words to be interpreted without a conformity to the three following principles:—1. No word should be taken in an unusual meaning where the more common signification makes good sense. 2. No transposition of paragraphs or sentences should be made for which the author furnishes no authority, where his own order presents a consistent connection. 3. The rule of Hooker, "I hold it for a most infallible rule, that where a literal construction will stand the furthest from the letter is worst;" or, in other words, the literal meaning is to be presumed unless the connection or style compel a figurative.

And tried by these simple principles, we hesitate not to say that the Chiliastic interpretation of this passage scarce needs an argument to refute it. That interpretation is briefly as follows:—The destruction of the wicked being described, and the simultaneous conflagration of the world being supposed in the nineteenth chapter, the twentieth chapter opens with the binding of Satan and the resurrection of the saints, who, in their glorified bodies, reign with Christ upon the new earth, of which the twenty-first chapter is an appended description. This is the first resurrection. At the close of the thousand years Satan goes forth from the bottomless pit, accompanied by the souls of the wicked, which, uniting with the burnt ashes of their bodies lying on the soil of the new earth, form the armies of Gog and Magog. This is the second resurrection. This construction creates a great embarrassment with the judgment scene which follows, which different authors dispose of in different ways. But it must suffice us to say that the usual mode is to make

chapter xx, verses 1–10, and verses 12–15, to be coincident descriptions of the same thing; while chapter xxi is to be interpolated into the fourth verse of the twentieth chapter.

Now for all this transposition there is no authority, and it makes the passage contradictory. That the twenty-first chapter should succeed the close of the twentieth, and not precede it, is plain. At the close of the twentieth chapter the dead rise from the "*sea*," and it must be not until after that passage that (chap. xx, 1) "*there is no more sea.*" Again, it is at the close of the twentieth chapter, that "the last enemy, death, is destroyed," and it must be not until after this that (chap. xxi, 1) "*there shall be no more death.*" But even did not these and other contradictions exist, this transposition is a plain and presumptuous violation of a true principle of interpretation. No transposition of the order of paragraphs should be allowed where the author's own order makes sense. And that the passage in the author's own order makes a perfectly plain sense no reader will deny. We shall endeavor to refute these theories further, mainly by sustaining our own exposition.

I. It is plain, then, in the first place, from the very letter of the passage, that *the nations of the earth are existing in their successive generations through the whole of this thousand years.*— A great massacre is indeed described in the previous (nineteenth) chapter, but a comparison of the two paragraphs (verses 11–16 and 17–21) of that description, will show that in the former is detailed the reduction, by both moral and forcible means, of the nations generally to the gospel sway of Christ, and in the latter the battle and massacre of the armies of antichrist.

In the first paragraph, the symbolical heavens open, and Christ descends. This epiphany is so precisely similar to his appearance in chap. vi, 2, that they must be events of the same nature; and as the latter describes, according to the best commentators, not his second advent, but his coming in the power of his gospel and overruling providence, so must the former.

Chap. iv, 1: After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven.

Chap. vi, 2: And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

Chap. xix, 11: And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

Distinguished by his attributes, "Faithful and True," clothed in "a vesture dipped in" atoning "blood," followed by his ministry, typified as the "armies of heaven," his war is a war of righteousness, and his name is his gospel name, "THE WORD OF GOD." "Out of his mouth" (not in his hand) "goeth a sharp sword"—for "the word of God is sharper than any two-edged sword." *With it he should* (not destroy, but) *smite* THE NATIONS; for "the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him; with righteousness shall he judge the poor; he shall *smite the earth with the rod of his mouth; and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb*," &c., Isa. xi. "He shall rule" (ποιμανει, tend them as a shepherd) "*the nations* with a rod" (or shepherd's crook) "of iron." Uniting judgment with mercy, he shall "tread the winepress of the wrath of God" until he attain visibly the character of "King of kings and Lord of lords." But since *to smite* does not signify to exterminate, but to chastise; and since to *rule* does not signify to slay, and since a *shepherd* uses his crook not to slaughter, but to control his flock, so it is clear that, according to this paragraph, Christ does not exterminate, but he chastises, subdues, and rules "THE NATIONS."

In the second paragraph is described the battle and extermination of the armies gathered to make war against him that sat on the horse. An angel first stands in the sun, and calls all the fowls of heaven to devour them, kings and captains, riders and horses, free and bond; the beast and false prophet are cast into hell, and *the remnant* οι λοιποι, the rest, *were slain*. The terms of universality (*men both*) in verse 18, are supplied by the translators, and the comprehension of all the terms used includes only *antichrist and his armies*, without implying any destruction of "THE NATIONS."

"*The nations*" then being undestroyed, we come into the twentieth chapter, where Satan is laid hold on, cast out, shut up, locked, and sealed; and for what purpose? *That he should deceive* THE NATIONS *no more until the thousand years should be fulfilled.* And who are "*the nations*," to prevent his deceiving whom, Satan is so forcibly banished? Any one who has no system to support, would, of course, reply, that they are the still living "*nations*" of the nineteenth chapter. Will the Chiliast say that "*the nations*" are the dead bodies of the wicked, lying as ashes upon the soil of the new earth? Then Satan must either be in danger of raising their dead bodies—for which Christ alone has power—or he must deceive their insensible moldering ashes; either of which notions is too ludicrous for argument. Will he say that they are the souls of the wicked? But, according to Chiliasm, their souls are sur-

rendered over to him, and with him are sealed in hell. Will he say that they are the righteous in their resurrection bodies on the new earth? But these are past their day of probation, and no longer deceivable. Besides, he does come forth at the close of the thousand years and deceives "*the nations*." In verse 3, he is shut up, that he should deceive "*the nations*" no more until the thousand years are fulfilled; and then, verse 7, when the thousand years are expired, he goes out and deceives "*the nations*," Gog and Magog, and gathers them to battle against the righteous.

There is, then, but one possible conclusion. The great massacre of antichrist leaves undestroyed τα εθνη "THE NATIONS;" Satan is bound a thousand years, that he may not, for so long, deceive τα εθνη "THE NATIONS;" accordingly at its close he does come forth, and does deceive τα εθνη "THE NATIONS." What is plainer, then, than the fact that the nations shall roll on their uninterrupted generations, through the thousand years, until the final resurrection?

II. During the thousand years the apostle beheld not the *bodies*, but the SOULS, of them that were beheaded, &c.

Here undoubtedly the Greek ψυχη and our English *soul* are about as positive synonyms as the two languages can afford. This is usually the case, whether in the classic writers, in the New Testament, or in the Christian Greek of the early fathers. The first paragraph of Homer tells the scholar that the wrath of Achilles sent the souls (ψυχας) of heroes to hades, and gave themselves, that is, their bodies, to the birds. The soul of Hector departed from his body "indignant at leaving so much strength and youth."

> "Ψυχη δεκ ρεθεων πταμενη αϊδοσδε βεβηκει
> Ὁν ποτμον γοοωσα, λιπουσα αδροτητα και ἡβην."
>
> *Iliad*, xxii, 361.

Gregory Nyssen among the Greek fathers defines, Η ψυχη ουσια τις εστιν ασωματος, "the *soul* is a certain incorporeal substance." More fully Athanasius, Η ψυχη της οικειας ἐνεργειας εχει της ψυχης ονομασιαν. Ψυχειν γε το ζωοποιειν λεγεται δια τουτο εκ του ζωοποιου ἐνεργειας ψυχη λεγεται δια το σωμα ζωοποιειν. "The soul has its name from the peculiar power of the soul. The verb ψυχειν *psychein* signifies to inspire with life; and the word ψυχη *psyche*, *soul*, is used from its life-giving power, because it vivifies the body." Hence the body is called by Chrysostom οικια ψυχης, "*the house of the soul*." From these, and many more extracts that might be given, it is plain that the Greek ψυχη designates the spiritual being which inhabits the body.

In precise accordance with this is the language of our Saviour, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the *soul;*" a full demonstration that after the body lies a dead corpse, —its bodily life being extinct—the soul (ψυχη) is still living. "It may be shown," says Professor Bush, "that the most appropriate term in Biblical Greek for the expression of this idea" (of umbrae or ghosts) "is ψυχη, answering to the Latin anima, soul, the word here employed." When, therefore, Professor Bush uses it in a different sense, he takes from it that meaning for which it is the most appropriate.

2. It is not necessary to deny that in Biblical Greek, as well as in English, by that figure which puts a part for the whole, the *soul* is put for the *whole person*. That this is a figurative use of the word is well said by an excellent authority, both in philosophy and in Greek, the Greek philosopher Plutarch: Ψυχην και κεφαλην τον ανθρωπον ειωθαμεν απο των κυριοτατων ὑποκοριζεσθαι. "We are accustomed to apply the affectionate epithets, *head and soul*, from the noblest parts to the whole person." This figure is much more frequent in the Hebrew corresponding word נֶפֶשׁ than in classical or New Testament Greek. With the adjective מֵת the word sometimes signifies a dead person, and, strange to say, it is once or twice used by an ellipsis of the adjective to signify *a corpse*.* This, by a bare verbal translation in the Septuagint, is translated by the word ψυχη; but that this Hebrew ellipsis has been adopted into the language of the New Testament or patristical Greek, is contrary to probability, and unsustained perhaps by any clear instance.

But before the literalist by profession can avail himself of these more remote and figurative meanings, he must show that the literal meaning makes not a good sense. He is absolutely debarred by Hooker's rule, "Where a literal construction will stand, the furthest from the letter is worst." The burden of proof rests upon him, that the passage literally taken is absurd, and unless he sustain it, let him renounce his boast of literalism.

But the proof positive from the passage itself lies perhaps mainly on the other side.

1. The question whether the body should be raised, in order, with the soul, to enjoy the future state, was one great point of contest between the Christian and the pagan world. Pagans sneered at the resurrection of the body, while they hoped the immortality of the soul; while Christianity, for centuries, fought for the doctrine of the resurrection, specifically of *the body*. Hence

* See Gesenius in verbo.

how carefully and strenuously physical is the Biblical phraseology on this subject! Many *bodies* of the saints arose—though worms destroy this *body*, yet in my *flesh* shall I see God—the redemption of our *body*—it is sown a natural *body*, it is raised a spiritual *body* —quicken your mortal *bodies*—receive the things done in the *body*; and the apostles' creed is worded with the same precision—*the resurrection of the body*. St. John, a leader in this great moral battle, could not have been ignorant that *body* and *soul*, in the matter of the resurrection, were words of contest; nor could he, either willingly or inadvertently, have adopted the favorite watch-word of paganism, and so have given color to their views, when, in fact, he meant to express the thing so carefully and constantly maintained by other inspired and Christian writers. It is utterly inadmissible, therefore, that he could have said *souls* when he meant *bodies*.

2. Unless he really meant *souls*, the word seems to be introduced either by blunder or purposely, to embarrass the meaning. It would have been a little easier, and far more natural, to have avoided the clumsy periphrasis, *ψυχας πεπελεκισμενων souls of the beheaded*, and to have said directly, *τους πεπελεκισμενους those beheaded*, or more precisely, *σωματα πεπελεκισμενων the bodies of those slain*. Those with whom we argue may be defied to produce a plausible reason for a circumlocution, which on their hypothesis is so utterly unnatural and unnecessary.

3. Whenever we understand, either in Greek or English, a person to be called a *soul*, the surrounding circumstances demonstrate such to be the application. Thus when Luke says, "And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls," the whole narrative of the shipwreck is of so corporeal a kind that no sane man doubts that men living in the body are meant. Not so the present passage. The apocalyptic writer is continually ranging through the world of spirits. He is speaking of the souls of men who *were dead*. While he beholds their *souls* alive, their *bodies* are *πεπελεκισμενων beheaded* with the axe; for, by the way, the Greek participle rendered *beheaded* is in the perfect; a tense whose specific purpose is to designate that the act remains, either in itself or its effects, to the present time. While their headless bodies, then, are lying upon the earth, the eye of the apocalyptic seer, ranging through the invisible world, so groups together those bodiless entities, Satan—the master spirit of evil—the angel, the impersonation of the gospel, and the glorified souls of martyred saints, in such an association as utterly forbids us to understand him in the material sense. He, therefore, who finds

here a bodily resurrection, must resign all claim to the title of literalist.

III. Of these souls the apostle affirms that they LIVED.

This life of the soul is the *vita beata*—by which it glows with bliss, and ever blooms and expands into an immortal growth and beauty—the principle of celestial life implanted by Christ in the glorified spirit, over and above its mere conscious existence.

It may go far toward settling this point to say that the word *ζωη life* is used many times in the writings of St. John, and in by far the majority of cases it is used in this sense. It is used twice in this chapter, (verses 12 and 15,) and both times in this sense; it is used fifteen times in Revelation, and every time in this sense. And so also the verb *ζαω zao*, to live, in nearly every instance of its use, denotes the principle of celestial life belonging to the beatified soul, in contradistinction to the eternal death of the damned. This alone can be the meaning of all those phrases occurring in these latter chapters of Revelation, *book of life*, *tree of life*, *water of life*, *bread of life*, *river of life*, *word of life*, *eternal life*, *life*.

This life, or living of the soul, it must be specially observed, is opposed, not to the annihilation of the soul, but to the death of the soul, the second death. The death of the body is not the annihilation of the body; nor is the annihilation of the body the proper opposite of the life of the body. Bodily life is opposed to bodily death, and the existence of the body is the proper opposite of its nonexistence or annihilation. So the death of the soul is not its extinction; on the contrary, the death of the soul implies its continued and conscious existence. But its death—the death that never dies—implies that it is blasted by the curse of God, writhing in ceaseless agony. On the contrary, the *life of the soul* is not only a continued existence, but a blissful exemption from eternal death, and the positive possession of the principle of a glorious immortality. This distinction is often expressed by the Greek Christian writers. Thus Chrysostom: *Οταν ακουσης ὁτι θανατος ψυχης μη νομισης ψυχην αποθνησκειν γαρ αθανατος εστι· θανατος γε ψυχης αμαρτια και κολασις αιωνια.* "When thou hearest of the death of the soul, imagine not that the soul becomes extinct; the death of the soul is sin and eternal punishment." Hence he calls it *αθανατος θανατος* a deathless death. On the contrary, the intermediate state of the blessed soul, to which death immediately translates him, he styles life. *Θανατος μεταστασις τις εστι τοις εναρετως βιὠσιν απο των χειρονων επι τα βελτιω απο της προσκαιρου ζωης επι την διηνεκη και αθανατον.* "Death is a transition for the

virtuous from worse to better, from a temporal to a life eternal and immortal."

Life—eternal life—celestial life, according to St. John's peculiar use of terms, is a bestowment by Christ upon the soul of the believer; conferred really and irrevocably at his entrance into the future state, and finally consummated at the rising of his body to the resurrection of life; yet the pledge or germ is virtually and conditionally bestowed by faith upon the justified soul *in this life*. Eternal life, therefore, is implanted in the soul, and the soul passes from death unto life in this world. With St. John, therefore, the glorified life hereafter of the believer, and his justified life here, are different stages of the same thing.

Tholuck thus expresses this idea in his commentary on John v, 14:—"The ζωη αιωνιος eternal life is that sanctified life of the inward man in God, which shall be perfected in the future world, where all limitations are removed, but which *commences even here whenever man enters into union with the Redeemer* through faith. Consequently, Christ often declares that the man who is filled with faith enters *here already into this eternal life*. John v, 24. In other places, on the contrary, as here, he describes this ζωη αιωνιος eternal life *as future*." Eternal life is to spiritual life what eternal death is to spiritual death, the same thing presented in a future world, in its consummated and permanent state.

Of the many proof-texts which show that *life* in the world to come and in the present are two states of the same thing, we may quote a few:—1. *That eternal life is essentially conferred upon the soul at its entrance into the invisible state.* "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish," John x, 28. "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die," John xi, 25, 26. In this text it is plain that the glorified and eternal life is spoken of, and it takes place while the man is dead. His body is dead, and his soul not merely exists, but lives a life of which faith is the condition, and believers the subjects. "They which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ," Rom. v, 17. 2. *This eternal life is, by anticipation and conditionally, bestowed in this world.* "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life," John vi, 47. "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent," John xvii, 3. "He that heareth my words hath everlasting life," John v, 24. 3. *Sometimes both the present and future states are combined in one view.* "The water which I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlast-

ing life," John iv, 14. As the fountain sends its gushing streams into the ocean, so does spiritual life lose itself in eternal life.

When, therefore, the apostle, looking into the invisible world, beholds the spirits of just men made perfect LIVING, he beholds but the consummation of that LIFE which he had often described, as initially belonging to the Christian on earth. His apocalypse presents that life in its triumphant state, which his gospels had so often described in the militant state. He exhibits here, in picture, what he had formerly announced in precept. And that this is the plain fact, we may make more evident when we treat upon the first resurrection.

Should an objector attempt to maintain that, after all, we are resorting to the figurative sense of the word *lived*, he should be careful what ground he assumes. For,—1. If it be true that the apostle scarcely ever uses the words *life, and live*, frequently as they occur, in any other sense, he should think whether that fact does not demand that this be the meaning here presumed. 2. When a term becomes by constant use idiomatic and technical, when it is the only word used, or which language affords to designate a given idea, let him consider well whether that word does not thereby become literal. 3. The objector may be very glad to forget the subject of which the apostle predicates this *life*. But be it not forgotten, it is not *life* alone, nor *life of bodies*, of which the apostle speaks, but the LIFE OF SOULS; and the *souls* too of *dead men*, martyrs to the truth. Now any objector may be defied to furnish any other meaning of *the life of a disembodied sainted spirit*, than the very meaning we have assigned. This is not only the literal meaning of the phrase, but the *only* literal meaning. 4. It is very strange that they who maintain that the living of "*souls*" means the living of bodies, should be *the* literalists, and we who maintain that the word *souls* means *souls*, should be the allegorists. Is not the celestial life of a spirit over and above its mere existence and in opposition to its eternal death a plain and substantive idea? And should it not have its proper term? And is there any more proper term, or more abundantly Scriptural, or more strictly literal in all language for this simple idea than *life?* Is THE LIVING GOD a figure of speech? Just as when a naturalist asserts of a flower, that it has not merely, like a stone, an inanimate existence, but a truly vegetable *life*, he borrows from the animal world, and applies, not allegorically but scientifically, the most proper term which language affords to designate an immaterial but real element; so the apostle, when he predicates life of the paradisaic soul, in contradistinction to the eternal death of the

damned ghost, literally applies to a simple and substantive idea, just the most appropriate term which language affords. Surely that must be the truest, most essential life; of which, indeed, all other life is but the figure and the shadow.

For the primal sentence, *thou shalt surely die*, included the fullness of death upon the whole man and upon his everlasting being. It terminated a life of which our bodily life is but a shadow, and the death it inflicted is a death of which organic destruction is but one of the phenomena. It manifests itself, indeed, in the body by decay and dissolution, which is *the first death;* it manifests itself in the soul by spiritual depravity and eternal misery in the world to come, which is *the second death.* By Christ both these deaths may be reversed; by a revival of the soul to a prospective celestial life here, to be exalted and perpetuated in a glorified state hereafter, which is *the first resurrection;* and by a revival and reorganization of the body to an eternal union with the soul, which is *the second resurrection.*

The exposition of the word "*lived*" which we have given, is so plain and obvious, that it probably would never be doubted, were it not for some apparent difficulties in the fifth verse, where it is said, "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished." Upon these words are founded two objections: 1. It is said that the wicked dead "lived not *again;*" the word *again* implying repetition, clearly shows that it is a life which the wicked have once lived, which can only be bodily life. 2. Again, when it is said, they lived not again "until the thousand years were finished," it implies that the wicked would live this life at the close of the thousand years, which proves it to be physical life. To these difficulties Professor Bush's answers are excellent.

To the first objection he replies:—

"We are aware, indeed, that the phrase 'lived not again,' may be thought to militate with this construction; but although it cannot be doubted that our translators read in their copies *ανεζησαν lived again*, yet it is remarkable that some of the most approved editions of the New Testament, as that of Knapp, for instance, reject this as a corrupt reading, and insert *εζησαν* lived. There is little doubt that *ανεζησαν* has crept into the text, from the construction put upon *εζησαν* in the preceding verse. As in the prevailing views of the millennium, that word was understood to signify a *literal resurrection*, or *living again*, the inference would not be unnatural, that when the same thing was denied of a certain class of men, the term employed would, of course, be one having the same signification, only preceded by a negative. This affords a specimen of the manner in which men's preconceived hypotheses have been suffered to warp, not their interpretation only, but the very reading of the sacred text."

To the second he replies as follows:—

"But does the language, rightly interpreted, imply that they should live after the expiration of that term? By no means. The drift of the Spirit of inspiration is merely to intimate that the latter class were distinguished from the former by the fact, that those who composed it did not live through the memorable period of the thousand years, without at all necessitating the inference that they did live after the period had expired. It is a well-established canon of interpretation, that adverbs, denoting a termination of time, are, notwithstanding, often intended, not to intimate an actual termination, but, on the contrary, to signify perpetuity. Thus, Psa. cx, 1: 'Sit thou at my right hand *until* I make thine enemies thy footstool.' Is it at all implied by this that Christ should *cease* to sit at his Father's right hand when his enemies were brought into subjection? So also, Isa. xxii, 14, 'This iniquity shall not be purged *till* ye die.' But are we to infer that it should be purged then? Certainly not. It is equivalent to saying it should never be purged. In like manner, 1 Sam. xv, 35, 'Samuel came no more *until* the day of his death;' that is, never came any more. 2 Sam. vi, 23, 'Michal had no children *until* the day of her death;' that is, never had any. Rom. v, 13, 'For *until* the law, sin was in the world.' But did sin cease after the entrance of the law? Obviously the writer's aim is to state a particular fact in respect to a particular period of time, without in the least intimating that the fact ceased when the period ceased. So in the present instance. Nothing further is intended to be affirmed respecting 'the rest of the dead' than that they did not, like those to whom they are opposed, live during the memorable millennium. As to what happened to them *after* that period, nothing is expressly said; but in conformity to the usage just illustrated, the inference is that they *never* lived in the sense in which *living* is predicated of the 'souls' of the martyrs."

The solution thus furnished by the research of Professor Bush is so satisfactory that it may appear a supererogation for us to add the remarks which follow.

1. In condemning the common reading of this word, Professor Bush accords, we believe, with the best authorities. In Dr. Bloomfield's Testament, republished by Professor Stuart, the word is marked as spurious. Tittman's edition, republished by Professor Robinson, has *εζησαν*. Robinson remarks in his New Testament Lexicon, "*ανεζησαν*, in the earlier editions; later ones, *εζησαν*."

2. But granting the correctness of the reading, the word *ανεζησαν* is not, in Greek, precisely synonymous with our phrase, *lived* again; at least it does not imply *repetition*. Any Greek scholar, by glancing over those words in his Lexicon which begin with the prefix *ava*, will find that but very few include the force of the Latin prefix *re;* and of those, perhaps, a close scrutiny will show

that none really express the idea of repetition. The usual, and perhaps the only sense of the prefix *ava* is, *up;* and *αναζησαν* signifies literally to *live up;* that is, *to start up into life* from a previous stupor, or death of body or soul. So *ανιστημι* to *rise up*, and *αναστασις* a *rising up* from a previous lower condition, or from death; *αναβιοω* to *rise up* into life, or *revive*. It is true, as death has in point of fact always been preceded by a previous life, so it usually is the case that where these words are used, a former life has really existed. Yet these words express not that former life; they only express the *ascent* from the previous death. Such being the meaning of *ανεζησαν*, it follows that the antithesis of the passage is this: the souls of the righteous dead, did, but those of the wicked dead, did not, rise into the paradisaic life.

3. But we lose nothing even by admitting that "*lived not again*" is a true translation of a true reading. It then signifies a living from a previous death; and all death, spiritual or temporal, supposes a previous life. He who is dead in body or soul has lived and died. If the souls of these wicked were *dead*, they had died from a previous life, and that life they "lived not again." The antithesis, therefore, still remains the same; the righteous souls did, but the wicked did not, live again.

To Professor Bush's answer to the second difficulty, we may further add:—1. Not only in Biblical, but in popular language, when we say that a state of things lasts *until* a given point, we do not imply, necessarily, that it ceases after that point. We do imply that some modification takes place at that point; but that modification may be a confirmation, a perpetuation, or an increase of that state of things. Thus I may say, Many men do not repent *until* they are old,—and then they are so hardened that they never repent. Again, B. was worth twenty thousand dollars *until* he was forty years old,—and then he became worth forty thousand. The former case expresses a confirmation, the latter an increase of the same state of things. Again, the wicked dead lived not in soul *until* the thousand years were finished; and then they lived not eternally. 2. It is plain, from the language of the apostle, that he is describing one stage of things, without either expressing or implying what was the state of things in the next stage. This is clearly shown in his description of the duration of the reign of the righteous, which all admit to be eternal—"they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." Does this imply that their reign terminated with the thousand years? Just as clearly as the affirmation that the wicked souls were dead until the close of that thousand years, implies that they then ceased to be dead. The right-

eous lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years—the wicked lived not again until the thousand years were ended; and then the righteous continued alive and reigning, and the wicked continued dead and damned for ever.

While, then, the righteous dead gloriously lived in soul, the rest of the wicked dead lived in neither respect. They lived not in body, for the bodily resurrection had not come; they lived not in soul, for to them the first resurrection would never come. This double death should last until the close of the thousand years, and then they should live again in body, in order to meet in its utter completion the second death.

We may complete the proofs of our definition by remarking that the word *live* was habitually used by the Jews in this sense. Thus Grotius, in his commentary upon the passage, says, "The souls which are in hades are not said *ζην to live;* but those only which are located under *the throne of glory*, as the Jews say; for so they call the perfected state of souls before the universal resurrection."* Upon the words *ουκ εζησαν they lived not*, (for so Grotius reads it,) he remarks, "That is, they remained in hades in that state, which was suitable to the life which they had lived on earth." Upon the first resurrection he remarks, "This conveyance of the martyrs to the celestial abode can properly be called a resurrection." Numerous instances are given by Schoettgen in his Horæ Hebraicæ upon Matt. xxii, 32, of this mode of expression among the Jews, of which we select a few.

Midrasch Coheleth, fol. xc, 4, upon the words, "*for the living know that they must die:*"—"They are meant, who even in death are called *living*. '*But the dead know not any thing.*' The impious are meant, who, even while active in life, are called dead. Whence we prove this, that the just, even in death, are called *living*."†

* Και εζησαν. Animae quc sunt εν 'αδου non dicuntur ζην sed eœ quæ translatae sunt sub solium gloriae, ut loquuntur Hebræi. Sic vocant perfectissimum statum animarum ante resurrectionem universalem.

Ουκ εζησαν, i. e., mansere εν 'αδου in eo statu qui congruens erat vitæ in seculo actæ.

Αυτη 'η αναστασις 'η πρωτη. Illa evectio Martyrum in cœlum potest αναστασις dici.

† Midrasch Cohelcth, fol. xc, 4, ad verba Coheleth ix, 5. Nam viventes sciunt quod morituri sint. *Intelliguntur, qui etiam in morte viventes dicuntur.*

Et mortui non sciunt: Intelliguntur impii qui etiam versantes dicuntur mortui. Unde vero hoc probamus, quod justi etiam in morte dicantur viventes, &c.—See *Schoettgenii Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. i, pp. 181, 1113.

Jalkut Simeoni, part ii, fol. cix, 3, "No difference is there between the just *living* or *dead*, except that they differ in name."

Synopsis Sohar, p. 138, n. vii: "Jacob our father, and Moses our teacher, upon whom be peace, are not dead; and so all who are in their perfected state; because the true *life* consists of this. Although it is written of them that they are dead, this is to be understood in respect to us, not to them."

Schoettgen upon Rev. vi, 9, "souls under the altar," quotes, Sohar Chadasch, fol. xxii, 1. Said Rabbi Jacob: "All the souls are taken from under the *throne of the glory of God*, that they may (at the resurrection) resume their body, as a father takes his child."

The same upon Canticles viii, 1: "By vine is meant the righteous soul, which in heaven is planted under the *throne of glory*." In another place: "How loved by God is that soul which is taken from under the *throne of God's glory*—from the holy place—the land of the *living*."

Schoettgen also shows that the same *throne of glory* was the place of the Messiah in his exaltation. "Messiah was to be descended from the fathers and in human flesh, to redeem us, then he was in the same to occupy the *throne of glory*."—Vol. ii, p. 139.

From these extracts the meaning of this language from a Jew is plain. The disembodied spirits of the saints, being in the perfected state called the throne of glory, are said, in contradistinction to the wicked, *to* LIVE, and *to live with the glorified Messiah*. This is the same with the abode of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, the same as the being absent from the body, and being present with the Lord of St. Paul, the same as the being in paradise with Christ of the penitent thief, and the same as the life and reign of souls of St. John.

IV. Of these *souls* the apostle affirms that they were in THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

Professor Bush understands here, by the word resurrection, the subjects of that resurrection. Just as *the circumcision* is used as an epithet for the circumcised ones, or Jews, so here *the resurrection* is an epithet designating the risen ones, or "*resurrectionists*." Now it seems a fatal objection to this interpretation that the word resurrection is never so used, so far as we know, in the whole Greek language, sacred or profane. Again, had the apostle so meant he would scarcely have said, THIS *is the first resurrection*, but, THESE *are the first resurrection*. Just as he says, Phil. iii, 3, Ημεις εσμεν η περιτομη we are the circumcision, he would more probably have

said, Ὁυτοι εισιν ἡ αναστασις ἡ πρωτη. And again, this furnishes an incidental objection to Professor Bush's whole theory. To consider the suffering and persecuted church of the dark ages to be the first resurrection, and the rising of the whole human race at the judgment the second resurrection, forms a strange antithesis.

Perhaps the connection shows, however, that the apostle means not the resurrection act, but the resurrection state. Thus the Sadducees asked our Lord, "In the resurrection (state) whose wife shall she be?" "They that attain that world and the resurrection from the dead;" where "that world" and the "resurrection from the dead" are explanatory of each other. "In the resurrection (state) they neither marry," &c. The apostle beholds these souls in their permanent, living condition, reigning for a thousand years, and it is this continued state which he denominates the first resurrection.

The Greek word *αναστασις* is by no means so narrow in its comprehension as our English term resurrection. Both in its noun and verb form, it is used in countless cases both in classical and Biblical Greek to express the act of *rising up*, whether from sitting or lying, from torpor, sleep, or death, from any lower condition of body or soul. In the Septuagint, Lam. iii, 63, "Behold their sitting down and their *αναστασις rising up*." Zeph. iii, 8, "Until the day that I rise up to the prey;" literally the day of *αναστασεως* my rising up. So in the New Testament, Luke ii, 34, "This child is set for the fall and *rising* (*αναστασις*) of many in Israel," where a moral *rising again* is designated. Similarly St. Paul, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise (*αναστα*) from the dead." Indeed, the verb form of this word is used an immense number of times in the Septuagint and New Testament to express the simple act of rising. These remarks furnish an answer to those who ignorantly deny that this word ever designates any thing but the bodily resurrection from the dead.

It is again to be recollected that those who explain the *αναστασις* of this passage to be the resurrection of the body, rebel against the positive letter, for it is literally a RESURRECTION OF SOULS. The resurrection of souls can be no other than the life of the soul; and this vision can be nothing other than a representation of the promise fulfilled, "he that believeth in me, though he were (bodily) dead, yet (in soul) shall he live." It is the picture, in the glorified state of that same life and resurrection of soul which St. John, in particular, among the sacred writers, often describes. A comparison of a few texts in which the first and second resurrection

are mentioned, will show the nature of Biblical language on this point.

The first resurrection.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and *now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. John v, 24–26.

I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. John xi, 25, 26.

We know that we have passed from death unto life.—He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. 1 John iii, 14.

God, even when we were dead in trespasses and sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus. Eph. ii, 5, 6.

Arise (*αναστα*) from the dead. Eph. v, 14.

The rising (*αναστασις*) of many in Israel. Luke ii, 34.

The second resurrection.

And hath given him authority to execute JUDGMENT also, because he is the Son of man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. John v, 27–29.

If a man die shall he live again? Job xiv, 14.

As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. 1 Cor. xv, 22.

Now, that the dead are raised, Moses showed. Luke xx, 37.

By man came the resurrection. 1 Cor. xv, 21.

See also Rom. viii, 10, 11; Gal. v, 24; Psa. lxxi, 20; lxxx, 18; Ezek. xxxvii.

A full comparison of the texts, of which these are specimens, will show that the New Testament writers, and John in particular, apply the strongest terms significative of a resurrection to the soul as freely as to the body. The first text above quoted is a strong case in point. The bodily resurrection there described is universal as the human race, future in its time, from the graves, connected with the judgment, embraces both classes of mankind, and both final destinies; whereas the antithetical resurrection of the soul was described as then present, ("*now is*,") was dependent upon voluntary hearing and believing, was confined to believers, was not from the graves, and led only to eternal life.

This resurrection is indeed described as commencing in this life; but it is also described as including the life to come; or rather the life to come, the Christian's glorification, is transferred from the future to the present state. Already, according to St. Paul, are we "raised," and already we "sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" already the believer "hath eternal life," and "hath passed from death unto life." And this same resurrection state will continue unaffected by the death of the body, or rather will be perfected by it—"though he were *dead*, yet shall he *live*, and never *die*." For as, on the one hand, the death of the human race is Biblically exhibited as comprehending the depravity of the soul, the dissolution of the body and the lake of fire, so, on the other hand, the resurrection includes in itself, literally and truly, the recovery of the soul, its glorification in its disembodied state, the reorganization of the body, and the union of both body and soul in an eternal heaven. This is the mighty *θανατος death* which men have suffered in Adam, and it is the glorious *αναστασις resurrection* which they may receive by Christ. But the terms, death, life, and resurrection, can with propriety be applied each to its own whole comprehensively, or to each of its parts singly.

Such are some of the general grounds for our construction of this passage. And if they alone seem to settle the question, still stronger confirmation will arise from the points presented in the passage itself. Our first argument will be drawn from its coincidence with those few passages in the New Testament which are admitted to describe the glorified state of disembodied souls.

The beggar died, and *was carried* by angels *into Abraham's bosom*, (a Judaic phrase for the paradise of happy souls.)	This is the first resurrection.

He *lifted up his eyes and seeth* Abraham, and Lazarus in his bosom.	And *I saw the souls* of them which had not worshiped the beast.
Though he *were dead*, yet shall he *live*.	Which were *beheaded*—and they *lived*.
To-day shalt thou be *with me* in paradise.	With Christ.

These coincidences will clearly prove that all the attributes ascribed to paradise are bestowed upon this reign of the souls of the martyred. But a final, and perhaps most decisive argument, will arise from a comparison of the different parts of the chapter itself, that this *resurrection* is of the SOUL.

1. The first resurrection is the natural antithesis of the second death; and as the second death is the complete death of the soul, the first resurrection must oppositely be the resurrection of the soul. It was not by mistake, therefore, that the apostle calls the subjects of the first resurrection, *souls*. The second resurrection is the resurrection of the body, and is the reverse of bodily death; the first resurrection must therefore be the resurrection of the soul, being opposed to the second death, the death of the soul.

2. The very peculiar mode of expression used by the apostle, shows that he intends to put the first resurrection and the second death in antithesis. His words measure in great precision with each other: Αυτη ἡ αναστασις ἡ πρωτη—Ουτος ὁ θανατος ὁ δευτερος εστι; This is the first resurrection—this is the second death. The singularity of these special definitions of these two particular things, (of which there is no other instance in Revelation,) the exquisite balance, word for word, in the two members of the antithesis, the nice accordance of the language with St. John's idea of resurrection and death, all join to confirm the natural correlation between the first resurrection and the second death, both being of the *soul*.

3. But to settle all doubt, St. John has, in this very passage, given a perfectly explicit definition: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power." Could the apostle have more positively fixed his own meaning? Divested of its exclamatory form, his language is just this: The felicity of the first resurrection consists in its being the opposite of the second death. The contrast is still further continued: "On such the second death hath no power, BUT they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years." The *but* here is a particle expressive of contrast;

and the contrast lies between the second death and the millennial reign of the first resurrection. They shall not suffer the second death, *but* shall be subjects of the first resurrection. The two are therefore opposites. We are now in complete possession of the meaning of this glorified resurrection.

For the first resurrection, as thus pictured in the disembodied state, has this higher peculiarity above its correspondent in this world, that the day of probation being past, the blessed soul is beyond all possibility of apostasy and ruin. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. While the soul is in its earthly state, it is in some danger of the second death; but when his soul, being emancipated from the body and the earth, is enthroned in paradise, he is for ever and unalienably "*blessed and holy*," beyond the power of the second death. Such is the state presented in this apocalyptic vision.

V. During this thousand years these souls REIGNED *with Christ.* The first question is, Who form the body of this kingdom? And we may, without hesitation, place a decisive negative upon the notion that they are the entire righteous part of mankind. On the contrary, we may affirm that the plan of this book, the reason of the case, and the letter of the text, prove that they are martyrs only, and specifically *the apocalyptic martyrs*, who are here presented to the view of the apostle.

The Apocalypse is the book of hope to the church and to the world. It winds up the series of mundane affairs, as it winds up the series of revelation, with a note of triumph. Not merely does it describe the triumphant completion of God's great plan of creation, redemption, and judgment, but the triumph on earth of the Messiah's mission. This book traces the grand epic of Christianity from its first tremulous beginnings, through its fearful struggles, its arduous advancement, to its last peal of victory and glorious reign. Symbolized variously as the woman, the man-child, and the WORD of God, the gospel meets its many-formed adversary as the devil, the beast, and the false prophet, often to suffer, but finally to conquer.

Now, through all this series, at each eventful crisis, the prophet introduces a choir of glorified human spirits, whose language or condition indicate the existing phase of the action. Like the chorus of the Greek drama, their interlude reveals to the spectator the aspect of the struggle. Does the righteous cause seem at first overwhelmed by imperial power? The souls under the altar (chap. vi, 9–11) cry to heaven for justice. Does that empire bow to the cross? Glorified spirits (chap. vii, 13–17) chant a hymn

over this first triumph. Does the gospel of the Reformation shake the throne of the beast? The harps of the hundred and forty-four thousand raise the pæan. And, finally, are the beast and his armies exterminated and Satan banished? The whole glorious army of apocalyptic martyrs, enthroned in the heaven of pure spirits, united with Christ, hold undisputed sway over the surviving and happy nations.

These choirs are presented to our view, not so much to give us a specific view of the condition of those spirits themselves, as to represent the state of affairs on earth. The binding of Satan is presented, not to inform us of a fact in his personal history, but of a fact in the history of the world. And so this heavenly reign is simply a symbol of earthly happiness. No doubt, since these spirits are presented in a character and condition in keeping with reality, some proper knowledge is incidentally conveyed of their glorified, disembodied state. The apostle opens a glimpse of heaven to shed a ray of light upon the earth; and, no doubt, the view disclosed of both, so far as it goes, is accordant with truth. But the extent of the disclosure would be limited by the extent of his purpose.

Now it is his purpose to trace the battles of the cross to the complete triumph of its cause, to the resulting happiness on earth and the rewards of its champions. It was right that those brows only, which had borne the brunt of the battle, should be seen wearing the laurel of victory. If the universal triumph of evil, the suppression of truth, and the extermination of its advocates, were indicated by the souls lying under the altar, surely the prostration of wickedness, and the ascendency of the holy cause, could not be more beautifully shadowed than by the glorified reign of these blessed souls, whose throne was indeed set in paradise, but whose sceptre swayed the earth. But no patriarch or prophet of ancient date, no priest or prince of an older dispensation, and no mere pious soul of any age, is present to his vision. As his purpose is specific, his view is limited. Those only who had bled in the battle does he behold wearing the crown of rejoicing.

But the partial extent of the glorified vision, upon our view so natural, on the Chiliastic theory is utterly inexplicable. By that view, the main purpose, nay, the only purpose, is to reveal a first bodily resurrection of all the righteous; why, then, this limitation? And when this is the only passage that furnishes a view of that great scene, who feels authorized to add a large accession to the presented amount? Surely the apostle's authority must be just as good for what he limits, as for what he exhibits. By affirming

thus much he denies the more. It requires just the same inspiration to authorize an addition as it did to authorize the original. If the plain words of the text draw a boundary line, a literalist, at any rate, will tremble to enlarge the field. To the text, therefore, we may appeal.

By comparing then the passage in question with several previous texts, it will be seen that the apostle maintains in view the various destinies of two opposite and contending bodies, namely, the advocates of the beast and the suffering champions of the cross. In the first passage, (chap. xiii, 15–17,) the advocates of the beast are delineated; in the second, (chap. xiv, 9–11,) they are branded with a curse; in the third, (chap. xix, 20,) they are exterminated; and, finally, in the passage under consideration, those *not* of their stamp, namely, the martyrs of the cross, are enthroned in celestial triumph.

If any man worship the beast or his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God. Chap. xiv, 9.	I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had *not* worshiped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, nor in their hands, and they lived and reigned, &c.

Here, then, is the complete antithesis; two opposite classes are presented, the battle is fought, the former is exterminated, the latter is crowned. The crowned class are marked by two characteristics; they were martyrs for Christ and God's word, and they were opponents of the beast. And now if it be the apostle's sole purpose to authorize the doctrine of a first bodily resurrection, he authorizes a resurrection of just no more than these; and if any man wish to prove a first resurrection of all the righteous, he will find it, perhaps nowhere, certainly not here.

The despicable expedients by which the entire righteous are surreptitiously added to these, need only to be mentioned to show that they are unworthy of mention. Mr. Spalding gravely opines that as all Christians do resist, at least the "flatteries" and "popular influence" of the beast, and therein "do verily give up their lives for the Lord's sake, and as there is reference to those who suffered by the image of the beast," so, *figuratively*, of course, "the people of God in all ages are included in the appellation, "the souls of the beheaded," &c. Others enlarge the Papal beast

into an emblem universally of secular or spiritual ambition and domination, and thus figure the terms into a comprehension of all the righteous of all ages. And these, forsooth, are pure literalists! devoted "sons of the letter!" The fact is, these gentlemen have two sets of exegetical rules; one set for others, with which they draw the cords of strict construction so tight as to press an opponent to death, and another set for themselves, perfectly loose and random, by which they range at will through the fields of figure, fancy, loose analogy, and capricious perversion.

We may now consider this reign of souls in its three-fold aspect, as a specimen of paradisaic bliss, as a symbol of a regenerate earth, and as an identity with the supreme exaltation of Christ.

1. If these souls, although introduced like the apocalyptic angels, and Satan, with a symbolical purpose, are invested with attributes in keeping with their real state, then we may infer, in confirmation of other texts, that the disembodied spirits of saints enjoy that mystery of personal bliss which mortal can never conceive, until in his immortal state he shall experience. Their reign *may* no more imply a subjection of others to their power than their priesthood implies a real sacrifice; but as the latter indicates the perfect holiness, so the former announces the ineffable exaltation of their state. That they may occupy a lofty grade in the scale of universal being, that the possession of a boundless excellence in their personal natures and powers constitutes a true sovereignty, that they may have a mastery of knowledge over the secrets of God's now mysterious universe, that they shall have a true lordship over the domains of paradise—all these things we may easily conceive to exist, and to constitute a regal glory before which all earthly majesty is worthless.

2. But this reign is here introduced to indicate the complete ascendency on earth of that cause for which the blood of these very martyrs had been shed. If the suppression of these martyrs, crying from beneath the altar, indicated the supremacy of universal wickedness, *the millennium of sin*, so their ascendency and reign indicate the supremacy of universal Christianity, *the millennium of holiness*. If the universal domination of the dragon, if the enthronement of the beast imply the burial of the world in paganism, and the submission of Christendom to Papacy, then the casting of them down to the pit indicates the emancipation of the world from their influence; and the establishment of this dynasty of reigning spirits, to preserve the consistency of the symbols, must indicate the occupancy of the earth by pure Christianity. Their symbolical prayer for justice on their persecutors is now heard;

their symbolical prophecy, "we shall reign on earth," is now fulfilled. That holy cause, of which they stood the impersonations, once apparently overwhelmed in their overthrow, struggling in their struggles, now reigns in their reign. This is the latter-day glory—the millennium.

3. But they reign in unison with Christ. Identified with him as his concurrent assessors, his will and theirs are one. They rule through his sceptre, they decree through his voice, they are enthroned upon his throne. And when, in the fullness of the gospel dispensation, he rules the nations with his rod of iron, he is the executive of their dominion.

And as in all these three respects, in their own personal exaltation, in the victory of that cause which they personify, and in their identity with the reigning Messiah, these *souls*, with "*the whole family in heaven and earth*," are completely triumphant, now are fulfilled those many prophecies of the universal extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. "There was given him dominion and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." Of the perpetuity of this kingdom, neither the scoffers that "*in the last time*" shall "*come*," (and the very fact that they then "*come*" is proof that they shall have long previously ceased,) nor the rebellion of Gog and Magog, are any interruption. Through the very destruction of the earth itself, that kingdom emerging, as the young eagle breaks through his shell to soar into the upper sky, shall rise still indestructible to its immortal state and the kingdom of glory, surrendered to the adorable Trinity, shall be—alter et idem—the perpetuation of the kingdom of grace.

ART. VIII.—1. *Mormonism and the Mormons: an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints.* By DANIEL P. KIDDER. 18mo., pp. 342. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

2. *The History of the Saints; or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism.* By JOHN C. BENNETT. 12mo., pp. 344. Boston: Leland & Whiting. New-York: Bradbury, Soden, & Co. Cincinnati: E. S. Norris & Co. 1842.

3. *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review.* Number for October, 1842. Article VI.

THE history of religious imposture is replete with facts as instructive and admonitory as humiliating and alarming. How it comes to pass that base and stupid imposition wins its way upon the credulity of multitudes of men, and finally comes to be regarded as the voice of God, is an inquiry which has in different ages of the world called forth the talents of the wise and good—of both philosophers and theologians. It is still however a fact, which to many is involved in inexplicable mystery. How rational minds can be gulled into a belief that the God of infinite holiness and wisdom would employ *knaves* to teach *religion*, and to perfect his own revelations, is a problem that many are not able to solve.

A thorough understanding of the intellectual and moral character of man, as developed in the Holy Scriptures, and confirmed by experience and observation, will conduct us to the only safe and satisfactory conclusions upon this subject. Man is so constituted that *religion* is one of the wants of his nature, and religion of some sort he will have. But he is so perverted in his moral nature that he is averse to the pure and true religion which God has given him; and hence any new religion, or any modification of the old and true religion which offers him the unrestrained indulgence of his animal appetites, or some mitigation of the rigor of the divine precepts, finds in him a ready reception. There is also in many minds a fondness for novelty and the marvelous, which blinds both reason and conscience, and preponderates in their decisions in relation to matters of religion more generally than in any thing else. Such minds, when brought fairly under the power of some novelty, or some wonderful, and, to a cool judgment, incredible relation or theory, are almost wholly incapable of a regular process of reasoning, or of arriving at just conclusions in relation to the subject of their fanatical admiration. Hence we find men of every false religion perfectly honest in their adherence to it, and per-

fectly incompetent to see in it any defects, or to view in a just light the evidences of the selfish designs of those they make their spiritual guides, though all this is as obvious to all the world besides as the sun at noon-day. Men in this condition are really more entitled to our sympathy and forbearance than our contempt or censure. The poison has acted upon their minds until their regular functions are subverted, and all their moral judgments are actually the hallucinations of insanity.

But we must come to the consideration of the particular subject of this article, viz., "Mormonism and the Mormons." Our object is not to argue the matter with our "Latter-day Saints," nor to give many specimens from the works at the head of this article; but to give the reader a sketch of the facts which our authors have authenticated, and of the results at which they have arrived.

The principal actor in the Mormon imposture is Joe Smith, an ignorant, fanatical, and licentious renegade, who, in connection with his father, was impelled by a money-digging mania to visit the mountains of northern Pennsylvania to prosecute his calling—that of discovering secret treasures in the earth by *peeping at a stone in a hat!* Here he married Emma Hale, of Harmony, Susquehannah county, without the consent, and contrary to the wishes, of her parents and friends. Smith's character is proved to have been grossly immoral by the affidavits of his father-in-law, brother-in-law, his wife's uncle, and a cousin; besides a long list of respectable names in the state of New-York where he was raised.

The deponents in Pennsylvania we knew well in 1816–17, the first year of our itinerant life. We have a distinct recollection of their several traits of character, and as clearly have in our mind's eye the present wife of "the prophet." Father Hale, as he was called, was a pious, an honest, and a shrewd man, who settled in that rough region of country in an early period in order to gratify his propensity for hunting. Father Lewis is still alive, and it will be a sufficient endorsement of his character to say that he has for many years been an acceptable and a useful local elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Father Hale's house was the preachers' home, and Em, as she was called in family parlance, acted a subordinate part in the work about house. Elevated, as she now is, we in those old times often partook of a good repast of venison, eels, and buckwheat cakes, prepared by her hands. Our general impression is, that she was of decidedly moderate intellectual caliber—quite below the average grade of the family. But subsequent associations may have wrought in her marked and salutary changes.

When Joe first broached the grand hoax of "the golden Bible," it was talked of solely as *a money-making project.* In a conversation with Rev. N. Lewis, about three years since, he informed us, that the first that he heard of the matter was a sort of vague representation from Joe and Em, that they knew of something that when carried out *would make them and all their friends rich.* And when the story came out about the "gold plates," and the "great spectacles," he (Lewis) asked Joe if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles? On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed to Joe to let him make the experiment upon some of the strange languages he found in Clarke's Commentary, and stated to him if it was even so, and the experiment proved successful, he would then believe the story about the gold plates. But at this proposition Joe was much offended, and never undertook to convert "uncle Lewis" afterward.

As to "the Book of Mormon," which, indeed, constitutes the foundation of the system of Mormonism, it is proved, most conclusively, that the whole, excepting the religious matter, is identical with a book written, but not published, by one Spaulding, in the state of Ohio, as a novel, and entitled, "The Manuscript Found." It is made quite probable that Smith came into possession of the MS. through the agency of Rigdon, his coadjutor and orator, whom he very easily converted to the faith, after, by the aid of one of his dupes who had the means, he had published this wonderful book.

The first converts to the new religion were from among Smith's family and friends in western New-York. None of his wife's friends in Pennsylvania, with all the prospects of *becoming rich* presented before them, have to this day, as far as we know, become Mormons. This is honorable both to their heads and hearts.

In the history of the Mormons we mark several important periods. The first is, when they took possession of what was revealed by "the prophet" to be their "eternal inheritance," in Kirkland, Ohio. The next, when, by erecting a magnificent temple, and getting up a bank, and going into various other speculations, they exploded, and went to the "far west," where they found another "eternal inheritance" in Missouri. And, finally, when, by coming into collision with the Missourians, they were forced by fire and sword to leave the state, and finally found another "eternal inheritance" in Illinois, where they have their present head quarters, and where "the saints are to come up to the gathering." Upon the wake of public sympathy, raised by the

persecutions which the Mormons suffered in Missouri, they rode into a condition of prosperity and success before unknown. They are building a city on the bank of the Mississippi near the rapids, which they call Nauvoo.* Here they are erecting a splendid temple, and Joe has published a revelation that the saints must erect a great house to "be called the Nauvoo House," where he, Smith, "and his heirs *for ever*," are to have "a suite of rooms for their accommodation." A wonderful display of arms and military power is made here by "the saints." And what is a little more than would have been expected, even of Joe Smith, he bears at once the titles of "*prophet*," "*high priest*," "*president*," "*mayor of the city of Nauvoo*," and "LIEUTENANT GENERAL of the Nauvoo legion!"

The fanaticism of Mormonism is set in a true light, and accounted for and explained by the author of the work first placed at the head of this article, with Christian moderation and candor. This is indeed more truly an occasion of grief and sorrow than of ridicule and merriment. And the author never laughs when true religion weeps and bleeds.

The sham miracles of "the Latter-day Saints" are altogether blasphemous, and too shallow to require investigation. The amount of the whole of their miraculous power consists in curing some of the brotherhood of an attack of rheumatism or the tooth-ache, which comes on just at the time a miracle is wanted, and is instantaneously cured "in answer to prayer."

Their prophecies consist in foretelling something that "the prophet" means to bring about—not unfrequently of the sudden death of some one he intends to *murder* by the agency of his "destructives." And "the prophet" "discerns spirits" by the means of a regular system of espionage, carried on through the agency of his confidential and official informers. The system is made up of an admixture of several parts and parcels of heathenism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity—the ultimate tendency of which is to the grossest licentiousness and infidelity.

Its licentious and disorganizing tendency renders it dangerous

* In the month of May, 1839, we passed up the Mississippi as far as Stephenson. Joe was then in duress in Missouri, and the Mormons were flying for life across the river. We saw a motley group on the bank of the river, who, as far as we could judge, had no covering for their heads but covered wagons and some small tents. Little did we then suppose that this was an embryo city, which would develop itself so rapidly as that in three years from that time it would become the *glory* of the "Latter-day Saints," and the *terror* of the great west.

to the civil and political interests of the country, as well as utterly subversive of the public morals. Still we certainly agree with the author now under review that "persecution" is not the proper instrument with which to assail this hydra monster. Mormons should be treated just like other men. When they conduct themselves as orderly citizens, they should be suffered to enjoy their opinions and to exercise the full liberty of conscience. When they become insane, they should be sent to the hospital or asylum provided for such persons. And when they are guilty of crime, they should be tried before the civil tribunals of the country and punished according to the laws. And we can but express a hope that by due process of law, and not by the agency of a mob, Joe Smith will be brought to appropriate punishment for his numerous gross violations of the laws of the land.

An abstract of the doctrines of Mormonism is given by our author, as follows:—

"Stripping off its mantle of hypocrisy, Mormonism stands forth in the following cardinal positions—a meager and ghastly skeleton.

"1. Joseph Smith is a prophet of the Lord, and a priest after the order of Melchisedek.

"2. The Book of Mormon is true, that is, inspired.

"3. Zion is on this land, (Nauvoo, Illinois.)

"4. Matter is eternal.

"5. God is a material being.

"6. The saints are to be baptized for their dead relations, on peril of their own salvation."—*Mormonism and the Mormons*, P. 234.

The following is the author's account of the Golden Bible:—

"1. The Mormon Bible originated with men destitute of a good moral character.

"2. The primary design of its publication was pecuniary profit.

"3. Said Mormon Bible bears prima facie evidence of imposture.

"4. It basely perverts the language and doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.

"5. It blasphemously imputes to God language inconsistent with his character and holiness.

"6. Excepting perverted plagiarisms from the Scriptures of truth, that book is nothing but a medley of incoherent absurdities.

"7. The system of Mormonism has arisen entirely from the Book of Mormon, and the contrivance of its 'authors and proprietors.'

"8. That system has been and still is propagated by means of deception.

"9. Mormonism, at the same time it pretends to be 'the fullness of the gospel,' is intrinsically infidel, and opposed to Christianity. It can never be reconciled with the principles of a pure religion.

"10. Its legitimate effects are to degrade and heathenize society."—Pp. 329, 330.

A remarkable fact is, that several of the early disciples of Mormonism have abandoned the community, and exposed the errors and corruption of the pseudo-prophet; and yet anathemas, fulminated against them in the name of the Lord, are all that seems necessary to retrieve his character with the great body of "the saints," and to sustain his influence among them. Besides a mass of ignorant deluded fanatics which Joe has gathered around him, he must have some base accomplices. His scribes, and orators, and bishops, and presidents, must be made up of men, if not so reckless and fool-hardy, yet quite as wicked and as infidel, as himself. "Emma, daughter of Zion, elect lady," and by special revelation constituted *poet**—to compose and select hymns for the saints—tardy as are her mental operations, *knows better* than to dream that Joe, her husband, acts under a divine commission. But such is the charm of influence, power, and wealth, that her convictions are stifled by the commotion raised through this agency in a mind but too feebly guarded by cultivation and an elevated moral code.

From this general view we shall proceed to a few particular deductions from the facts presented by our author.

Should we, in the present crisis of human affairs, undertake to plot a scheme of evil that would be worthy of the especial patronage of the prince of darkness, and promote, to the greatest practicable extent, the interests of his kingdom, we should feel constrained to copy the prominent features of the system called Mormonism. The leading objects of such a scheme would be,

1. To discredit the word of God; 2. To impugn the evidences of Christianity; 3. To destroy the authority of Jehovah, and to establish some species of idolatry or man-worship; 4. To unite fanatical Christians and sworn infidels in a common crusade against evangelical truth; 5. To sap the foundations of morality and virtue; and, finally, To promote all iniquity in the name and on the credit of religion.

Let us now pass to the parallel.

1. The starting point of Mormonism is its sham bible; a miserable mixture of fictitious narrative and sanctimonious rant; interspersed with passages plagiarized from the word of God. This

* We have before us one of her *official* productions, with the following title: "A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ, of the Latter-day Saints. Selected by Emma Smith. Nauvoo, Illinois: printed by E. Robinson. 1841." This book is made up of hymns gathered from all quarters, a portion of which are miserable Mormon doggerel, whether composed by the "elect lady" or others we have no means of determining.

is palmed off upon the credulous as a supplementary revelation, designed to supply the defects of the Bible. Henceforward the Book of Mormon and the Bible must be so identified as to stand or fall together. Both are rejected as offensive, and the object is gained.

2. Mormonism has made an insidious attack upon the evidences of Christianity by maintaining a pretended parallel between the method of its own propagation and that of the religion of the gospel. Under the name of miracles, tongues, interpretations, and prophecies, it has resorted to a species of spiritual jugglery, marvelous indeed in the eyes of its victims. It has, on the whole, gained to itself the unenviable credit of conjuring up a counterfeit very serviceable to infidels, and very troublesome to weak-minded Christians.

3. Joe Smith's highest spiritual claim has been, to be considered "a prophet of the Most High," but under cover of this dignity he has ruled with a rod of iron. Success in imposture has imboldened this originally stupid villain, until he now grasps at the very prerogatives of the Godhead. He endeavors to make his own perverse will superior to all law, human and divine. Among his followers he has thus far been but too successful. Thousands have been taught to render him homage, and their devotion appears to be as pure as that of the heathen who court self-immolation to appease the wrath, or to promote the infernal joy, of their idols.

4. Mormonism originally made claims to the highest sanctity. On this ground it obtained many of its adherents and some of its chosen apostles. Its principles have long been fundamentally atheistic, and now it openly courts the favor of organized infidelity. Infidel and Mormon newspapers interchange extracts with the greatest appearance of mutual satisfaction, and the strongest evidence of intimate relationship. Henceforth we may regard them as identical in design, and fitly matched in the service of their common author.

5. The progress of Mormonism has the invariable tendency to unsettle the grounds of rational belief. It establishes a false criterion of right and wrong, and having substituted the will of man for the authority of God, it has broken down the barriers of conscience, and opened upon society the very floodgates of wickedness.

6. Such a tremendous enginery of Satan, countenanced on the one hand by a prevailing respect for religious pretensions, however absurd, and sustained by political intrigue and flattery on the other, could not be put in motion without destructive consequences. Such consequences are just now becoming fairly developed. Years

may be required to show the full result; but we may fairly presume that we have already a faithful index of what it will be. This may be seen in wholesale swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, infamous deception, female prostitution, adultery, polygamy, treason, and murder. All these iniquities in their multifarious developments are disguised under the profession of piety, and sanctioned by solemn appeals to the God of heaven.

What portion of the earth has been cursed with a more reckless attempt at the subversion of all good, and where has ever religious imposture flourished more successfully than in this enlightened, Christian land, since Mormonism arose? We tremble when we contemplate the responsibility of those who might have interposed influences to save its victims; but who neglected to inform themselves of the proper methods of so doing. All have been wondering that so stupid an imposture could make any progress in the midst of so much light. Just as though it were depending on its claims to truth for success, or as though there were not in fallen men a natural tendency to confederacies of evil. Such ideas are entirely mistaken, and yet they seem to have prevailed, until Mormonism is prepared to enforce its pretensions by the sword.

Its downfall has been repeatedly predicted, and is again, at the present moment, supposed by many to be inevitable. In the midst of all its former reverses it has only increased. Hitherto all attempts to subject its founder to the penalties of law have been in some way defeated, and, at the same time, converted into capital for the advancement of his object.

Up to this hour Mormonism continues to be zealously propagated on both sides of the Atlantic. Whatever may be the result of the present crisis, the manner in which this system of false religion sprang up, and the steps by which it has arrived at its present character and position, cannot fail to be subjects of interest to those who would become acquainted with the world as it is, with a view to its amelioration.

Let those, then, who wish to see a fair and impartial account of the miserable imposture which is now exciting so much public interest, read "Mormonism and the Mormons." The style of the work is plain, natural, and perspicuous, and the mechanical execution in keeping with the Book-Room works generally.

The above was prepared as a brief review of the work placed first at the head of this article before we saw the announcement of the work of General Bennett. As far as this work goes for

any thing, it confirms all the leading views of brother Kidder, and all our general impressions upon the subject. We can only occupy space to make a few brief notes upon the work of the general. The author, "for eighteen months, was living with the Mormons at their chief city, and possessed the confidence of the prophet himself, and of his councilors;" but says it "is a very gross error" to suppose that "I was for some time a convert to their pretended religion." He says, "*I never believed in them or their doctrines.*" It seems that his object in joining Joe "at the seat of his dominion" was to possess himself of his secrets, and then "expose his iniquity to the world." So, according to his own story, the whole of General Bennett's Mormonism was a mere farce—was *deception* played off upon a *diviner!* What is this but meeting the devil on his own ground!

That General Bennett has shed much light upon the internal policy, and the abominable wickedness of Smith and his coadjutors, cannot be rationally doubted. Whatever construction is put upon his course, and the spirit he manifests, none can doubt but his numerous affidavits are authentic, and most of his facts amply sustained. There are, however, many exceptionable things in this expose of Mormonism.

To say nothing of the revolting scenes which he describes, which, for the honor of humanity, and the security of the public morals, had already been made sufficiently public through the newspapers, there are many things in the book which will leave a bad impression. In his great zeal against Mormonism the general loses self-respect and a sense of propriety. In a controversy with Rockwell, in relation to the murder of Boggs, the *Mormon saint* is represented as saying, "I have been informed that you said Smith gave me fifty dollars and a wagon for shooting Boggs, and I can and will whip any man that will tell such a cursed lie." And the sum of the dignified general's reply is, "If you wish to fight, I am ready for you!" The general is rather too laudatory of his correspondents and coadjutors at Nauvoo. They are rather too "good"—the female portion of them are almost too "good-looking," "beautiful," "amiable," "lovely," and "accomplished"—have too many "charms and attractions." One of these *charming* ladies, he says, "is one of the most devoutly pious girls in the world:" and, perhaps in proof of her extraordinary *piety*, he tells us, that in a controversy with Joe upon some delicate matters she called him "a cursed liar." Rather a singular flare up this for such a paragon of piety.

The author professes a great regard for the laws, the morals,

and religion of the country. All this may be very sincere. But it is rather singular that in saving the country from the overflowings of wickedness, infidelity, and heathenism, he should seem bent upon a crusade against the Mormons, which implies a little more than an appeal to reason and the laws. A war of extermination must be waged against the poor deluded Mormons, and all Christian people must come up to the help of the mighty deliverer, who will carry "the war to the knife, and the *knife to the hilt!*" The reader will gather a tolerable idea of the spirit of the work, and of the feelings and character of the author, from the following brief paragraphs, which are all we have space for in the present article :—

"I shall be in INDEPENDENCE, Jackson county, Missouri, *as soon as possible*, to put the ball in motion; (to which place my friends will hereafter direct their communications to me;) and if the war must be carried to the knife, and *the knife to the hilt*, the sons of thunder will drive it through. The eyes of a Boggs will never slumber nor sleep, *until the rod of Aaron divides the waters*, and the supremacy of the constitution and the laws is acknowledged in the land, and violence and misrule hide their hydra head; and I shall hold the *rapier of justice* in my right hand, and my left arm shall bear the *shield of truth*, until I bruise the serpent's head."—*Mormonism Exposed*, pp. 262, 265.

"Will not the people of the west open their eyes to their imminent peril? Will they suffer a community of murderers to congregate their forces, and immolate those nearest allied and most endeared to them by the ties of humanity and consanguinity, without a murmur? Citizens, be ready to put your armor on, and spread your banners on the air! for if the battle MUST *be fought*, I will lead you on to glorious victory in this great moral struggle, where the cause of morality and true religion is bleeding at every pore. Arise in the plenitude of your strength and assert your rights, and in the name of the Lord God of Israel, lay the rebels low! *Vox populi, vox Dei.*"—Pp. 280, 281.

"Should I be sacrificed or slain in the conflict, my blood would be avenged by God and my country. I never feared to die, but I did not intend to sell my life cheaply until the world had the truth of the Mormon organization before them in bold relief. The issue is now made up; 'their die is cast, their fate is fixed, their doom is sealed:' their temple will be profaned, their altars desecrated, their city devastated, their possessions confiscated, and their idols immolated; and reason, sober reason, will once more resume its empire in the minds of the people, and folly, fraud, and imposture, hide their hydra head. All *honest* individuals, who have the requisite MORAL COURAGE, will now cease to worship the Mormon BAAL, in the modern *Babylon*, and will bow submissively before the Lord God of the universe, renounce *heathenism*, and espouse *Christianity*."—P. 292.

"It is to vigorous and united effort that we must look for the final suppression of Mormonism; and the citizen and the Christian is highly

culpable who stands by in apathy, and, with folded arms, coolly looks upon the progress of a system that will eventually destroy, if not timely checked, our religion and our liberties, and involve us and our country in the most direful and irretrievable calamities.

"The Mormons, strong already in their numbers and their zeal, are increasing like the rolling snowball, and will eventually fall with the force of an avalanche upon the fair fabric of our institutions, unless the people, roused to resist their villany, quit the forum for the field, and, meeting the Mormons with their own arms, crush the reptile before it has grown powerful enough to sting them to the death."—P. 307.

This reminds us of what was said of one of old, "His driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously." We most sincerely regret that measures so exciting as those which are in progress under the direction of General Bennett are thought to be necessary to bring black-hearted villany and blasphemous imposture to retribution. Why will the sober and reflecting portions of community sleep—give themselves no trouble to gain correct information of the character and progress of a dangerous faction, and a conspiracy against religion and our free institutions, until the warring elements are put into commotion, and then permit hair-brained adventurers to mount the whirlwind and direct the storm? Whatever provocation has been given by Joe Smith and his gang, there is no call for outbreaks of popular fury. The evil is already sufficiently alarming, and needs not to be aggravated and enhanced by bad management. We must be permitted to hope that the people of the west will honor the laws; that no violence will ensue. The way to render the evil incurable is to assail the Mormons in the spirit of fiery persecution. But as much in earnest as we are that Joe and his wretched accomplices should suffer for their licentious, bloody, and treasonable conduct the just penalty of the laws, and that they may find final escape from this utterly impracticable, we protest against all unlawful or indirect measures to accomplish this object. This opposing imposture to imposture, cursing to cursing, fanaticism to fanaticism, and violence to violence, is not the way to cure either heresy, fraud, or faction. But there are empirics in religion and politics as well as in the healing art, and their panaceas are often more to be dreaded than the diseases for which they are offered as the remedy.

We must conclude with a brief notice of an article on Mormonism in *the British Critic*. This article is principally occupied with a work which bears the following title: "The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842. By the Rev. Henry

Caswall, M. A., author of 'America and the American Church,' and Professor of Divinity in Kemper College, St. Louis, Missouri. London: Rivingtons."

It seems, that upon seeing many of his "unfortunate countrymen" passing up the river "to join Joe Smith," Professor Caswall determined to visit Nauvoo, "and, if possible, obtain an interview with the prophet himself." He accordingly "embarked on Friday, April 15, in the steamer 'Republic,' having prudently laid aside his clerical dress; and, in order to test the scholarship of the prophet, provided himself with an ancient Greek MS. of the Psalter, apparently of the thirteenth century." The professor arrived on Sunday morning, was landed on the opposite shore, and crossed the river to Nauvoo, in a canoe, where he attended "meeting," and heard several discourses from "the officiating elders." The following is his description of the congregation:—

"The temple being unfinished, about half-past ten o'clock a congregation of perhaps two thousand persons assembled in a grove, within a short distance from the sanctuary. Their appearance was quite respectable, and fully equal to that of dissenting meetings generally in the western country. Many gray-headed old men were there, and many well-dressed females. I perceived numerous groups of the peasantry of old England; their sturdy forms, their clear complexions, and their heavy movements, strongly contrasting with the slight figure, the sallow visage, and the elastic step of the American. There, too, were the bright and innocent looks of little children, who, born among the privileges of England's Church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to lisp her prayers and repeat her Catechism, had now been led into this den of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and to imbibe the principles of a semi-pagan delusion."

We would merely inquire here, by the way, what the professor means by "dissenting meetings?" Have we here any privileged religious establishment? We are aware of no such thing—and, of course, can see no propriety or justice in denominating any body of Christians *dissenters*. Are all dissenters who are not attached to the English hierarchy? Then are the whole American people dissenters, and have been so ever since the declaration of American independence. Or are those Christian communions who did not ask the king and parliament of Great Britain for leave to organize themselves into a church in this country, after the American revolution, on that account dissenters? This would be a strange reason. But are we dissenters because we did not give up our organizations and merge ourselves in the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was the latest of all the leading Christian denominations in perfecting her organization, and is now the smallest

and least efficient of them? We judge not. We would just hint to Professor Caswall that should he see proper to return to America he had better leave a little of his *dignity* behind him.

The professor had an interview with the prophet, which he thus describes:—

"On landing at Nauvoo, I proceeded with the doctor along the street which I mentioned before as bordering on the strand. As I advanced with my book in my hand, numerous Mormons came forth from their dwellings, begging to be allowed to see its mysterious pages; and by the time I reached the prophet's house, they amounted to a perfect crowd. I met Joseph Smith at a short distance from his dwelling, and was regularly introduced to him. I had the honor of an interview with him who is the prophet, a seer, a merchant, a 'revelator,' a president, an elder, an editor, and the general of the 'Nauvoo legion.' He is a coarse, plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and fat, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring, upon which I saw an inscription. His dress was of coarse country manufacture, and his white hat was enveloped by a piece of black crape as a sign of mourning for his deceased brother, Don Carlos Smith, the late editor of the 'Times and Seasons.' His age is about thirty-five. I had not an opportunity of observing his eyes, as he appears deficient in that open, straightforward look, which characterizes an honest man. He led the way to his house, accompanied by a host of elders, bishops, preachers, and common Mormons. On entering the house, chairs were provided for the prophet and myself, while the curious and gaping crowd remained standing. I handed the book to the prophet, and begged him to explain its contents. He asked me if I had any idea of its meaning. I replied, that I believed it to be a Greek Psalter; but that I should like to hear his opinion. 'No,' he said; 'it ain't Greek at all; except, perhaps, a few words. What ain't Greek, is Egyptian; and what ain't Egyptian, is Greek. This book is very valuable. *It is a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics.*' Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said: 'Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics; and them which follows is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the reformed Egyptian. Them characters is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.' Upon this the Mormons around began to congratulate me on the information I was receiving. 'There,' they said, 'we told you so—we told you that our prophet would give you satisfaction. None but our prophet can explain these mysteries.' The prophet now turned to me, and said, 'This book ain't of no use to you, you don't understand it.' 'O, yes,' I replied, 'it is of some use; for if I were in want of money, I could sell it, and obtain, perhaps, enough to live on for a whole year.' 'But what will you take for it?' said the prophet and his elders. 'My price,' I replied, 'is higher than you would be willing to give.' 'What price is that?' they eagerly demanded. I replied, 'I will not tell you what price I would take; but if you were to offer me this moment nine hundred dollars in gold for it, you should not have it.' They then

repeated their request that I should lend it to them until their prophet should have time to translate it, and promised me the most ample security; but I declined all their proposals. I placed the book in several envelops, and as I deliberately tied knot after knot, the countenances of many among them gradually sunk into an expression of great despondency. Having exhibited the book to the prophet, I requested him in return to show me his papyrus; and to give me his own explanation, which I had hitherto received only at second hand. He proceeded with me to his office, accompanied by the multitude. He produced the glass frames which I had seen on the previous day; but he did not appear very forward to explain the figures. I pointed to a particular hieroglyphic, and requested him to expound its meaning. No answer being returned, I looked up, and behold! the prophet had disappeared. The Mormons told me that he had just stepped out, and would probably soon return. I waited some time, but in vain: and at length descended to the street in front of the store. Here I heard the noise of wheels, and presently I saw the prophet in his wagon, flourishing his whip, and driving away as fast as two fine horses could draw him. As he disappeared from view, enveloped in a cloud of dust, I felt that I had turned over another page in the great book of human nature."

After this extract the reviewer gives us a condensed view of the professor's confab "with the surrounding Mormons, in which his ingenuity was fully put to the test," and finally closes with a "plan of emigration" put forth in the professor's book, suggested, it would seem, by the success that had attended Joe Smith's efforts in that way.

By the way, some of the reviewer's statements savor not a little of ignorance of American affairs in general, and of the facts he undertakes to represent. Whether Professor Caswall has led the reviewer astray in the matters referred to, or whether he has proceeded to his statements and executed his review without having read the book he reviews, we cannot say, as we are not able to find a copy of the work. The following quotation embraces what we especially refer to:—

"Mr. Caswall had an interview with the prophet's mother, who gave him an account of her son's early years, which clearly indicated that she was herself no dupe, but a party to the imposture. He requested her to furnish him with a 'Book of Mormon.' She accordingly permitted him to take one of the first edition, belonging to her daughter Lavinia, for which he paid the young lady a dollar. We have seen this identical volume, which has all the look of having been well read. As for the contents, they are *mainly* a hodge podge of Scripture, the purely inventive part bearing but a small proportion to the whole. In half a dozen places where we have opened, the matter is very much the sort of stuff which a vast proportion of our countrymen hear 'at

meeting' every Sunday. We should not have been the least startled to have heard it from one of our common field-preachers. It is well known now that it originated in the circumstance of a romance, composed by a Methodist preacher for his private amusement, falling into worse hands, and, after some years, appearing, a good deal enlarged, as a new revelation, pretended to be copied from certain golden plates, which Joseph Smith's mother assured Mr. Caswall she had seen and handled.

"It appears this is by no means the first delusion of the kind in these melancholy regions, which indeed are lands of darkness, and lying in the shadow of death. Mr. Caswall gives some account of another notorious deceiver, one Matthias."

Now as to the Mormon Bible, it seems the reviewer could give us, without difficulty, "the contents," and what it "mainly" consisted of, after he had "opened" only "half a dozen places." Such an examination would scarcely have enabled an ordinary mind to grasp and correctly report the "contents" of so large a work as "the Book of Mormon."

But in all these "half a dozen places—the matter is very much the sort of stuff which a vast proportion of his countrymen hear 'at meeting' every Sunday." Now we fear that the reviewer knows just as little about what is said "at meeting" as he does about the contents of the Book of Mormon, and this is almost nothing at all. For it is not true that this book is "*mainly* a hodge podge of Scripture," for the largest portion of it is made up of fictitious narrative. As to the *meetings* he refers to, they must embrace those of the Methodists, and the various other bodies of dissenters, or he could not say "a vast proportion of his countrymen" attend them "every Sunday." Now is this a true bill? Does this grave reviewer intend to say that "very much the sort of stuff" as the "hodge podge of Scripture" of the Book of Mormon, his "countrymen hear at" these meetings "every Sunday?" This is the courtesy and regard for truth which characterize the great organ of Puseyism.

Moreover, the "romance," which constituted the foundation of the Book of Mormon, was not "composed by a Methodist preacher." Spaulding, its author, had been a Congregational minister, but never a Methodist. But this is so slight an error with regard to what "is well known," that perhaps the "Critic" will think it quite immaterial.

The reviewer's lamentations over the "darkness" of "these melancholy regions," to an American, sound really ludicrous. Terrible to relate! "it appears this is by no means the first delusion of the kind in these melancholy regions, which, indeed,

are lands of darkness, and lying in the shadow of death. Mr. Caswall gives some account of another notorious deceiver, one Matthias!" Now we fear that Professor Caswall has not told the whole story, that this "one Matthias" lived and figured in and about the cities of New-York and Albany,* and perhaps the reviewer is yet to be informed that "these melancholy regions" are within the *see* of a bishop of the true succession, and one, too, of real high-toned *catholic* principles.

Another item of information would not have been amiss, and that is, that Matthias never succeeded in making many disciples, perhaps for the reason that he sent no apostles over to *England.* Now had he pursued Smith's policy, there is no telling what his success might have been. In relation to Smith's converts the reviewer says: "Incredible as it may seem, the greater part of the recent converts to this extravagant delusion are directly from England—sound, enlightened, Protestant England." And Professor Caswall says, those who were "born among the privileges of England's Church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to lisp her prayers, and repeat her Catechism, had now been led into this den of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and imbibe the principles of a semi-pagan delusion."

Alas! alas! for all this! Why is it, dear Mr. *Critic*, that when you have, with your "consecrated waters," (*holy water?*) *regenerated* your children, and made them members of Christ's mystical body, you do not nurse them, and prevent them from falling under this dreadful delusion, and emigrating to "these melancholy regions?" What are the shepherds doing while their poor sheep are so fatally devoured? Do, sir, try to keep them at home, where you have hospitals for the insane, and means of instruction for the ignorant, and not let them be led off into these "lands of darkness lying in the shadow of death."

All Englishmen, and other foreigners, who come to America to better their condition, and to do the country no harm, we bid a hearty welcome to the privileges and blessings of our free institutions. But we wish *English Mormons* and *paupers* to stay where.

* We would recommend to the "Critic" the history of Matthias and his imposture by our citizen, Colonel Stone. This book would add several important items to the second-hand and imperfect information he has gained from Professor Caswall. He would, at least, learn that dark and "melancholy" as are these "regions," there are some here who are able so far to nerve up their souls to vigorous effort, as to look through the "darkness" which is so prevalent, and to take a philosophical and moral view of the general subject of religious imposture, from which even "the Critic" might derive instruction.

they are. We have here "darkness" enough without an additional cloud flung over us from the old world. Being "baptized with *consecrated* water," we find does not always make even good citizens, much less good Christians.

But if religious "delusion" is proof of the "darkness" of the land where it occurs, would it be presumed that any such thing had ever shown itself in *glorious old England?* But where has religious fanaticism and imposture been more rife than in "sound, enlightened, and Protestant England?" To say nothing of more ancient fanatics and impostures, where lived and flourished the fifth-monarchy men? Ann Lee? Joanna Southcoat? and Edward Irving? It must be acknowledged that Joe Smith has far exceeded these English gentry in the magnitude and success of his enterprise. But so long as he *imports* the principal part of his materials, it is not so clear that this is owing to the "darkness" of the "regions" where the scene of the farce is laid.

But in conclusion we would say, that if Professor Caswall has, by his books or otherwise, contributed in any measure to confirm the prejudices of the British press against our country and our institutions; if he joins in with the blind and stupid slang of such publications as the article under consideration, we would counsel him to remain in "sound, enlightened, and Protestant England." We would advise him, that with such narrow and prejudiced views of America—not excepting the great commercial emporium and the capital of the state of New-York—he will not long be allowed to teach the youth of the enlightened, enterprising, and chivalrous west. Even a "*divinity*" *chair* cannot long be occupied by such a "professor" in any portion of the republic.

The professor must become *Americanized* before he will answer our purpose. He must not publish in England that he has, as says the Critic, visited "an utmost corner of the habitable globe—or the haunts of a megalotherion;" or that the evils which are, in whole or in part, *imported*, are to be set down to the credit of the country, the form of our government, or our deficiency in intelligence, or a true regard for religion. "Melancholy regions!" "Lands of darkness!!" No, Mr. *Critic;* you are misinformed. We have, to be sure, no *established religion*—no *beneficed clergy*—nor do we want any: no *bloated nobility*—neither have we *millions of poor perishing for bread!* We have a free constitution—religion stands upon its own broad basis—we have plenty in all our borders—only the vicious and the idle need suffer want! Where are the "melancholy regions," where the "darkness?" Dear, sir, look at home—look at Manchester!—and do not forget Oxford!

ART. IX.—*The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed an Account of the Character and Writings of the Author.* By SAMUEL HALIFAX, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

THE press is groaning under the mighty load of "wishy-washy" trash, under the familiar cognomen of "light reading," that it is compelled to wheel out into the channels of circulation. The lover of virtue and sound knowledge cannot but mourn that so large a portion of the productions of the present day are more calculated to depress morals, to excite a morbid imagination, to give a desire of excitement and novelty, than to invigorate the intellect, or call forth and adorn the virtues of the heart. But there is here and there a bright spot, a verdant and grateful oasis, in this moral waste. Such a spot do we recognize in the volume before us. And it is a matter almost of wonder with us, that the enterprising publishers have ventured, in this novel-reading and novelty-seeking age, to get up so excellent an edition of "the Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler."

The volume before us is a goodly-sized tome of rising six hundred pages, printed in plain style, with large clear type, on excellent paper. It is indeed a goodly volume to the sight, and will be highly prized by those who know the deep mines of richest metal it contains. The "Analogy" has been long before the American public; but we regret that the edition which has had the widest circulation in this country has been coupled with a misnomer, "Introductory Essay," a weak and futile attempt to engraft Calvinism upon its profound reasonings. The present volume contains not only the Analogy, but also the published sermons of Bishop Butler, his celebrated "Charge," and his letters to Dr. Samuel Clarke.

Few characters are, upon the whole, more entitled to our veneration than that of Bishop Butler. Whether we consider his steadiness of purpose, and his conscientious faithfulness as a Christian minister, both at the Rolls-chapel and at Stanhope, or the transcendent powers of the mighty intellect with which he was gifted, we cannot but be struck with admiration. There is something of the morally sublime in the contemplation of transcendent greatness consecrated to the good of our race, to the elevation and the development of the moral and intellectual powers of man. He was by no means a rich and flowery writer; nay, he is often abstruse, almost unfathomable. The bishop was himself sensible

of this deficiency; and in a particular instance, the publication of the second edition of his sermons in 1729, he was so sensible of it as to offer an apology, at the same time endeavoring to obviate the abstruseness of the discussions in the sermons, by giving in the preface* a synopsis or abridged statement of the principles laid down in them. His intimate friend, Secker,† also observed this defect, and is said to have done all in his power to give more perspicuity and ease to all the compositions of Butler.‡ We indeed love to contemplate the mighty intellects of other ages dressed up in their massive coats of mail. There is something of venerableness, of stern, unflinching dignity in their style, as well as in their profound elucidations of the deep and mysterious principles of our moral nature, which commands our admiration, and makes us feel that we are in the presence of transcendent genius. But yet, we cannot but regret, for the good of mankind, that Butler, like many other men of powerful intellects, should seem to have undervalued the graces of composition. We must indeed acknowledge, that while we admire his profound research, while we are astonished at the comprehensiveness of the grasp of his intellect, there is an embarrassment of language, which impedes our progress; and a certain abstruseness of discussion, which often obliges us to retrace our steps to ascertain the scope and direction of the arguments. These defects may be more apparent now than in Butler's own age; we doubt not but they are; yet we think they are a serious obstacle to his usefulness, inasmuch as but comparatively few minds are capable of holding close and familiar communion with him. Most men approach his Works as they do the ancient castle, a perfect monument of the skill and architecture of a former age, to be astonished, mystified, and silenced; but, a few approach to gather up the noble specimens of ancient skill and workmanship here exhibited, in order that the forms of modern architecture may be chastened and beautified by the perfect models of antiquity. There may be those who will express surprise at this confession of our difficulties in the study of Butler; but to such, we can only reply, either they have not read him as we have endeavored to do, or they are gifted with powers which are not at our command. The difficulty we have here alluded to, we should have attributed to the nature of the subject, had it been confined to the "Analogy," or, indeed, to his disquisitions on morality; for it could not be reasonable to expect that subjects so complex in their nature, should

* This is the same preface that is prefixed to his sermons in this edition of his Works.

† Afterward archbishop of Canterbury. ‡ Ed. Encyc., Art. Butler.

be handled with the off-hand flippancy of a book of travels, nor yet with the precision and lucidness of a treatise on mechanics. But in our view it is a trait too prevalent in all his writings to be covered by such an explanation.

Since making the above confession, perhaps of our own weakness, and which, by the way, we had some hesitation in doing, and probably should not have done had we not been actuated by a conscientious desire to give a faithful account of our stewardship as reviewer, our attention has been attracted to the following passage in a recent Scottish work:—

"The principal objection which is commonly urged against the bishop's writings, is that of their obscurity. You scarcely meet with a reader of this book, [Analogy,] but who will readily enough acknowledge its superior merit, but who, at the same time, qualifies his praise by a significant shake of the head, accompanied with the remark, that it is very dry, and subtil, and difficult to be understood."—*Blakeley's History of Moral Science*, Edinburgh ed., 1836, vol. ii, p. 151.

The author, however, at the same time that he confesses that the style of Butler "is a little obscure," says he is "unable to see the justice of the above criticism." We cannot help remarking that it is singular that this complaint should be so general, that "you scarcely meet with a reader of this book" that does not make it, if indeed there is no reason for it.*

Notwithstanding these detractions from the general merit of the writings of Butler; or perhaps it would be more proper for us to say, from their adaptation to general usefulness; they bear the impress of deep research, of profound thought, and a vigor and comprehensiveness of intellect, to which but few even of the giant intellects of other days can lay claim; and so long as the subjects concerning which they treat shall continue to interest the world, so long will they command the profound attention of the divine and the philosopher.

Bishop Butler, it appears from the brief epitome of his life that is given, was born in the year 1692, of respectable parents of the

* Mackintosh makes the following not inapt remarks concerning the style of Butler. Speaking of the fact that his opinions and writings in ethics are not so much "rejected as overlooked," he says, "It is an instance of the importance of style. No thinker so great was ever so bad a writer. How general must have been the reception of truths so certain and momentous as those contained in Butler's discourses, if he had possessed the strength and distinctness with which Hobbes enforces odious falsehood, or the unspeakable charm of that transparent diction which clothed the unfruitful paradoxes of Berkeley!" —*Ethical Phil.*, p. 202.

Presbyterian denomination. His early predilection for study was discovered and encouraged by his parents, who sent him to an academy with the design of preparing him for a dissenting minister. It was during his pupilage, and at the early age of twenty, that his letters to Dr. Samuel Clarke were written. Dr. Clarke's celebrated demonstration of the being and attributes of God, which was at that time exciting great interest among the learned, commanded his profound attention.* It is no mean acquisition for an ordinary mind to master that most abstruse demonstration;† but the youthful Butler was not contented without weighing the validity and consistency of the arguments, and bringing the whole subject to the test and scrutiny of his own intellect. In doing this, he thought he discovered, in one or two of the doctor's arguments, a want of precision and conclusiveness. These doubts he expressed to him in an anonymous letter, which at once demonstrates that the powers of his mighty intellect were developed, in no ordinary degree, even at that early age.‡ This letter called forth an immediate reply from

* For a brief synopsis of the a priori and a posteriori arguments, by which Dr. S. Clarke and other acute metaphysicians have endeavored to demonstrate the being and attributes of God, see Clarke's Commentary on Rom. xi.

† With reference to this subject, Dr. Reid remarks:—"These are the speculations of men of superior genius,—but whether they be solid as sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination into a region beyond the limits of the human understanding, I am unable to determine."

‡ Of the two leading objections offered by Butler to the "demonstration," we will attempt a brief statement.

1. The first objection was against a clause (affecting the validity of the whole argument) in prop. vi, in which the doctor endeavored to prove the infinity or omnipresence of the self-existing Being. The clause against which the objection is urged, is as follows:—"To suppose a finite being to be self-existent, is to say that it is a contradiction for that being not to exist, the absence of which may yet be conceived without a contradiction; which is the greatest absurdity in the world. For if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place, it may, without contradiction, be absent from another place, and from all places." Upon this, Butler remarks, that supposing this to be a consequence, all that it proves is, that if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place at one time, it may, without contradiction, be absent from another place at another time; and so absent from all places, at different times. But to infer that it may be absent from all places, at the *same time*, is a *non sequentia*; and hence it does not reduce the supposition to an absurdity.

2. The next objection is urged against prop. vii, in which the doctor had endeavored to demonstrate that the self-existing Being must of necessity be but one. The reasoning is as follows:—"To suppose two or more different natures existing of themselves, necessarily, and independent from each other, implies this plain contradiction: that, each of them being independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist alone; so that it will be no

Dr. Clarke, and the correspondence that ensued was afterward annexed to the subsequent editions of his celebrated "Demonstration."* As it regards the validity of this and kindred disquisitions, we should hardly venture an opinion, without occupying more space to fortify it than would be proper on the present occasion; but with regard to their power to produce conviction in the mind, as it is purely a question of fact, we are free to express our belief that they are better calculated to *silence* than to convince the objector.†

About this time, also, the subject of "non-conformity" occupied the attention of Mr. Butler; and in the end he was led to attach himself to the Church of England. This step undoubtedly was instrumental in his rapid promotion, and contributed not a little to his subsequent celebrity. He was admitted a "commoner" of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1714; and four years after, through the influence, principally, of Dr. Clarke, was appointed to the very honorable and conspicuous situation of preacher at Rolls chapel.

contradiction to imagine the other not to exist, and consequently neither of them will be necessarily existing." In his criticism upon this argument, Butler urges, that though the supposition implies, that since each of these beings is independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist alone; but the inference that therefore the other may be supposed not to exist at all, does not follow as a ligitimate sequence. The third idea, the link to bind the two propositions, is wanting.

Whatever may be thought of the validity of the above objections, they certainly exhibit profound thought, and an intimate acquaintance with the demonstration. We cannot but remark upon the wide contrast between this criticism of Butler, and the turgid effusion of Chalmers on the same subject. See Nat. Theol., vol. i.

* Butler's Works, part ii, p. 284.

† Dr. T. Brown pronounces them "to be relics of the mere verbal logic of the schools, as little capable of producing conviction as any of the wildest and most absurd of the technical scholastic reasonings, on the properties or the supposed properties of entity and non-entity." In the following lines Pope seems to go a little further even than Dr. Brown:—

> "Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
> On plain experience lay foundations low,
> By common sense to common knowledge bred,
> And last to nature's cause through nature led;
> We nobly take the high *priori* road,
> And reason downward till we *doubt* of God."

We are, however, far from admitting the justness of the biting sarcasm which is here aimed at Newton and Clarke. They did not reject any of the evidences of the being of a God, but sought to add to them by deducing the same conclusion from *other* principles. Nor can we exactly accord with Dr. Brown.

In 1722 "he was presented to the benefice of Haughton," between which place and the Rolls he divided his time.* He left the Rolls chapel in 1726, and was presented to the rectory of Stanhope, one of the richest "livings" in England. Here he continued in the conscientious discharge of his ministerial duties for seven years; at the end of which time he was appointed chaplain to the lord chancellor, through the influence of his friend Secker. So completely secluded was he while at Stanhope, that when Queen Caroline, on his name being mentioned, remarked to Bishop Blackburne, she thought he was dead, he replied, "No, madam, but he is buried." In 1738 he was appointed clerk of the closet to the queen; and two years afterward, shortly after her death, he was consecrated to the see of Bristol; and in 1740 he was appointed by the king to the deanery of St. Paul's, London. In 1746 Dr. Butler was made clerk of the closet to the king; and on the 16th of October, 1750, was raised to the princely see of Durham.† He did not however long live to enjoy this elevated post in the Church; for on the 16th of June, 1752, he calmly and peacefully expired in Bath, whither his friends had conveyed him, hoping that his health might be improved by the change.

This brief synopsis of the life of this truly great man has been given in order that we may be better able to give a view of his Works. His sermons, fifteen in number, were written while at the Rolls chapel, and first published in 1726; his "Analogy" was composed while at Stanhope; his sermons on public occasions were preached while dean of St. Paul's; and his last work, the celebrated "Charge" to his clergy, was preached at his primary visitation, in 1751, after his elevation to the see of Durham, and one year prior to his death.

Sermons.—System of Morality.

The moral speculations of Bishop Butler have never called forth that profound attention and universal eulogium, that have his analogical reasonings concerning natural and revealed religion; but still they are worthy of notice, both from their intrinsic merit and the peculiar views he entertained upon the nature of moral obligation; and also for his able advocacy of the natural supremacy of conscience. These speculations are to be found in his Dissertation

* It is observed by Selden, (Table Talk, 139,) that "the people thought they had a great victory over the clergy, when, in Henry the Eighth's time, they got a bill passed 'that a clergyman should have but two livings.'"

† Horace Walpole, we think it was, invidiously remarked, that "Butler was wafted to the see of Durham on a cloud of metaphysics."

upon the Nature of Virtue, annexed to the "Analogy;" and in his sermons, which might properly be titled "Dissertations upon Human Nature." These sermons were written while yet he was fresh from the schools;* and exhibit much of that enthusiasm, with which a mind conscious of its powers, and delighting to exercise its strength, would be likely to rush forward into the regions of abstruse speculation, and delight itself in wielding the ponderous weapons of abstract reasoning.

The manner in which the bishop has treated of morals, is precisely the same, in point of principle, as that in which he has treated of natural and revealed religion.† Indeed, we think the intelligent reader will not fail to discover the embryo "Analogy" in his sermons; and especially in the three sermons "On Human Nature," and that "On the Ignorance of Man."

He has observed in his sixth sermon:—

"There is a much more exact correspondence between the natural and moral world, than we are apt to take notice of. The inward frame of man does in a peculiar manner answer to the external condition and circumstances of life, in which he is placed. This is a particular instance of that general observation of the son of Sirach: *All things are double one against another, and God hath made nothing imperfect.* Ecclus. xiii, 24. The several passions and affections in the heart of man, compared with the circumstances of life in which he is placed, afford, to such as will attend to them, as certain instances of final causes, as any whatever, which are more commonly alledged for such: since these affections lead him to a certain determinate course of action, suitable to those circumstances. And as all observations of final causes, drawn from the principles of action in the heart of man, compared with the condition he is placed in, serve all the good uses which instances of final causes in the material world about us do; and both these are equally proofs of wisdom and design in the Author of nature; so the former serve to further good purposes; they show us what course of life we are made for, what is our duty, and in a peculiar manner enforce upon us the practice of it."—*Works*, part ii, p. 74.

This passage opens a wide field for discussion, and imbodies the fundamental element of his principles of morality. Accordingly his system is built, in one sense, upon facts in the experience and observation of man. It consists not in utility, using that term in its Paleyan sense; nor yet in the will of God, as generally understood; nor yet exactly in the eternal fitness of things, as Clarke and Wollaston have it; or in following nature, as the ancient schools express it; but in following those views with which nature

* Mackintosh on Ethical Philosophy.

† Blakeley's History of Moral Science.

has furnished us particular powers and faculties.* Thus, to obtain a correct and accurate knowledge of the moral constitution, that constitution must be brought to examination; it must be brought to the test of facts—facts revealed in the experience and consciousness of men. We are to ascertain the relations which exist between our moral constitutions and physical objects, so as to enable us to pursue such a course of conduct as the conditions of our being demand. Nor will our study be so difficult, or our reasonings be so inconclusive, as some might imagine. We think there is less difficulty in discovering the course of duty than most men are apt to imagine; and that there are more frequent violations of the laws of our moral being from disinclination to obey, than from incapacity or want of means to enable us to understand them—even among those least enlightened. "The Author of our nature has much better furnished us for a virtuous conduct than our moralists seem to imagine, by almost as quick and powerful instructions, as we have for the preservation of our bodies."† By carefully examining our bodies, their structure and their relation to the things which surround them, we are led to many important conclusions respecting the proper use of our faculties, and the principles that should regulate and govern them. We, for instance, are endowed with organs of sense; each adapted to certain functions, and all suited to their respective offices and relations. A little experience is sufficient to inform us of the proper use of these faculties, the objects of their endowment, and the laws by which they should be regulated. But if we look within us, we discover certain feelings and perceptions which bear in many respects a strong analogy to our bodily senses. These inward feelings, universal in their prevalence, give as clear evidence of design, of final cause, as do our bodily senses; hence they will serve to unravel some of the conditions or laws of our moral being. Thus, for instance, the great principle, benevolence, fellow-feeling, or love, is given as a bond to unite, for general and individual interest, the brotherhood of man; the feeling of shame is to prevent our doing things of an indecent or shameful nature; pity prompts us to relieve the necessitous; and resentment prompts us to repel the violences and insults we may receive from others.‡ And were we to extend our inquiries into the other sentiments and impulses of our nature, we should find that each has its peculiar object and office; so that not one sentiment, not one capacity, not one impulse or power but has its final

* Rees's Encyc., Art. Butler.

† Dr. Hutcheson's Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil.

‡ See Sermon I, On Human Nature.

cause as clearly and as distinctly as has any arrangement in the natural world.

But this is not all.

"If the real nature of any creature leads him, and is adapted to such and such purposes only, or more than to any other; this is a reason to believe the Author of that nature intended it for these purposes. Thus, there is no doubt the eye was intended for us to see with. And the more complex any constitution is, and the greater variety of parts there are which thus tend to some one end, the stronger is the proof that such end was designed."—*Sermon II, On Human Nature.*

"Now, obligations of virtue shown, and motives to the pratice of it enforced, from a review of the nature of man, are to be considered as an appeal to each particular person's heart and natural conscience; as the external senses are appealed to for the proof of things cognizable by them. Since then our inward feelings, and the perceptions we receive from our external senses, are equally real; to argue from the former to life and conduct is as little liable to exception, as to argue from the latter to absolute speculative truth. A man can as little doubt whether his eyes were given him to see with, as he can doubt of the truth of the science of *optics*, deduced from ocular experiments. And allowing the inward feeling, shame; a man can as little doubt whether it were given him to prevent his doing shameful actions, as he can doubt whether his eyes were given him to guide his steps. And as to these inward feelings themselves, they are real; that man has in his nature passions and affections, can no more be questioned, than that he has external senses. Neither can the former be wholly mistaken; though to a certain degree liable to greater mistakes than the latter."—*Human Nature, Sermon II*, p. 38.

These passages give us no faint view of the fundamental elements of the system of morals advocated by Bishop Butler, and we find these principles drawn out and amplified in his Works.

Hence, the study of the natural principles of morality resolves itself into an investigation of the *final causes* of those active principles, which, on a careful inspection, we find inherent in our nature. We are first to ascertain what these principles *are;* and then, to determine the relative position they occupy with reference to each other. In a word, we are to investigate the complicated structure of our moral nature just as we would a piece of machinery, a watch, or a clock, for instance.* It is indeed no province of ours to consider what might have been the constitution of our nature, or of the world at large; but we are to take things as they are; we are to attend to what is made, and to ascertain the relations and connections that *are* established. Not, indeed, to fit the materials before us to such a system as we may conceive would be for the best, but to study out the natural fitness of these materials, and their mutual

* Wayland's Moral Science, p. 63.

adaptation; and thus to discover the *system*, by no means dimly shadowed forth in the ample materials around us. Thus, in investigating the properties of the watch or clock, we would not form our notions of the order of the parts, and then force them into a juxta-position for which they were unfit; but our main inquiry should be—*what were the designs of the author* with reference to this spring and that screw, this wheel and that regulator; what is the natural order, the mutual adaptation of these various and complicate parts? Our progress might indeed be slow and tiresome; but it is the only sure and safe mode of procedure.

But human nature is not made up of instincts, appetites, and affections, alone. There is a higher principle that presides over these as a common arbiter and judge.

"There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve, and disapprove their own actions. We are plainly constituted such creatures as to reflect upon our own nature. The mind can take a view of what passes within itself, its propensions, aversions, passions, affections, as respecting such objects, and in such degrees; and of the several actions consequent thereupon. In this survey it approves of one, disapproves of another, and toward a third is affected in neither of these ways, but is quite indifferent. This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience."—*Sermon I, On Human Nature*, p. 31.

Again, the bishop says, to the same purpose:—

"But there is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man, which distinguishes between the internal principles of his heart, as well as his external actions; which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just, right, good; others to be in themselves evil, wrong, unjust; which without being consulted, without being advised with, majesterially exerts itself, approves or condemns him the doer of them accordingly; and which, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and always, of course, goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence, which shall hereafter second and affirm its own."—*Sermon II, On Human Nature*, p. 42.

It will be observed that the bishop in this passage presents *conscience*, or the *moral sense*, under two points of view:—First, as passing a judicial decision upon our actions, as being good or bad, virtuous or vicious: second, as exciting an apprehension or presentiment of future punishment if we violate its dictates; and punishment, too, proceeding from a higher and more authoritative source. The same conscience which asserts its own supremacy within the breast, suggests the God and the moral Governor that placed it there.* It comes indeed as an executive officer, endowed

* "Nevertheless, the same conscience which tells what is sound in ethics, is ever and anon suggesting what is sound in theology—that we have to do with

with plenary powers to pronounce its decision and execute its penalty; but at the same time announces itself to be the minister of a higher power: it at once shows its high commission in the intimation that it does this "not of itself," and forewarns the offender of the still more terrific penalties of a Judge from whose decision there is no appeal, and from whose penalties there is no escape.* It is thus that man not only takes cognizance of his own delinquencies, but connects them with the thought of a Lawgiver to whom he is accountable. He passes, by one step, and with rapid inference, from the feeling of a judge who is within, to the fear of a Judge who sits in high authority over him. Such we believe to be the condition of our moral being, that with a consciousness of an arbitrating and authoritative principle within us, there stands associated the deep and irreversible conviction of a judging and reigning power in the universe—without us, indeed, but over us, and over all.† To this conviction the hardiest in guilt are not wholly insensible. There is, in spite of themselves, the impression of an avenging God; they pass from the reckoning of a felt and a present conscience within, to the more awful reckoning of a Judge who knoweth all things.‡

This is undoubtedly a universal, if it be not an instinctive impulse of our nature. Wayland has very properly remarked that "the various impulses of which we find ourselves susceptible, can differ only in two respects, that of *strength* and that of *authority*."§ Now as it regards the mere strength of our impulses, they will evidently vary according to our former conduct, our habits of living. We will not undertake to say what strength certain protuberances upon the cranium may give to those several impulses of our nature that are susceptible of classification and arrangement; but we think that no truth, that rests upon human experience and observation, can be more amply confirmed than that the strength of our impulses increases in proportion to their indulgence. Hence, with the epicure and the inebriate, appetite has acquired the ascendency. But it is an ascendency of *strength*, of mere brute force, and not of *authority*. Take the inebriate, consider well his case in this respect; he is sensible of the wrong he does by following

a God of truth, that we have to do with a God of righteousness."—*Chalmers' Nat. Theol.*, vol ii, p. 208.

* "Conscience is felt to act as the delegate of an invisible ruler."—*Blair.*

† "The mind of man hath near affinity to God."—*Aristotle.*

‡ See Chalmers on "The Capacities of the World for making a Virtuous Species happy."

§ Moral Science, ch. ii, sec. 3.

his base propensity; there is something yet within him whose authority he acknowledges, at the very moment that he is borne down by appetite. The conquest that the lower passions sometimes gain over the higher principles of our moral nature, is a conquest of strength against right, against authority. And however complete may be the conquest, however great may be the triumph of *strength*, it can never attain the *authority* of rectitude. Conscience may be borne down, dethroned, and banished from its rightful empire; but like the exiled monarch, it never once abdicates its crown and surrenders its authority; it waits only for the returning dawn of reason to enable it to reassert its authority and enter upon the possession of its disputed rights. We can well justify the expression of Butler concerning the conscience—"Had it *strength*, as it has *right;* had it power, as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world."* Conscience then is defective, not from want of authority, but from want of strength to enforce its authority. "Conscience may forbid the will to contribute to the gratification of a desire. No desire ever forbids will to obey conscience."† However strong may be the desire of outward gratification, still conscience sternly demands a virtuous direction of the will. The truth of this is attested by the consciousness of every moral agent; and the mental relation it exhibits, fully justifies, if it do not explain, "that attribution of supremacy and command to the conscience on which moral writers have so often insisted."‡

"Passion or appetite implies a direct simple tendency toward such and such objects, without distinction of the means by which they are to be obtained. Consequently it will often happen there will be a desire of particular objects, in cases where they cannot be obtained without manifest injury to others. Reflection or conscience comes in, and disapproves the pursuit of them in these circumstances; but the desire remains. Which is to be obeyed, appetite or reflection? Cannot this question be answered, from the economy and constitution of human nature merely, without saying which is strongest? Or need this at all come into consideration? Would not the question be *intelligibly* and fully answered by saying, that the principle of reflection or conscience being compared with the various appetites, passions, and affections in men, the former is manifestly superior and chief, without regard to strength? And how often soever the latter happens to prevail, it is mere *usurpation;* the former remains in nature and in kind its superior; and every instance of such prevalence of the latter is an instance of breaking in upon and violation of the constitution of man."—*Sermon II*, part ii, pp. 44, 45.

* Sermon II, p. 45. † Mackintosh on Ethical Philosophy, p. 199.
‡ Wherell's Pref. to Eth. Phil., p. 38.

Bishop Butler is clear and emphatic in giving to conscience an entire and absolute supremacy over the other impulses of our nature. The principles he has here developed, are drawn out with great precision, and embellished with apt illustrations by President Wayland in his most excellent treatise on Moral Science.* We are not sure, however, that Mackintosh is quite right, in ascribing to Butler, as we think he does, the merit of having first brought to light the independent existence and supremacy of conscience as a moral faculty.† Moralists who have spoken of a moral sense, have, we think, often exhibited the same principle under another form and name.‡ Nor should it be forgotten that the ancient moralists and philosophers have had some distinct notions of this elementary truth in the theory of morals. Indeed, we can subscribe to the sentiment of Dymond, from whom the following quotations have been made, that even their language, in which they described this relation of the moral faculty, is much more distinct and satisfactory than that of the refined inquirers of the present day.§ Marcus Antonius says,—"He who is well disposed will do every thing dictated by the divinity,—a particle or portion of himself, which God has given to each as a guide and a leader."‖ Aristotle says, "The mind of man hath a near affinity to God; there is a divine ruler in him." Plutarch says, "The light of truth is a law, not written in tables or books, but dwelling in the mind, always a living rule which never permits the soul to be destitute of an interior guide." Hieron says, that the universal light, shining in the conscience, is "a domestic god, a god within the hearts and souls of men." Epictetus says, "God has assigned to each man a director, his own good genius, a guardian, whose vigilance no slumbers interrupt, and whom no false reasonings can deceive. So that when you have shut your door, say not that you are alone, for your god is within. What need have you of outward light to discover that, or to light to good actions, who have god, or that genius, or divine principle for your light?"¶ Such citations might be greatly multiplied, but one more must suffice. Seneca says, "We find felicity in a pure, untainted mind, which, if it were not holy, were not fit to entertain the Deity." And again, "There is a holy spirit in us."** These passages from ancient writers certainly portray, in no faint colors, an indwelling and authoritative principle in the nature of man. Of its existence no one can be ignorant; its authority none can dis-

* Chap. iii. † Eth. Phil., p. 94, et seq.

‡ See Hutcheson on the Moral Sense, also Shaftesbury's Characteristics.

§ Dymond's Essays on the Principles of Morality, Ess. i, ch. 6.

‖ Lib. 5, sec. 27. ¶ Lib. i, c. 14. ** De Benef., c. 17, &c.

pute. The teachings of nature and the language of revelation are coincident. How striking are the coincidences between Seneca and Paul! "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy." 1 Cor. iii, 16, 17.

The method of investigating the principles of morality, adopted by Bishop Butler, is both simple and natural. A mind of such vast powers, so replete with knowledge, and so patient in research, might reasonably have been expected, under the guidance of so simple and natural a theory, and stimulated by an ardent love of truth, to produce results corresponding to the magnitude of the subject. But in the present case we are disappointed. Bishop Butler's speculations on morals have never attracted that attention in the learned world that might have been expected. The outset is promising; elementary truths of great value and of wide application are developed; but there is a want of completeness in the details of his system. Many a noble palace has been reared by our modern architects from the huge blocks he rived from the quarry of truth. What he left unpolished and inept, they have beautified and harmonized. To discover and define the simple elements of a system may be but the work of a moment; but to trace out these elements into their innumerable and multifarious applications is an accomplishment of great labor, requiring the nicest discrimination, united with the profoundest reflection. This Butler seems never to have done. And to this circumstance, combined with his obscure diction, is probably owing the fact that while more recent builders have found in his writings a vast magazine replete with *materials*, he seems to be almost overlooked as a moralist.

According to the system of Bishop Butler, man, considered as a whole, man in his complex nature, made up of intellect and sensibilities under their various forms, constitutes an entire and perfect system, with parts aptly fitted to their several offices, and all conjoined into harmonious action. For the whole machinery to operate according to its natural fitness, or for the parts to act according to their natural fitness in their subordinate relation, is for the whole or the part to act *virtuously*. Hence the frequent use of the term, "*acting according to nature*," which is so often used by Butler and the class of moralists to which he belonged. It is thus explained by Bishop Butler:—

"The natural supremacy of reflection or conscience being thus established, we may from it form a distinct notion of what is meant by

human nature, when virtue is said to consist in following it, and vice in deviating from it.

"As the idea of a civil constitution implies in it united strength, various subordinations, under one direction, that of the supreme authority; the different strength of each particular member of the society not coming into the idea; whereas, if you leave out the subordination, the union, and the one direction, you destroy and lose it: so reason, several appetites, passions, and affections, prevailing in different degrees of strength, is not *that* idea or notion of *human nature;* but *that nature* consists in those several principles as having a natural respect for each other, in the several passions being naturally subordinate to the one superior principle of reflection or conscience. Every bias, instinct, propension within, is a natural part of our nature, but not the whole: add to these the superior faculty, whose office it is to adjust, manage, and preside over them, and take in this its natural superiority, and you complete the idea of human nature."—*Sermon III.*

The theory of morals presented by Butler seems to have been gathered, in part, from the ancient schools and the metaphysicians that immediately preceded him; and in part, from his own profound reflections. The ideas which he afterward brought out and enriched, are by no means faintly portrayed by several who preceded him. The intelligent reader will discover no faint analogy between the following passages, and the priciples proposed by Bishop Butler. Dr. Cudworth, who, in his day, was as loudly, maliciously, and I may say ignorantly, charged with Atheism, as some philosophers in our own day,* holds forth the following language concerning the eternal and immutable nature of virtue:—"Moral good and evil, just and unjust, honest and dishonest, cannot possibly be arbitrary things, made by will without nature; because it is universally true that things are what they are, not by will, but by nature."†—"It is not possible that any command of God or man should oblige otherwise than by virtue of that which is φύσει δικαιον, naturally just."‡ Mr. Wollaston says: "Every act, therefore, of a free, intelligent agent, and all those omissions which interfere with truth,

* Cudworth endeavored to launch out into the immensity of the intellectual system, to penetrate the darkest recesses of antiquity, in order that he might attack Atheism in every form, strip it of all its disguises, and drag it forth to conviction. And yet the popular clamor ran against him; and those who could neither comprehend the theories nor fathom his refutation of them, did not scruple "to tell the world that he was an Atheist in his heart, and an Arian in his book." Suffering from the influence of this base calumny, and groundless prejudice, the much-injured author grew disgusted; his ardor slackened; and the rest, and far the greater part of the defense, never appeared." See *Pref. Int. Sys. Universe.*

† Intellectual System of the Universe, vol. ii, p. 373. ‡ Ibid., p. 378.

are morally evil in some degree or other; the forbearing such acts, and the acting in opposition to such omissions, are morally good."* Prop. ix. Again, he says, "That every intelligent, active, and free agent, should so behave himself, as by no act to contradict truth; or that he should treat every thing as being what it is." Prop. xi. Dr. Samuel Clarke, who was contemporary with Wollaston, has stated, we think, the same principle, though far less intelligibly:—"From the eternal and necessary differences of things, there naturally and necessarily result, certain moral obligations, which are of themselves incumbent on all rational creatures, antecedent to positive institutions, and all expectations of rewards and punishments."† Prop. i.

We are aware that this "fitness of things," or "acting according to truth," or still again, "acting according to nature,"—all of which expressions, when properly explained and illustrated, in our view, mean nearly the same thing,—have been met not merely by subtil argumentation, but also by the strongest ridicule. But with all due deference to the great metaphysicians who have entered into this crusade, we cannot but think that they have misunderstood, or at least misinterpreted, the true meaning and import of the above phrases; or, at least, have given to them a very different construction from that which their framers designed. Dr. Rutherford, in his "*Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue*," combats the theory of Wollaston and Clarke. He urges that if mere *fitness of application* constitutes virtue, and the contrary vice, then the things that are naturally fit or unfit to be done, would be invested with the qualities of virtue or vice. Thus, there is a natural fitness in a person's applying the force to the longer arm of the lever in order to raise a weight, and there is a natural unfitness in applying it to the shorter arm; hence, by this theory, the former act is virtuous, while the latter is vicious.‡ Again, Dr. Brown, who also combats the views of Wollaston and Clarke concerning the fitness of things, aims a hard thrust at Wollaston: "Who, but the author of such a system, could believe for a moment, that parricide is a crime, only for the same reason that would make it a crime for any one (and if the great principle of the system be just, a crime exactly of the same amount) to walk across a room on his hands and feet, because he would then be guilty of the practical untruth of using his hands, but as if they were his feet,—as, in parricide, he would be

* Religion of Nature Delineated.

† Blakeley's Hist. Mor. Sci., vol. i, p. 211.

‡ Blakeley's History of Moral Science, vol. ii, pp. 41, 42.

guilty of the practical untruth of treating a parent, as if he were not a parent, but a robber or a murderer?"*

These are, indeed, sweeping objections, objections that a child might see and appreciate. The very ease with which the fabric is demolished excites in us suspicion of unfairness or misapprehension. And here we regret our limited acquaintance with the writings, especially of Wollaston, for we confess that reading the works of his opponents has made us feel a profound respect for the man, as a man and a philosopher; though we confess ourselves more cautious about becoming the disciple of his theory. But yet we cannot but suspect, from the very ease with which his opponents demolish what is held up as his system, some secret fallacy, —that it is some "man of straw," and not the real "giant," with which they have "played war."

We are led, then, to inquire, not what is its common acceptation, but what is the technical meaning of the term, "fitness of things," or its meaning as used by those authors who have based their systems of morality upon it. Dr. Brown, with perfect self-complacency, demolishes the entire fabric that had cost Dr. Clarke years and years of toil to rear, profound in research, and mighty in reason as he was. With him, "the system of Dr. Clarke, if stripped of its pompous phraseology, and translated into common language, is nothing more than the very simple trueism or tautology, that to act *virtuously* is to act *in conformity with virtue*."† Thus, with one dash of the pen, is demolished that fabric which cost a master builder no little labor.

The question arises, then, whether Brown did not misinterpret the meaning of the terms adopted and applied by Dr. Clarke. We think he did. For, we do not understand the term, in its technical use, to "make *incongruity*—which, as mere *incongruity*, bears no proportion to vice, but is often greatest in the most frivolous improprieties—the *measure* of vice;"‡ nor to make *congruity*, considered simply as such, the standard of virtue. There is, indeed, abundant evidence that Dr. Clarke, by the *fitness of things*, does not mean the various relations which exist among things in general, but more particularly to express the fitness of certain acts to produce pleasure, and of others to produce pain: hence the former, from this *fitness*, are called virtuous; and the latter, for the same reason, called vicious. That this is the true explanation of these terms is evident from two considerations. First, there is as much fitness (using the term as merely expressive of *congruity*) in the application of means, frequently, for vicious as for virtuous purposes. And

* Brown's Phil., vol. ii, p. 265. † Ibid., p. 264. ‡ Ibid., p. 263.

again, the term fitness is evidently used as being entirely synonymous with *good;* while unfitness is used as synonymous with *evil.* Nor can any careful reader but be convinced that these terms are used with a direct reference to the *ends,* or *final causes* of actions. This fitness of things is in our view but another way of expressing the eternal and immutable nature of virtue; that is, that virtue has in itself an intrinsic and eternal nature, and that the voice of God, so far from rendering a thing virtuous, does but proclaim what is in itself virtuous.

Nor do we think that Wollaston, whatever may have been the extravagances of his theory, is treated with fairness and candor with regard to his great moral precept, that every intelligent and free agent "should so behave himself, as not to contradict truth;" and that we should "treat every thing as being what it really is." The essense of this theory is thus summed up in a few words by Blakeley:—

"For men to practice vice with a view of obtaining permanent pleasure and advantage from it, is, in fact, to deny that virtue, which is closely and inseparably connected with our welfare, *is what it really is in nature.* The essence of virtue is happiness, and to seek happiness from any other source, is to deny the truth of the relation which subsists beteen virtue and our well-being."—*Hist. Mor. Sci.*, vol. i, p. 206.

Brown's general misconception of the systems of Wollaston and Clarke, then, resulted from the wrong construction given to the word "fitness." "Fitness," he says, "as understood by every one, is obviously a word expressive only of *relation.* It indicates skill, indeed, in the artist, whatever the end may be; but, considered abstractly from the nature of the *end,* it is indicative of *skill only.*"* We think that we have clearly shown that both Wollaston and Clarke designed, by the term fitness, to include the *end,* or final cause of any moral action.† Dr. Brown, by excluding this, gives a wrong interpretation to their systems. Indeed, if fitness mean merely "*congruity,*" the system of Wollaston and Clarke would utterly annihilate all moral distinctions whatever. They would resolve it into a mere intellectual perception of adaptation or non-adaptation. It is a hit of the author just referred to, not inapt, when he supposes that Wollaston, had he seen the criticism of Dr. Brown, before quoted, would have replied to it in nearly these words:‡—

"To treat the act of walking across a room on our hands and feet as a crime of just the same importance as that of maliciously taking away the life of a parent, would surely be an absurdity, if not absolute dis-

* Phil., vol. ii. † Blakeley's Hist. Mor. Sci., vol. i, p. 230. ‡ Ibid., p. 197.

traction. And why? Because this would be treating the act of walking on all fours across a room *as being what it is not.*"

But our space will not admit of our pursuing this topic further. We have said enough to show the intimate relationship between the systems of the distinguished metaphysicians that preceded Bishop Butler, and that which is exhibited in his writings. Butler, indeed, gives greater prominency to the *final cause*, that is, he is explicit where they are obscure. He observes:*—

"It may be allowed, without any prejudice to the cause of virtue and religion, that our ideas of happiness or misery, are of all our ideas the nearest and most important to us; that they will, nay, if you please, they ought to prevail over those of order, and beauty, and harmony, and propension, if there should ever be, as it is impossible there ever should be, any inconsistence between them; though these last, too, as expressing the fitness of actions, are real as truth itself. Let it be allowed, though virtue or moral rectitude does, indeed, consist in affection to, and pursuit of what is right and good, as such; yet, that when we sit down in a cool hour, we can neither justify to ourselves this or any other pursuit, till we are convinced that it will be for our own happiness, or at least not contrary to it."—*Sermon XI, upon the Love of our Neighbor.*

With one single remark, we must leave this part of our subject. It may be objected to the view we have taken of Dr. Clarke's system, that he strenuously urged that virtue is binding upon us on account of its eternal and immutable nature, and its complete independence of all rewards and punishments, effects and consequences. But in opposition to this he also says: "It is neither possible, nor truly *reasonable*, that men by adhering to virtue should part with their lives, if therefore they eternally deprived themselves of all possibility of receiving any advantage from that adherence." If these two sentiments conflict with each other, that is no concern of ours; we believe the last, properly interpreted, is not inconsistent with the general tenor of his system.

We would prosecute this inquiry still further, and endeavor to show how the system of Bishop Butler quadrates with that of the leading moralists of the present day; but we have already transcended our limits.

Bishop Butler's Charge to his Clergy.

It will be departing from the chronological order of his writings, but may not be amiss in this place, to take some notice of his celebrated "Charge" delivered to the clergy of his diocese, at his primary visitation in 1751, one year before his death.

* Works, part ii, p. 138.

The principal object of this discourse is the "*importance of external religion.*" He very sincerely joins in lamenting the "general decay of religion in the British nation."* This decay of religion in the generality of the common people, however, he does not attribute to any speculative disbelief or denial of it; but chiefly to thoughtlessness and the common temptations of life.†

Hence, says the bishop to his clergy:—

"Your chief business is, therefore, to beget a practical sense of it [religion] upon their hearts, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and confess they ought to conform themselves to. And this is to be done by keeping up the *form* and *face* of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavoring to make this form more and more subservient to promote the reality and power of it. The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved among mankind without the form."—*Works*, part ii, p. 272.

We were peculiarly struck with this passage, and especially the stress it lays upon keeping up the *form and face of religion.* The end for which this is to be done, it is true, is specified; it is to promote the reality and power of religion in the heart and the life. But is there not too much stress laid upon the mere forms of external religion? and would not the practice here commended to, and urged upon, the clergy, tend more to fashion such Christians as "make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess?" We cannot help contrasting the language of the bishop with that of our Saviour, spoken to a people and sect whose circumstances were not very dissimilar (we hope we shall not be accused of uncharitableness) to those of many portions of the English Church in Butler's day. "Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Matt. xxiii, 25–27.

I am aware, indeed, that since man is a complex being, composed of body and of mind, each exerting a reciprocal influence on the other, that a purely spiritual religion, a religion stripped of every thing that is addressed to sense, if indeed it be not utterly

* Charge, p. 266. † Ibid., p. 272.

impossible, would be at best but a cold and lifeless abstraction. But, on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that these very rites and ceremonies, the pomp and display of churches and processions, have a tendency to draw away the mind from spiritual communings. It is easier to accede to the externals of religion, than to cultivate its graces; and the mind is prone to take the *sign* for the substance. It is certainly remarkable that Bishop Butler could devise no better way in which to revive "vital religion in the land," than to recommend a reanimation and revivification of its "form and face."

But what are these forms of external religion that are to be revived, these signs and symbols that are to be put up as so many admonishers of religion and duty? Upon this subject the bishop is not very explicit; but it would be just to infer that since the separation of the Church of England from the "Mother Church," she had declined in her observance of the external rites of religion, and that they had in consequence declined in the regards and estimation of the people. Such seems to be the import of the following passage:—

"In most ages of the church, the care of reasonable men has been, as there has been for the most part occasion, to draw the people off from laying too great weight upon external things, upon formal acts of piety. But the state of matters is now quite changed with us. These things are neglected to a degree which is, and cannot but be, attended with a decay of all that is good. It is highly seasonable now to instruct the people in the importance of external religion."—*Works*, part ii, p. 276.

And again, we cannot but think that the following passage savors largely of deep sympathy with Popish superstitions and rites:—

"That which men have accounted religion in the several countries of the world, generally speaking, has had a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances; and the face of it been kept up with great reverence throughout all ranks, from the highest to the lowest; not only upon occasional solemnities, but also in the daily course of behavior. In the heathen world, their religion was the chief subject of statuary, sculpture, painting, and poetry. It mixed itself with business, civil forms, diversions, domestic entertainments, and every part of common life. The Mohammedans are obliged to short devotions five times between morning and evening. In Roman Catholic countries, people cannot pass a day without having religion recalled to their thoughts, by some or other memorial of it; by some ceremony or public religious form occurring in their way; besides their frequent holydays, the short prayers they are daily called to, and the occasional devotion enjoined by confessors. By these means their superstition sinks deep into the minds of the people, and their religion also sinks deep into the

minds of such among them as are serious and well disposed. Our reformers, considering that some of these observances were in themselves wrong and superstitious, and others of them made subservient to the purposes of superstition, abolished them, reduced the form of religion to great simplicity, and enjoined no more particular rules, nor left any thing more of what was external in religion, than was in a manner necessary to preserve a sense of religion itself upon the minds of the people."—*Works*, part ii, pp. 273, 274.

We cannot but regret to discover here what we conceive to be a too complacent regard for the ceremonies and pomp of the Roman Catholic and Mohammedan religions; as well as a broad insinuation that, as is the case with their religion, so ours should have "a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances." Here is also an intimation that the same means which cause superstition to "sink down into the minds of the people;" will also cause "religion to sink down into the minds of such among them as are well disposed." We are also struck at the gentle rebuke administered to "our reformers" for cutting off so many of the "externals of religion," as though the decline of piety which the bishop deplored might be traced to this cause. In looking over this and kindred passages, which, like so many dark spots, obscure the lustre of his philosophy, we cannot but feel that the bishop, though versed deeply in the philosophical principles of religion, had mistaken one of the fundamental characteristics of the gospel. He understood the philosophy of religion; he knew how to draw out and illustrate the sublime moral truths of Christianity; but in the mode of inculcating these truths we think he greatly erred. Instead of enlightening the minds, and thus reaching the hearts and lives of the people, he would inculcate the use of imposing signs and ceremonies, that would cause within them a superstitious reverence for the religion which was but little comprehended, and which was loved only through the medium of its symbols. The religious education of the young seems also to be overlooked, and keeping up the "form and face" of religion is the chief reliance. How great is the contrast between the course here urged, and that pursued by the most effective reformers in every age of the church? Wesley, fired with the love of God and a burning desire for the salvation of the multitudes that were living indeed in the daily observance of the "form and face" of religion, yet without knowledge or care for its power, went forth, like a blazing sun, into every part of the kingdom. And though no sanction of royal patronage gave him authority, though no splendid cathedral opened its portals for his reception, and no august or imposing ceremonies filled the listening multitudes with superstitious awe; yet there was an artless

sincerity in his manner, a divine energy in his delivery, as he proclaimed the messages of the gospel in the highways and beneath the open heavens, that took hold of the hearts and consciences of those who were truly "dead in trespasses and sins." He went forth; the "bleeding wounds of the Redeemer" were his "five smooth stones out of the brook," and "faith" the "sling that was in his hand;" but before him the hosts of the uncircumcised fell; and by his labors a reformation was commenced, under whose influence the whole Christian world has been quickened, and which has rescued many a soul from the deep dark pit-falls of moral death, and held them on high as "brands plucked from the burning," trophies of redeeming mercy,—and placed them as stars in the firmament for ever and ever.

Had the bishop forgotten that the divine Redeemer came not with parade, and pomp, and imposing procession? Had he forgotten the beautiful, yet sublime simplicity of the Saviour's life and teachings? Had he overlooked the unostentatious rites he instituted?—rites, which, though they might not have formed "a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances," nevertheless, spoke to the heart, and quickened the faith of the sincere and devoted Christian. We have made these comments, not with a malignant desire to asperse the character of the illustrious dead, but with unfeigned sorrow that one so sincere and devoted as we believe Butler to have been—one who had done so much to draw out and establish the philosophical principles of the Christian religion—should so far have mistaken its vital energies. It may be necessary for a church to appeal to imposing rites and ceremonies, to splendid edifices and princely pageantry, in order to maintain its hold upon the "superstitions," if not the *affections* of the people; but it is necessary only when the vital energies of religion are lost, and the spirit and genius of the gospel have departed. When these have gone, a church may indeed find a resort to "man's devices," to "the cunning craftiness of the world," necessary in order to maintain her ascendency; and her ministers may be obliged, while wanting Heaven's "seals to their ministry," the "epistles known and read of all men," to flee to the, at least, doubtful question of "uninterrupted succession," to prove their claims to be "the only properly authorized ministry."

Bishop Butler inclined to Popery.

It may be proper in this connection to bestow a passing notice on the above charge, as, if it was not suspected of him while living, it was strongly urged after his death, and indeed, even to this day,

forms a prominent item in the discussion of his character. We shall not enter the list as a partizan in favor of the bishop, much as we admire his character and writings; for we think it is an unquestionable fact that he regarded with too much complacency the imposing pomp of religious rites and ceremonies; but whether this is to be considered any stronger evidence of his being inclined to the Catholic, than to the English Church, we leave our readers to judge. Nor will we enter the lists of his "traducers," if such they are to be considered, but will simply state the grounds of the accusation, and also the defense, and then leave the reader to form his own judgment.

The leading specifications in the charge seem to be as follows:— 1. His great fondness for the lives of Romish saints and their books of mystic piety was considered as evidence of the fact. 2. The fact, that while bishop of Bristol he had a cross erected in the chapel of his episcopal house, was also looked upon in the same light. 3. The doctrines of the "Charge" were also considered as having a tendency to Popery. 4. And, finally, some fifteen years after his death, it was asserted in a pamphlet, and through the public journals, by an anonymous writer, that he died "*in the communion of the Church of Rome.*"

Archbishop Secker replied, through the medium of a public print,* to this charge, and defended his friend from the imputations cast upon his memory. The result of the controversy that ensued, appears to be a general conviction that the imputation upon the character of the bishop was wanting in validity; though it must be confessed that there are one or two circumstances in the case which we could have wished had been removed. The power and skill of his defender cannot be doubted; and as the very honor of the Church to which he belonged, and of which he was a bishop, was in some degree affected by the charge, we are entirely at liberty to suppose that every means of defense that he could avail himself of, were used. I will here give only a synopsis of this subject, as it was drawn out by Archbishop Secker, and after him by the lord bishop of Gloucester.

On the first point, Archbishop Secker remarks:—

"That he read books of all sorts, as well as books of mystic piety, and knew how to pick the good that was in them out of the bad; that his opinions were exposed without reserve in his Analogy, and in his sermons, and if the doctrine of either be Popish or unscriptural, the learned world hath mistaken strangely in admiring both."—*Butler's Works*, p. 12.

* St. James's Chronicle, May 9, 1767.

As to the *cross*, the archbishop frankly owns, that for himself he wishes he had not made use of it; and thinks that in so doing the bishop did amiss. But then he asks,—

"Can that be opposed as any proof of Popery, to all the proof on the other side? Most of our churches have crosses upon them; are they therefore Popish churches? The Lutherans have more than crosses in theirs; are the Lutherans therefore Papists?"—*Butler's Works*, p. 18.

The third "count" in the indictment of Bishop Butler for heresy, viz., "that in his last episcopal charge he squinted very much toward that (Romish) superstition," is combated by the views of the same prelate, as expressed in other parts of his writings.

Bishop Halifax urges that "no one was more sensible of the danger, or more earnest in maintaining, that external acts of themselves are nothing, and that moral holiness, as distinguished from bodily observances of every kind, is that which constitutes the essence of religion, than Bishop Butler." It is also urged that the bishop is explicit on this point in many passages in his other writings; and, indeed, that the object of the Charge itself, as may be gathered from its whole tenor and scope, is nothing more nor less than to enforce the necessity of *practical religion*, as a part of Christian duty, and as tending to revive the *reality* and *power* of religion. On this point, it may not be amiss to present to the reader a few of the passages in which the bishop is most explicit.

"Though mankind have, in all ages, been greatly prone to place their religion in peculiar positive rites, by way of equivalent for moral precepts; yet, without making any comparison at all between them, and consequently without determining which is to have the preference, the nature of the thing abundantly shows all notions of that kind to be utterly subversive of true religion; as they are, moreover, contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, and likewise to the most express particular declarations of it, that nothing can render us accepted of God without moral virtue."—*Analogy*.

Again, in one of his sermons, he is led to speak directly upon the subject of Popery, and to place in direct contrast the Roman and Anglican Churches.

"The value of our religious Establishment ought to be very much heightened in our esteem, by considering what it is a security from; I mean that great corruption of Christianity, Popery, which is ever hard at work to bring us again under the yoke. Whoever will consider the Popish claims to the disposal of the whole earth, as of divine right, to dispense with the most sacred engagements, the claims to supreme absolute authority in religion; in short, the general claims which the canonists express by the words *plenitude of power*—whoever, I say, will consider Popery as it is professed at Rome, may see that it is manifest, open usurpation of all human and divine authority. But even

in those Roman Catholic countries where these monstrous claims are not admitted, and the civil power does, in many respects, restrain the Papal; yet persecution is professed, as it is absolutely enjoined by what is acknowledged to be their highest authority, a general council, so called, with the pope at the head of it; and is practiced in all of them, I think, without exception, where it can be done safely. Thus they go on to substitute force instead of argument; and external profession made by force, instead of reasonable conviction. And thus, corruptions of the grossest sort have been in vogue, for many generations, in many parts of Christendom; and are so still, even where Popery obtains in its least absurd form; and their antiquity and wide extent are insisted upon as proofs of their truth; a kind of proof, which, at best, can only be presumptive, but which loses all its little weight in proportion as the long and large prevalence of such corruptions have been obtained by force."—*Sermon before the House of Lords*, pp. 224, 225.

These passages certainly exhibit no great affection for the Catholic Church; and the last especially is worthy of particular notice. It gives a pretty clear view of some of the prominent corruptions of that church, and was written only four years before the "Charge" was delivered, and five before the death of the distinguished prelate. If Butler at that time believed it to be "the great corruption of Christianity," and a "manifest, open usurpation of all human and divine authority;" if these were his clear and conscientious convictions, after so many years of the prime of life spent in calm and profound research, and occupying high public stations in the Church, we must certainly require the most convincing proof to produce within us the belief that, amidst the closing scenes of life, all these convictions were given up, and that he died in the communion of the Catholic Church. It should further be recollected that this passage was uttered after the use of the cross in his house at Bristol, so that we have at least a presumptive evidence that the use of that cross, however much it might seem to savor of a love for Popish ceremonies, did not result from a love of Popery itself, or from an inward conviction of its being the true Christian church.

The preceding passages, and others which might be quoted from his writings, when collated with the objectionable features of the "Charge," will perhaps help us to a true understanding of their import. But while in so comparing them, we are convinced that the bishop reprobated the corruptions of the Catholic Church, its unwarranted claim and usurpation of temporal and spiritual power, its base substitution of the external forms of religion for the essence and power of Christianity; we cannot fail to discover an undue leaning toward "external forms" as an efficacious means of reviving, spreading, and perpetuating spiritual Christianity. But we do

not think that Butler is the only bishop in the English Church who may be suspected of this leaning toward forms and ceremonies; it has ever been a characteristic of that Church from the times of its early bishops down to the present. And, indeed, in the late Oxford movement, we read only a fuller development, a more decided form, of this tendency. Nor do we consider this tendency incompatible with a clear and decided conviction of the corruption and foul usurpations of the Catholic Church; nor indeed do we think it necessarily excludes all sound views of the inefficiency of the external forms of religion when the power and reality of it are wanting; for we believe that similar feelings and views prevail to some extent, at least, among the more pious of the clergy, even in the Catholic Church.

As it regards the report that "he died in the communion of the Church of Rome," several things are worthy of notice:—1. The report seems not to have been invented or even propagated by the Papists. 2. If it was a fact, it seems singular that a veil of such profound secresy should have been drawn over it, that it was not divulged till fifteen years after his death. 3. Archbishop Secker, his constant and intimate friend, who was educated with him, and ever lived on terms of peculiar intimacy with him up to the time of his death, professes his entire ignorance of any such change in his friend, and his full and entire conviction that such was not the fact.

We would not wish to revive an accusation that has so long slumbered in obscurity,—an accusation that has been laid aside by common consent, if not from common conviction; but there are one or two features in the case which we think are worthy of notice:—1. Had the charge been entirely without foundation, it is not going too far to presume that within the space of fifteen years after his death, evidence might have been produced of such conclusive character as completely to have baffled the efforts of his calumniators, and produced universal conviction that the charge was groundless. This rational conviction in the case has not, however, been realized.* 2. Again, we should naturally inquire for the *living witnesses*, if any such could be found, whose testimony could reach the case. Where were the attendants, the witnesses of his last sickness and death, the friend in whose house he

* Bishop Halifax speaks of seeing the manuscript letters of Archbishop Secker, written in defense of Butler, and says: "They were wrapped together under one cover; on the back of which is written, in Archbishop Secker's own hand, the following words, or words to this effect: 'Presumptive arguments that Bishop Butler did not die a Papist.'"

died, the servants who attended him, the physicians, the clergy? Where were they?* Though we do not credit the report, originating as it did so long after his death and with so many "presumptive evidences" against it; yet we cannot but regret that the matter had not been fully put to rest while it could have been done by the testimony of living witnesses.

Speaking of the letters written by Drs. Forester and Benson to Archbishop Secker, during the sickness of Bishop Butler, and immediately prior to his death, Bishop Halifax says:—

"These letters, which are still preserved in the Lambeth library, I have read; and not the slenderest argument can be collected from them in justification of the ridiculous slander we are here considering. If at that awful moment the bishop was not known to have expressed any opinion tending to show his dislike of Popery, neither was he known to have said any thing that could at all be construed in approbation of it; and the natural presumption is, that whatever sentiments he had formerly entertained concerning that corrupt system of religion, he continued to entertain to the last."—*Butler's Works*, Preface, p. 20.

We have thus given the charge and a brief synopsis of the circumstances upon which that charge was predicated, and also of the arguments by which they were repelled; and now we leave the reader to draw his own conclusion. If the vindication is not so clear and conclusive as might be wished, if any mystery or ground of doubt yet remain, after a careful scrutiny of these statements, we have nothing more to urge.

We have already exceeded our limits, and must here close. When we commenced this article, we designed to devote a large portion of it to the principles and reasonings of the Analogy, which must ever be considered the *great work* of Bishop Butler, the work on which his fame, as a scholar, a profound thinker, and an able theologian, must ever rest. It is a work that exerted a good and great influence upon the age in which it was produced; and still stands as a monument of the greatness of its author; a tower of strength, an impregnable fortress of truth. Not a tithe from its value has the lapse of time, or the advancement of philosophy, detracted; not a single feature in its grand and imposing symmetry has been defaced or even marred by the rude assaults of the enemies of truth. If a man loves skepticism let him beware of Butler; he cannot read the Analogy, fathom its depths, and yet remain an infidel. C.

Amenia Seminary.

* Dr. Nathaniel Forester, and Dr. Martin Benson, then bishop of Gloucester, were with Bishop Butler in his last hours. Had both of these distinguished divines deceased prior to the year 1767?

Art. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection stated and defended: with a Critical and Historical Examination of the Controversy, both Ancient and Modern. Also Practical Illustrations and Advices. In a Series of Lectures.* By Rev. George Peck, D. D. 12mo., pp. 474. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

We insert the title-page of our work on Christian perfection for the benefit of the Book Concern and the information of the public—of course not for the purpose of saying any thing touching the merits of the performance: this we must leave to others, and shall most submissively abide the judgment of candid and enlightened criticism upon the subject. The author has long been impressed with the idea that a more extended discussion of the subject of this work than any which has hitherto been presented to the public in this country, was desirable. The events of the last few years have deepened this impression; and finally, after much earnest and careful study, he has ventured to give to the public the results of his investigations.

The work appears in the form of lectures, and is designed to take a sufficiently extensive view of the whole subject—doctrinal, historical, polemical, and practical. The first two and last four lectures are practical, those which intervene, are critical, historical, and controversial. Occasionally, notices of authors and books are inserted in the form of notes, that the reader, who has not an acquaintance with the authors referred to, may know the amount of authority to award to them.

Did we not honestly believe the doctrine of Christian perfection, as held by Mr. Wesley, to be the marrow and fatness of the gospel, we should never for a moment have run the hazard of presenting to the public a work upon the subject. Nor could we have been persuaded to this had it not been for a strong and decided conviction that the present state of the question urgently requires it. Under these convictions we have made an effort to meet the case. As to the manner in which the work is executed, we can only say we have done as well as we could under the circumstances, and hope our effort may be useful and have the divine blessing.

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2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson.* By Richard Treffry. 12mo., pp. 292. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

The subject of this memoir was one of the number of Wesleyan Methodist preachers who acted a prominent part in conducting Methodism, through the perilous transition which followed the death

of Mr. Wesley, to its present condition of permanency and efficiency. The men who were, in the order of Providence, called to the great work of arousing a slumbering world, and restoring the simple institutions of primitive Christianity, were eminently adapted to the great object. And when they were removed by death, the delicate and responsible business of settling the connection upon a permanent basis devolved upon their sons in the gospel. To do this in accordance with the plan which Mr. Wesley had devised while living, required talent, zeal, and self-denial of no ordinary grade. These were not wanting. The great Head of the church raised up the appropriate instrumentality, and the fruit of their labor yet remains. Joseph Benson was no ordinary man. As a Christian, as a scholar, and as a minister of Jesus Christ, he had few equals. The present work was executed by one well qualified for the task, and should have a general circulation, especially among the Methodists in this country.

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3. *Poems, on Moral and Religious Subjects.* By ANNE LUTTON. 12mo., pp. 136. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

Miss LUTTON is a native of the Emerald Isle, and seems to possess the poetic gift in a degree somewhat higher than ordinary. The harp of Erin has long been celebrated for the sweetness of its melody, but we confess that it is seldom the case that we meet with such purity of sentiment blended with so much richness of versification as in some of the pieces that compose this small volume. The opening poem, "On Love," would have done no dishonor to the name of Spenser or Milton; and the others, though of a fugitive character, are chaste, beautiful, and instructive. The work is elegantly printed, and neatly bound in cambric and lettered.

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4. *Analysis of Watson's Theological Institutes. Designed for the Use of Students and Examining Committees.* 18mo., pp. 228. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE title-page of this work will naturally draw to it the special attention of those who are appointed in the different conferences to examine the candidates for reception into full connection, as well as the candidates themselves. It is presumed that, by availing themselves of this Analysis, both parties will be materially aided. It will also be found useful to all who would refresh their recollection of the matter and arguments of a work so voluminous as to require almost constant re-examination and study without some such aid. The work is from the pen of Professor M'Clintock, of Dickinson College, though,

by some miscalculation somewhere, his name does not appear in the title-page. The author's name is a sufficient guaranty for the fidelity and ability of its execution. We would especially recommend this manual to all our young preachers.

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5. *An Answer to the Question, Why are you a Wesleyan Methodist? To which is added, an Examination of a Tract entitled "Tracts for the People, No. 4—Methodism as held by Wesley. By D. S. P."* By Rev. George Peck, D. D. 18mo., pp. 242. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

The first part of this work is a plain common sense vindication of the institutions of Methodism against the assaults of high Church exclusionists. It is evidently the production of a sound logical mind, though being anonymous, we are not able to give the author's name. Our British brethren are finally fully committed in opposition to the extravagant claims of the national Establishment; and from the specimens of their efforts which have come to hand, we judge that the old doting mother will gain little by her insulting contempt of the *heretical* and *schismatical* off-shoot which *now* has the presumption to denominate itself the Wesleyan Methodist *Church*. Until the late conference the British Wesleyan Methodists modestly styled themselves the Wesleyan Methodist *Connection*. In their last pastoral address they call themselves a *church*. So it should be, and we rejoice that the step is finally taken. The second part of the volume was added by the agents as an amplification and an enlargement of the work, which, without it, would have been too small.

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6. *A Treatise on Secret and Social Prayer.* By Richard Treffry. 18mo., pp. 219. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

The duty and the manner of performing the devotions of the closet, and of the social circle, are here clearly set forth, by one who speaks from long experience, as well as from an extensive and thorough knowledge of the Scriptures. Since the republication of this excellent little work was commenced, the venerable author has gone to his reward. But being dead, he yet speaks through several excellent works upon the great subject of experimental and practical godliness. Let the young Christian, especially, diligently peruse his work on prayer.

7. *Misericordia: or, Contemplations on the Mercy of God, regarded especially in its Aspects toward the Young.* By J. W. Ethridge. 18mo., pp. 216. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

This work analyzes and presents *divine mercy* in its various manifestations in the salvation of sinners. The chapters are short, and the whole is well digested, well arranged, and well written. It is a work that we can recommend to our readers.

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8. *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Genesis; designed as a general Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction.* In two vols., 12mo., pp. 364, 444. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842. Also Notes, &c., on Exodus. In two vols., pp. 360, 299. Also Notes on Leviticus. In one vol., pp. 282. And also Notes on Joshua and Judges. In one vol., pp. 403. 1838. By George Bush, Professor of Hebrew and Ancient Literature in the New-York City University.

The high qualifications of Professor Bush as a Biblical critic and commentator have been long understood. And his attempts at illustrating the historical books of the Old Testament have so far been eminently successful. The professor has succeeded most happily in an effort which has often failed, that of writing a critical and learned commentary so as to be useful to the mere vernacular reader. Professor Bush is not only a ripe scholar, but a man of liberal views—and, as far as we have examined his commentaries, seems to design to present the real sense of the inspired writers, and not to make them subservient to a preconceived creed. We most heartily wish these volumes a wide circulation, and, at the same time, would most devoutly pray that God in his providence may spare the life, and preserve the health, and strengthen the heart and hands of the author, until he shall have given to the world a commentary, not only upon "the historical books," but upon the whole Bible. Such a work, upon the plan, and executed with the ability, of the volumes now upon our table, would render infinite service to the cause of Biblical learning, and constitute a memorial for the author more enduring than one of marble or brass.

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9. *Dissertations on the Prophecies relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.* By George Duffield, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

This work is acknowledged to be one of the most elaborate and difficult to meet of any which has yet appeared on the same hypotheses. The author labors to prove the *pre-millennial coming of Christ.* We are not yet convinced that the Scriptures assuredly teach that *Christ*

will come down from heaven, in person, and reign a thousand years on this earth. This view, which, with many other strange opinions, was entertained by many of the old fathers, has recently been revived, after having been exploded, by sober divines generally, for several centuries, and it seems must now make a strong effort to battle its way to public favor. We freely concede the subject is one which admits of debate. And to the discussion now pending we make no objections. It will probably result in good, provided the parties do not become too much excited, and are not too confident where there are strong grounds of doubt. An ample review of Mr. Duffield's work is undoubtedly called for, and will probably be forthcoming in time for our next number.

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10. *The Phenomena and Order of the Solar System.* By J. P. NICHOL, LL.D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow: author of "Views of the Architecture of the Heavens," &c. From the last Edinburgh edition. Illustrated with Plates. 12mo., pp. 166. New-York: Dayton and Newman.

THIS is a most instructive and beautiful little volume. The illustrations are so numerous and so perfect as to make the science of astronomy an easy and pleasant study to the young. We have seen no work of the size which appears to us so well adapted as a text-book for schools and seminaries of learning.

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11. *Uncas and Miantonomoh; an Historical Discourse, delivered at Norwich, (Conn.,) on the fourth Day of July, 1842, on the Occasion of the Erection of a Monument to the Memory of Uncas, the White Man's Friend, and first Chief of the Mohegans.* By WILLIAM L. STONE, author of the "Life of Brant," "Life and Times of Red Jacket," &c., &c. 18mo., pp. 209. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THIS is a truly interesting little volume. The author has on former occasions distinguished himself for his diligent research into aboriginal history, and by his labors in this department has made valuable contributions to a department of history which is too little understood. It belongs to our own historians to present, in connection with the early history of this country, a true portrait of the chiefs and warriors of the original owners of the soil—to do justice to the memory of those doomed heroes, whose real greatness is too often overlooked, while their barbarities are emblazoned upon the enduring records of history. We hope the efforts of Colonel Stone to present in a true light the character of the injured red man will be suitably rewarded by an enlightened and generous public.

12. *Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship: comprising the most approved Spiritual Hymns, with chaste and popular Tunes.* 12mo., pp. 343. Published by the American Tract Society.

As far as we are able to determine from a hasty examination of this work, it is what it professes to be—a book "comprising the most approved spiritual hymns, with chaste and popular tunes." The hymns are well selected, and the tunes suited to purposes of devotion and spiritual improvement. We find in this collection several of John and Charles Wesley's hymns, with their names connected with them. Due credit seems to be given to the authors of both the hymns and tunes. This is right. And we must say we could wish we had as good a work, upon the same plan, from our own press, to recommend to our people.

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13. *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art: comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge; with the Derivation and Definition of all the Terms in general Use.* Edited by W. T. BRANDE, F. R. S. L. & E., of Her Majesty's Mint; Professor of Chimistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain; Professor of Chimistry and Materia Medica to the Apothecaries' Company, &c., &c., &c., assisted by JOSEPH CARWIN, Esq. The various Departments by eminent literary and scientific Gentlemen. Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a very able and useful work, the joint production of several eminent literary and scientific men, and contains a vast amount of important information. It is intended to supply the place, for all valuable purposes, of the larger encyclopedias; containing as many articles, and being decidedly more convenient for reference, while its cheapness places it within the reach of all classes. By refraining from all details not strictly essential, the different articles are made sufficiently full and precise, and notwithstanding the immense number of subjects, accurate and clear information is given in regard to each. There is scarcely a topic that is not more or less fully treated, and every individual in the community would be greatly benefited by the possession of such a work. It is issued in semi-monthly numbers, at *twenty-five cents* each, and the whole cost will be but *three dollars;* or about one-fourth that of the English edition.

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14. *The School and the Schoolmaster. A Manual for the Use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, Inspectors, &c., &c., of Common Schools.* By ALONZO POTTER, D. D., and GEORGE B. EMERSON, A. M. In two Parts. 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 552. Harper & Brothers.

MUCH has been done within the last few years for the improvement of common schools; and more particularly in this state, by the intro-

duction of school district libraries, the appointment of county superintendents, and the general interest awakened in behalf of these schools. Considering their vast importance—furnishing the only means of scholastic instruction enjoyed by nineteen-twentieths, probably, of our youth—it is surprising they should ever have been neglected. But such, unhappily, has been the case; and these schools were in a course of rapid deterioration, until about eight years since a healthier public sentiment began to prevail in regard to them. This sentiment has been steadily acquiring greater force, and its effects have been most salutary in infusing new life and vigor into our common school system.

We have been led to these remarks by the perusal of this very valuable work, written at the suggestion of an enlightened citizen, through whose liberality a copy has been distributed gratuitously to every school district in the state. It is designed to point out the importance of education, the defects in our present system, the means of correcting them, the qualifications essential to teachers, the best modes of instruction, &c., &c., all with special reference to our common schools; and is the joint production of two eminent scholars, themselves accomplished and experienced teachers. It is our intention in a future number to notice this work as its importance deserves, and we shall therefore now dismiss it with the single observation, that it is written throughout with uncommon ability, and should be in the hands of all who have any thing to do with the management of schools, or the business of instruction. The necessity of due religious and moral culture, as the only proper basis of education, is strongly insisted upon.

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15. *Education: Part I.—History of Education, Ancient and Modern. Part II.—A Plan of youthful Culture and Instruction, based on Christian Principles.* By H. J. Smith, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages in Pennsylvania College, and Professor of German Language and Literature in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Penn. 1 vol., 18mo., pp. 340. Harper & Brothers.

We have here another very valuable work on education, from the same press. The "History of Education," forming the first part, is the more interesting, from the fact that our literature has heretofore been exceedingly defective in this particular. Professor Smith has brought to the consideration of his subject a mind deeply impressed with its importance, and his views are sound, clear, and forcibly expressed. In his second part, he presents the outlines of a general plan of education, such as he would recommend, commencing with the earliest years under parental guidance, having for its object the due

development of the physical, intellectual, and moral powers, and carried forward through its several stages of domestic, social, and scholastic training, to the completion of its work in the formation of the perfect man. There is no more pernicious error than considering education confined to the school, and this error extensively prevails. The fact is, the work of education never ceases—it is constantly going on, whether in the child or the man. Every thing around us, every circumstance by which we are influenced or affected, has something to do with our education. Hence the parent is an educator no less than the schoolmaster—the world no less than the school or the college. Such is the comprehensive view of education taken by Professor Smith in this treatise, which every parent, as well as teacher, should read.

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16. *History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution*, 1789, *to the Restoration of the Bourbons in* 1815. By Archibald Alison, F. R. S. E. Harper & Brothers.

An able, full, and impartial history of this most important period—so eventful in itself, and, from the vast changes it has introduced, so influential upon the entire aspect of society—was a desideratum until the appearance of this work. It has received the highest commendations abroad, and, we do not doubt, will be read with great interest here. The style is vigorous and eloquent, the narrative clear and well connected, and the reflections just and appropriate. It is published in numbers, of about one hundred and fifty pages, at *twenty-five cents each*, or *four dollars for the work complete*, which is certainly surprisingly cheap, compared with the price of the English copy, which is £10, or nearly fifty dollars.

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17. *First Principles of Philosophy: being a familiar Introduction to the Study of that Science, for the Use of Schools and Academies.* By James Renwick, LL.D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in Columbia College. Harper & Brothers.

Next to a thorough knowledge of the subject, experience in teaching is the best qualification for writing a good school-book; for the matter to be taught is scarcely more important than the mode of teaching it; which may either be such as to make study pleasing and profitable to the youthful scholar, or the contrary, in both respects. In looking over this treatise it is easy to be perceived that it is the production of an accomplished practical teacher, familiar with the youthful mind, and the best methods of adapting instruction to it. It is, what all elementary books should be, clear and easy to be understood, happily illustrated, and rendered interesting by the striking and satisfactory manner in which every thing is stated and explained. In these respects, and also in being more full and comprehensive, it is, we think, decidedly superior to the text-books on the same subject now in use. The numerous plates and diagrams are executed in the best manner.

18. *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy.* By M. STUART, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Second edition, with additions and corrections. 12mo., pp. 194. Andover: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THE object of our author, in the body of his work, is to correct what he deems errors in the interpretation of prophetic language, and to lay down the correct hermeneutical principles to be employed in its study. This is an effort much of a piece with the professor's other critical works; but whether all his deductions are to be depended upon is quite another matter. An appendix of ninety-three pages is occupied with a review of the work of Mr. Duffield. In this review the author lays on heavy blows, for all of which, we understand, he is soon to be called to a strict and severe reckoning by Mr. D. The controversy is in able hands, and we hope may be sustained with the strength of argument and sobriety of manner that the public have a right to expect from such competitors.

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19. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, in* 1840. By Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D.D., President of the Wesleyan University. In two vols., 12mo. Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THIS work is now in press, and will probably be published during the month of January. We have examined it, in manuscript, sufficiently to be able to speak with confidence of its general character. The object of the author is to describe the objects and scenes which came before him while passing through the interesting countries mentioned in the title-page. His volumes, we judge, will be found about equidistant from the light sketchy volumes of Stevens and the unwieldy tomes of Dr. Robinson; thus meeting a numerous class of minds not particularly interested in either. It is not necessary for us to forestall public opinion in relation to this work. The name and character of the learned and estimable author are a sufficient guaranty to the public for its faithful and able execution. We have no doubt but all who are in the least qualified to judge of the merits and utility of such a work will feel grateful to divine Providence that the author's health has been so far restored as to enable him to complete a design of so much interest to the age. We most heartily wish success to the work, and to the author years of health and successful toil in the intellectual and moral training of the youth of the country.

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20. *The Triumph of Truth; or, the Vindication of Divine Providence. A Poem; in which Philosophy, Theology, and Description are combined. In Fourteen Books.* By Rev. CHARLES GILES. Second edition, revised and improved by the author. 18mo., pp. 288. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THIS is a truly religious poem. It is not, however, without those scintillations of wit and imagination which flow so spontaneously from the author's mind. The author also, with Young and Milton, reasons conclusively with the skeptic and the infidel upon the government of God, and the ways of divine Providence. We have not space for such a particular view of the work as might be deemed desirable. We are happy to say, that the reception and sale of the first edition show that the lovers of poetry highly appreciate the author's poetical powers, and constitute a strong pledge that the present improved edition will be well received and widely circulated.

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21. *A Discourse on the Nature and Design of the Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. 18mo., pp. 154. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

WE reckon this among the best efforts which the learned author ever put forth upon a specific point. Our people (and we might hope all good Protestants in the country) must feel under a debt of gratitude to the agents of our Book Concern for giving to the public this convenient and beautiful edition of a work of so much interest. It comes out very timely. While real and semi-Romanists are croaking about the *real presence* in the sacrament, we are glad to be able to direct our readers to a Scriptural, rational, practical, and common sense treatise, which gives the true view of the subject, and cannot fail to impart to them real edification.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1843.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET. With the Collection of Records, and a copious Index; a Frontispiece, and twenty-two Portraits. In four vols., 8vo, pp. 592, 652, 543, 622. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

THE kingdom of Christ is the primary object of Jehovah's terrestrial providence. Notwithstanding all the stupendous mutations that "the church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood" has experienced, the annals of the Redeemer's disciples during eighteen hundred years are one unvarying testimony in proof of the divine care over his vineyard, as attested by the unerring promise, "I the Lord do keep it—I will water it every moment—lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day." In almost every age the Christian churches have been the living antitype of the great sight which Moses beheld: "The bush burned with fire, and was not consumed." Hence, from their commencement on the day of Pentecost, until that all-joyous morn when the "great voice out of heaven" shall resound, "The tabernacle of God is with men;" the revolutions and progressive advancement of "the kingdom of heaven" necessarily involve the most important and edifying topics for our contemplation.

Two events during the intermediate period are especially remarkable, not only for their results, but also in contrast.

At the beginning of the fourth century, the whole Roman empire was governed by an imperial potentate, with unlimited despotic sway. Christianity, with its professors, by the mysterious providence of God, appeared to subsist merely according to the caprice of an unrelenting heathen, who, like Pharaoh, "knew not the Lord, and would not obey his voice." Galerius, whom Dioclesian had elevated to a participation in the government of the empire, determined to blot out of all earthly remembrance the religion of "Jesus, the Son of God," by the universal destruction of the sacred

Scriptures, and the indiscriminate slaughter of "the disciples of the Lord." During several years the devastating storm of persecution raged in all-merciless and unintermitting fury, from the River Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Danube to the African Desert. When the malignant adversaries fancied that their design was accomplished, they announced their triumph with magnificent idolatrous festivals, and emblazoned their success on commemorative pillars, as they vainly thought, destined for immortality. But "He who sitteth in the heavens laughed—the Lord had them in derision." That year was the precise point of time for the opening of the sixth seal, Rev. vi, 12–17, "And lo, there was a great earthquake!" Dioclesian, Galerius, and their coadjutors "fell to the earth." Jupiter and Juno, Bacchus and Venus, Apollo and Minerva, Neptune and Pluto, with the other demons of paganism, "departed as a scroll when it is rolled together"—and through divine mercy, under the conquering banner of the cross, Constantine moved them all "out of their places." Alas! the benefits which flowed from that astonishing revolution were restricted to a very short period. "The four winds of the earth did not blow," and the command was executed, "Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees!" But it was speedily developed, that if Satanic instigation, acting upon human depravity and irreligious malevolence, was powerless against the churches of Immanuel; worldly honor and opulence could seduce them from "the pathway of righteousness and wisdom;" as the Israelites, Num. xxv, 1–9, and xxxi, 16; and from their covenanted allegiance to their rightful Sovereign, the Judge of all.

One remarkable circumstance appears during that tremendous convulsion which subverted all the ancient establishments in the Roman empire. The visible master-spirit who directed the whirlwind that swept from among mankind "the kings of the earth, and the chief captains, and the mighty men," and who lifted the standard of the cross against "the idols of the heathen," proceeded to the mighty achievement from Britain. In connection with the remarkable coincidence, that the second wondrous overthrow of the nations was commenced by Wiclif, of the same race; does not that fact justify the anticipation, whatever conflicts the Anglo-Saxons yet may be called to sustain, in the third and final evolution of redeeming mercy to "the world that lieth in wickedness," that those "sons of Japheth" will stand in the front rank of the Christian warriors, and largely enjoy the beatitudes of the victory, when the voice of the great multitude shall shout, "Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

Subsequent to the almost universal pacification achieved by that first Christian emperor, and his bestowment of state dignities and wealth, with other unhallowed donations upon the nominal followers of the Lord Jesus; the predictions of the apostles Peter, and Paul, and John, were exemplified in all their fearfulness, "False teachers brought in damnable heresies. Many followed their pernicious ways. Some departed from the faith, and gave heed to seducing spirits, who spoke lies in hypocrisy"—until at length "the angel of the bottomless pit, Apollyon," with his scorpion-locust armies, laid waste the Eastern dominions; and at Rome, "that WICKED was revealed, after the working of Satan;" so that the ten kingdoms of Europe, including the Western provinces of the Cesars, gradually became debased in besotting ignorance, superstitions, and criminality, with their inseparable bondage and wretchedness.

Thus they continued during several hundreds of years, in a death-like trance, combining impious temerity in the Vatican conclave, who exercised the pontifical usurpations, with infatuated servility in the people. Whence, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the then existing Papal representative of "the man of sin, and son of perdition," in conformity with his audacious claim of unlimited godlike supremacy on earth, maintained, in its utmost extent, that antichristian usurpation and tyranny, which his predecessors from the year "six hundred threescore and six" ever had displayed.

The jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff arose from the absurd honors paid to the city in which he resided. "It extended itself gradually, while men were ignorant of the results, and made not sufficient efforts to prevent them. The immense fabric of the Papal domination was established by three powers, which were slowly developed,—1. The *judicial* prerogative, arising from appeals, by which the pope acted as supreme judge in all causes. 2. The *legislative* authority, which flowed from the consultations of prelates in difficult cases, and from the practice of fraternal admonition, with the reference which occasionally was made to the opinion of the pastor of the church at Rome, because it was the metropolis of the empire. 3. The *executive* coercion; for the pope had obtained the power not merely of hearing appeals at Rome, and of enacting laws for the government of the Western professors of Christianity; but also of deputing *legatès* to execute those decisions—which despotism was confirmed by the temporal sovereignty of the popedom, and the monastic orders; so that every Roman prelate now swears implicit obedience to the Italian pontiff,

and styles himself, "*Episcopus gratia sedis apostolicæ;*" thus acknowledging that his office emanates from that potentate, and is conferred by the favor of the Roman court.

Their plenitude of power was prolonged by the *artifices* which include "all deceivableness of unrighteousness"—and by a *terror* which neither language can describe nor imagination conceive; and by an *enthusiasm* that, in apostolic language, "*set on fire the wheel of nature, and was* set on fire of hell;" and by that *persecution*, which, although "drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," like the "horse-leech and its two daughters," ever cried, "*Give, give!*"

At that period the Western antichrist had just exercised his assumed prerogative to partition between Portugal and Spain, the then recently discovered countries in eastern Asia, and the transatlantic hemisphere revealed to Columbus. Having also reduced to apparently profound silence the *protest* of the "TWO WITNESSES" who impugned the hierarchy of "Babylon the Great"—all the "ten kingdoms of the beast" seemed willing supinely to acquiesce in the crushing mass of Papal absurdity and superstition, which had been canonized as infallibly evangelical; and also to submit without a murmur to every exaction that a mandate from the Vatican enforced. Neither the corruption of the inferior priesthood; nor the partial restoration of knowledge by the art of printing; nor the mingled avarice, ferociousness, and profligacy of the popes Alexander, Julius, and Leo; nor the licentiousness of the monks and nuns; nor the vitiated and miserable condition of the nations impoverished by the ecclesiastical minions of the voracious court of Rome, in the year 1509, when Henry VIII. became king of England, produced a solitary complaint so loud as to be audible, or a single remonstrance sufficiently energetic to be regarded. But the appointed time had arrived; for, in 1517, "the third angel" startled the slumbering nations, and roused the dead, when, "with a loud voice," he proclaimed among the affrighted worshipers of the dragon who "wondered after the beast,"—"They have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name—and the smoke of their torment ascendeth for ever and ever."

The "bright and blissful Reformation," in its meliorating consequences, is the most auspicious event which has occurred since the day of Pentecost, when the disciples "were all filled with the Holy Ghost." By his alliance of ecclesiastical and secular affairs, and by his subjection of the church to the state, Constantine despoiled the ancient Christians of many blessed immunities

which otherwise they would have enjoyed. The same effect has flowed from the same cause, even amid the transformation of the character and condition of the moderns. Nevertheless, the whole tendency of the last grand religious awakening has been onward to perfection; while that of the fourth century, after the death of the renowned Theodosius, was in constant retrogression to the dethroned paganism, baptized by the misnomer, Christian. The difference can be imputed to one circumstance exclusively: in the fourth and fifth centuries, none of the Christians resisted the pontifical encroachments; in the early years after the Reformation, that immortal phalanx was imbodied, the English Puritans, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the Reformed Netherlanders, who have avowed an uninterrupted protest and resistance, both to "*Roma Magna*, and to *Roma Minor!*"

In retracing the course of that marvelous change which was effected in the sixteenth century among the European nations; who without irrepressible emotions can meditate upon the bloodless triumph of Luther and his Saxon consociates? and the victory of Zuingle and his Swiss fellow-champions? and the ascendency of Gustavus Vasa, with his Swedish compatriots? and the success of Calvin and the Huguenots? and the elevation of John Knox with his unconquerable Picts? and the "patient enduring, till they were delivered," evinced by the Netherland Protestants? But to the citizens and churches of the United States, the "*History of the Reformation*" in England is the most valuable. So many of our social principles, habits, and predilections are derived from the ancient canon law, and civil code of that country, and especially in connection with our ecclesiastical arrangements; and so mightily but imperceptibly are we directed by them, that it is essential to our welfare, as members of the churches, and as citizens of the commonwealth, accurately to comprehend the history of those times; the chief actors in the scenes; their motives, objects, and doings; and the consequences of the revolution which they achieved. This illumination, as imbodied in the authentic historical annals of the times by-gone, it has been almost impossible in this republic to procure. The costliness and scarcity of the works that comprise the documents and facts connected with anterior ages have precluded the acquisition of the desirable boon. Thanks to the great Head of the church! that inauspicious period has passed away for ever. *Stereotype* has secured the supply of our prior destitution; and, ere long, the *steamer's cargo of evangelists and truth* will enable "every man in his own tongue to speak the wonderful works of God."

Of the authentic narratives concerning the Reformation in England, the work by Bishop Burnet has always been adjudged to be one of the most important compilations of modern ecclesiastical history, essential to every library. The liberal spirit which he develops; his undisguised attachment to gospel truth and "the doctrine which is according to godliness;" his unwavering adhesion to the rights of conscience, and his uncompromising aversion to all those dogmas which sacrifice Christian brotherly love upon the altar of prelatical bigotry, enforced by secular despotism, have secured for his volumes almost oracular and imperishable authority. One paragraph luminously illustrates the principles and spirit of Burnet's "History of the Reformation," and furnishes an accurate criterion by which Protestants may judge of the powerful claims that the work makes upon their study and perusal.

The renowned historiographer thus writes:—

"The Christian religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions, and securing the peace of every man's conscience, and of the societies of mankind in common. Every part of religion is to be judged by its relation to the main ends of it—and since the Christian doctrine was revealed from heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was for the advancing of the good of mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. *All the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the world, are justly to be suspected;* especially when it is manifest at first view, that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can reasonably be supposed in the Papacy, where the popes are chosen by intrigues, either of the two crowns, or the nephews of the former pope, or the craft of some aspiring man, *to entitle them to infallibility and universal jurisdiction?* What can we think of redeeming souls out of purgatory, or preserving them from it by *tricks*, or some *mean pageantry*, but that *it is a foul piece of merchandise?* What is to be said of implicit obedience, priestly dominion over consciences, the keeping of the Scriptures out of the people's hands, and the worship of God in a strange tongue; but that those are so many *arts to hoodwink the world*, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious clergy? What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of images, and all the other pomp of the Roman worship, but that by those things the people are to be kept in a gross notion of religion, as a splendid business; and that the priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humor the priests, and *leave that matter wholly in their hands?* What can we think of that *constellation of prodigies* in the "sacrament of the altar," as they pretend to explain it, but that it is *an artifice to bring the world to renounce their reason and sense*, and to have a wonderful veneration for men who with a word can perform the most astonishing thing that ever was known? What can seduce any Protestant to be carried away, unless a blind

superstition in their temper, or a desire to get to heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds? The thing is so unaccountable; for *an ordinary measure of infatuation cannot lead any one so far into folly;* that it looks like *a curse from Heaven, on those who are given up to it, for their other sins.* 2 Thess. ii, 10–12."

Our present design is to review concisely that joyous renovation of the religious state of the nations, as it has been evolved by the operation of those cardinal principles which constitute the august edifice of the Reformation, from its immutable basis to the cap of its resplendent dome; with the pillars of its strength, and the beauty of its ornaments.

An adequate valuation of the benefits which have been educed by the reformers of the church in the sixteenth century cannot be made, unless we remember the pontifical exactions as they affected mankind, both in reference to time and eternity. The Roman prelates gradually attained a superiority in rank and jurisdiction over all the other professed ministers of the New Testament, until they united the temporal sovereignty with ecclesiastical domination. They arrogated the uncontrolled government of the hearts and minds of all men, as the "*lord of conscience.*" They asserted a plenary and supreme control over "all the kings of the earth and of the whole world," as terrestrial vicegerent of "the high and lofty One who inhabiteth eternity." Such were the craft and pertinacity with which those blasphemous demands were urged; and so inefficacious was all resistance to the swarms of meandering friars, and monks, and to the convents, which truly were fortresses for the Papal priestly militia, each to hold in vassalage the people in its vicinity; that the Roman pontiffs for many hundreds of years literally fulfilled the vision of the prophet Daniel—they spoke "great words against the Most High; and wore out his saints; and changed times and laws;" so that at the period when the Reformation was commenced, the condition of the European nations, except the "*two witnesses,*" who "wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth," especially amid the European Alps and Appenines, may aptly be described by the apostolic portraiture, "The whole world was lying in wickedness, having no hope, and being without God."

The supremacy of the Papal power, and the infallibility of the pontifical judgment, are the foundation of the Roman hierarchical court. Those dogmas, it was solemnly affirmed, are the substance of Christianity; and the belief of them, it was declared, is essential to salvation. During the twelfth century the canon law was

enacted. That code is a digest of all the decretals, determinations, and bulls which had been promulged by the councils and popes, with the countless forgeries that in every preceding age had been devised. Having received the sanction of the pope and his conclave of cardinals, and being the highest part of education in all the universities, it exalted the Papal power to its utmost aggrandizement. Hence, it was decreed as oracular doctrine by the Lateran Council in 1215, that the Roman pontiffs possess authority to depose all secular governors; to absolve the people from their oaths of allegiance and official obligations; to divest every civil magistrate of his dignity and functions; and by force to subject all nations to rulers nominated by the "*vicar of Christ, and Lord God upon earth,*" as he was most blasphemously named; who were bound to execute the Papal mandates, bulls, and anathemas.

Among the documents in Burnet's "History of the Reformation," is a collection of passages from the canon law, by Cranmer, which he cited on behalf of the Reformation. As that code is still enforced, wherever the Roman priesthood can do it with impunity, we quote some of its maxims:—

"Canon Laws.—1. 'He who does not acknowledge himself to be under the pope of Rome, is a heretic, and cannot be saved.' 2. '*Laws against the canons and decrees of the pope are of no force.*' 3. 'The pope of Rome hath authority to judge all men; but no man hath authority to judge him.' 4. 'It appertaineth to the pope to judge what oaths ought to be kept, and which not.' *He may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from all other oaths.*' 5. 'Roman priests ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors.' 6. '*All cases, spiritual or temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the priests.*' 7. '*He is not a murderer who killeth a man excommunicated.*'"

The result of that exaltation "above all that is called God, and worshiped," was displayed in the universal ignorance and idolatry of the people.

Their *ignorance* was developed in these two principal forms: the prohibition of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue; and the invariable and universal adoption of the Latin language, which was no longer in common use, as the vehicle of their simulated devotions.

The principles which the Roman priesthood announce concerning divine truth are repugnant to all intelligence. Their own oral *traditions* are placed in authority superior to the revealed written word of God, because the interpretation of the Gospels and of the apostolic Epistles is of no validity, unless it has obtained their

plenary sanction. They teach, that the perusal of "the oracles of God" in the only language which the people speak or understand is dangerous to the souls of men. They proclaim, that the gospel is not adapted for the comprehension of the common people, such as those who "heard Jesus gladly." They avow, that the Holy Bible does not reveal all the doctrine which is requisite to salvation. They affirm, that "the Scripture of truth" is not sufficiently certain as the basis of undoubted confidence; and that it has not all those qualities which are indispensable to constitute the unerring rule of faith. Thus ignorance became *the mother of their devotion;* and "*to seek reform was heresy!*"

That absconding from "the light and the truth" unavoidably conducted the nations to *idolatry*, as thus promulgated in their own creed: "The saints are to be prayed to and worshiped. The *images* of Christ, of the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, and of other saints, ought to be obtained, and due honor and veneration should be given to them. The honor which is given to images is referred to the prototypes represented by them, so that by the images which we kiss, and before which we kneel, we adore Christ and reverence his saints whom those images represent."

In every age, idolatry has produced the same evils among all people. The degeneracy and horrors which are recorded concerning it in the Holy Bible, and by the historians of ancient Greece and Rome, have been its unvarying concomitants, throughout all those portions of the globe where Popery has usurped and held the predominance. The floodgates of iniquity were open. Every moral restraint was extirpated. Crimes, however enormous, as the Roman priests declared, were expiated by the offender, if he only presented to the monk who absolved him a bribe equivalent to the ecclesiastical cupidity. Thus the pontiff and the metropolitan, the prelate and the abbot, the friars and the monks, and their sisters, the nuns, groped in atheistic impiety, and wallowed in indiscriminate corruption.

The soul-killing system of *auricular confession* places the reputation, the wealth, and even the personal safety of all persons at the disposal of the confidential priestly adviser; as is evident from the assassination of William, prince of Orange; the murders of Kings Henry III. and Henry IV. of France; the Bartholomew and Irish massacres of Protestants; and the gunpowder plot, with numberless similar facts. Moreover, that ungodly machination imbodied around the priestly confessor a constant guard for his defense; for whether they committed sin by his sanction, or detested his wickedness, they were coerced to silence by the dread

lest he might divulge or punish their own secret vices. From the operation of those complex woes, all persons within the deadly rule of the priests had become infected with a moral leprosy apparently incurable; for although they indulged their inordinate propensities in their widest range, yet their alarmed consciences were quieted by deceptive pardons, "carnal security, and a false peace." Whence, the prophetical delineation, Rev. ix, 20, 21, is verified by all historical testimony, which evinces that the depravity of the Romanists was amplified in all diversity and energy in every one of the "ten kingdoms of the beast," during several centuries, until "the third angel" resounded that wondrous blast, which has partly effaced the frauds of purgatory, silenced the din of superstition, forced the Romish priesthood to put on a vizor to conceal monkish vitiosity, and proclaimed, throughout a large portion of the world, the assured overthrow of "Babylon the Great," and the holy triumph of Messiah's redemption.

By the influence of the pontifical system, the monastic emissaries of Rome acquired possession of the largest proportion of the immovable property and the floating wealth in every country under their control. Yet that impoverishment of the people was ineffably less mischievous than another prominent characteristic of the Papacy.

The usurped spiritual domination of the Popish ecclesiastics encircles man from his infancy to his death in all his relations. Commencing with the thoughts, the desires, the conscience, and the acts of the individual, it penetrates into his matrimonial, domestic, social, and political life; and in all and in each of them, fetters him as with a ponderous chain, and imprisons him within the limits alone of that nominal freedom which the priest grants him. Only by combining these views of the exact state of the people in England, at the period of the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of that kingdom, can we apprehend with accuracy the dangerous contest which the reformers commenced, the multifarious obstacles which they had to surmount, the ruthless opposition which they encountered, and the arduous labors which they sustained, while endeavoring to emancipate the people from their blindness, infatuation, and thraldom of inherent depravity and heathenish *irreligion*, both sanctified by the heaven-born name of Christianity.

Recent startling events in Britain have given ineffable importance to the diversified topics conjoined with the identity of the cardinal doctrines generally received by all *sincere and upright* Protestants, and those which were held by the primitive Christians of the

apostolic century; with the true character of that authority by which our religious faith and practice should be regulated. One general proposition is self-evident. The principles upon which the Reformation of the sixteenth century is based, are infallibly and evangelically true; or all Protestants have "put away a good conscience, and concerning faith have made shipwreck!" In other words, the Romish hierarchy, with all its subordinate appendages and subjects, is "the mystery of iniquity, and Babylon the Great"—that grand antichristian apostasy which is accursed of God, and doomed to remediless destruction; or all Protestants are voluntarily, resolutely, and wickedly, "strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world."

By no method can the decision upon this alternative be so accurately formed as through an exact and an impartial comparison of the state of the European nations during the unrestricted supremacy of the Papal despotism, with the condition of those who, subsequent to their emancipation from the Roman yoke, have professed to submit to the gospel only—that survey being directed entirely by "the law, the statutes, and the testimony of the Lord."

From that comprehensive investigation it appears, that the modern efforts to revive Popery are the most terrifying proofs of human corruption that ever have been exhibited among mankind; and this inference will not be changed, whether the application of it be made to the open and immediate labors of the professed Jesuit priests, or to the covert and indirect schemes of the masked Romanists under the Protestant banner. The destructive projects of "the great dragon, and of the beast, to whom the dragon gave his power, and his seat, and great authority," are never so effectually accomplished, as when they are undertaken by men who are known as ostensible Christians, and whose avowed object is to promote the glory of God. That fact is demonstrated by the uniform practice of the Roman court; for almost all the pontifical bulls commence with the words, "In nomine Domini;" whence the shrewd and secret rebels to the pope's usurpations in old times constantly declared, "In nomine Domini incipit omne malum—All evil begins in the name of God!"

The Reformation which was achieved by the immortal champions, who, three hundred years ago, earnestly contended "for the faith which once was delivered to the saints," may be contemplated under two general aspects: its ecclesiastical influence, and its secular advantages. It is lamentable that the propitious results of the noblest meliorating revolution among mankind since the pentecostal era are not so evident and general with reference to the

Christian churches, as the prodigious wide-spread renovation which has been effected in civil society. The solution of this perplexing enigma can be found only in the fact, that the intrenchments in which the European potentates were fortified, and their almost inseparable alliance with the Papacy, constituted a barrier which could be demolished by the same spiritual weapons alone, which formerly subverted the ancient pagan empire; the gospel of Christ disconnected from all human authoritative aid and interposition.

The grand support of the popedom was the federal compact between the hierarchical usurpations and the civil despotism. Monarchs supported the priesthood, because those Papal agents assisted the temporal rulers to enslave and plunder their vassals with impunity. The monkish orders coalesced with the feudal despots, because they were allowed to "trample upon all laws, human and divine, without restraint." In their hearts the ten kings agreed to "give their kingdom to the beast," to which the dragon had delegated "his power, and his seat, and great authority." Rev. xiii, 2; xvii, 17.

Probably in neither of the nations of Europe was that mischievous coalition more clearly unfolded than during the convulsion by which the arrogant jurisdiction of the Roman court was banished from Britain. A survey of the prominent scenes with the actors in that complicated ecclesiastical drama will display the causes that obstructed the complete triumph of the English reformers over the Papal emissaries, and which have perpetuated the collision until the present day. According to "the signs of the times," it is probable, that "the man of sin" will temporarily regain so much of his lost predominance, that he will be able to exhibit his ancient malignity in the southern part of that island, which doubtless constituted one of the original "ten kingdoms of the beast."

The Reformation invariably has disclosed an extraordinary difference in its effects, according to the character of the parties by whom it was directed. When accomplished, chiefly, as in England, by the caprice and will of the *sovereign authority*, it was imperfect; and in its tendency vacillating, and often inoperative; but when conducted by the *people*, as in Saxony, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Scotland, and Holland, it was carried on with more resolution and success; while it was more amplified in extent, and its subsequent advantages were more auspicious and lasting.

It has been reiterated incessantly by the modern Romanists that the Reformation in England originated in the sensuality of Henry VIII. That assertion is utterly fallacious. The doctrines of

Wiclif, and his translation of the New Testament, did not expire with him. Myriads of the *Lollards* by descent survived the lapse of the intermediate century—for as soon as the voice of the Son of God was heard, the "two witnesses," who had appeared to be extinct, "stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." From the History by Burnet, it is evident, so far from the sacred cause of the Reformation being aided by the interposition of Henry VIII., that his connection with it was a millstone appended, which would have submerged it in the abyss of destruction, if the "*Gospellers*," as sincere and devout Christians then were termed, had not displayed their invincible faith, and their indomitable fortitude and perseverance. The king's personal quarrel with the pope indirectly sanctioned the religious opposition of the enemies to the Papacy; but the character and acts of Henry VIII. were so outrageously vile, that his approval of the Protestant cause would have ruined it, had not the resplendent brilliancy of evangelic truth, and the godliness of its prominent disciples, in a measure overshadowed the destitution of principle and the corruption of life, which ever were displayed by the king and his Popish counselors and subordinate officers. Henry VIII., from the first day of the collision to the hour of his decease, was a genuine Papist; full of bigotry, haughtiness, exclusive claims, and a merciless spirit. The contest between him and the pope was the determination of a simple inquiry, which of the two despots should be supreme arbiter and tyrant in England? As the pontiff of the Vatican would not acknowledge a *rival*, and Henry VIII. no longer would submit to a foreign *master*, there was but one alternative; and the monarch, in self-defense, and consistently with his own furious temper, resolved to assume the same prerogatives in another form and name, which the Roman court, during so many centuries, had exercised over his ignorant and degraded subjects. All the great mischiefs which flowed from that course of the English monarch are concentrated in the melancholy fact, that the Reformation of England, in its religious attributes and potency, was counteracted by the power of the civil government; and consequently, its progress was dilatory, its movements irresolute, its beneficial influence was repressed, and its magnificent objects were but partially attained. Moreover, the inefficiency of the change, and the inequitable distribution of its immediate acquisitions, engendered an inexhaustible source of discord, which ever has subsisted in that country and its dependencies, and which even now is equally rife as during the reigns of the Stuarts, and which exhibits its prime didactic "heresies," and its inherent injustice and proscription.

The narrative by Burnet in his "History of the Reformation," with his corroborative documents, unfolds clearly the partial change which at first was effected, and the unceasing cause of strife in England during the last three centuries which has flowed from it.

Connection between the Church and the State.

According to the visions of the apostle John, that union is the essential principle of the popedom. Whether viewed as the combined "dragon and beast," or as the "scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns," with its "QUEEN arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness," sitting upon the beast; the imagery conveys the same instruction. It is the indissoluble combination of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, or rather, the servile allegiance of the nominal churches to the secular authorities, subservient to their supreme will, and thus allied against the true disciples of Christ, and making "war with the Lamb."

At the period when Henry VIII. became king, England was known as a part of "*Peter's patrimony*," as the Romanists blasphemously denominated the temporal dominions of the Papacy; and the Italian revenue from that island was greater in amount than the sum appropriated for the national expenditure. After Henry's rupture with Rome, a large portion of the lands, castles, abbeys, monasteries, female convents, and other property belonging to the thousands of friars, monks, and nuns, was confiscated, and the king bestowed them upon his feudal courtiers, and military and naval barons. Except in curtailment of income, the immediate demesnes and parochial tithes appertaining to the cathedrals, chapters, colleges, deaneries, and the "parsons" of the parishes, continued to be vested in "the Church established by law," of which Henry VIII. was supreme head! Exclusive of the reign of the "bloody Mary," and the interregnum of the commonwealth, that ecclesiastical order has prevailed, for the church rates, Easter offerings, tithes, and reversionary interests, in all their complicated exactions, still remain as in "days of yore," with only one difference; formerly they were filched by the minions of Rome, now they are grasped by the *clerical officers* of the monarch.

The similitude between the ancient and modern condition of the state Church in Britain is obvious; for the foreign Papal jurisdiction is only exchanged for the supremacy of the interior civil government, which is illustrated by one striking fact. Neither of

the metropolitans, prelates, deans, archdeacons, rectors, vicars, or curates, nor all of them in a body, even if they are unanimously convinced that it is their duty to God, can even offer a public prayer, consistently with their official oath, unless it is found in the Liturgy, without the command of the head of the Church, the reigning monarch. George IV. prohibited the Episcopal clergy and laity to pray for his queen, Caroline, and some of the ministers who refused to comply with his ungodly mandate were punished for their disobedience. As the "Established Church of England" primarily was organized by Henry VIII. and his servile parliament, so Queen Victoria and her obsequious dignitaries, at any time, can disband the whole hierarchy. Then the prelatical system in Britain, with its "cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" would speedily disappear, and "leave not a wreck behind."

Notwithstanding all the attempts to eradicate the "good seed" of the gospel which was sown by Wiclif and his disciples, the pure truth was retained by multitudes of the Lollards, all of whom avowed their attachment to Luther's opinions, as soon as they were disseminated in England. The success with which the Saxon reformer combated the weak and silly arguments of Henry VIII. in his royal defense of the Papacy, inspired a profound veneration for the man, who with equal scorn burned the pope's anathema, trampled upon a king's volume, and ridiculed the condemnatory decretal of the college of Sorbonne.

Henry having become dissatisfied with his queen, averred that his marriage with his brother's widow was illegal, and that the dispensation of the Roman pontiff was void. Therefore, he solicited the pope to annul his matrimonial covenant with Catharine. The pope was afraid to accede to Henry's request, lest he should affront the emperor Charles V., who was the queen's nephew; and equally dreaded to deny Henry's stern demand, on account of his menaced wrath. Delay, duplicity, and equivocation afforded the only mode by which the pontiff could hope to escape from that most vexatious dilemma. Henry long was tantalized with hope that the haughty hierarch would comply with his wishes. Having obtained an almost unanimous decision, from the principal universities and colleges, that his marriage with his brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and therefore "null and void" from the beginning, a sentence of divorce was formally pronounced. The pope enjoined upon the king not to marry Anne Boleyn. Henry VIII. haughtily defied the Papal "*bull of damnation and excommunication*," banished the Italian legate, rejected the Romish communion, renounced his allegiance to the pope, and

condemned the usurped authority of the triple-crowned despot as nominal head of the Church. To advance his design he appointed Cranmer, who denied the Papal supremacy, archbishop of Canterbury and primate; and thus most unintentionally he encouraged the Reformation.

The volumes of Burnet's "History of the Reformation" are full of remarkable narratives, illustrating the direct interposition of divine Providence in defending the cause of truth, in educing order out of confusion, and in making "all things work together for good" to the kingdom of his dear Son. One most important circumstance is comparatively unknown, and has scarcely attracted the notice of any of our ordinary writers. Yet, to speak after the manner of men, the character of the world during the last three hundred years depended upon it.

The Reformation in England was suspended upon the fact that the formal submission of Henry VIII. to the pope, concerning his divorce, should be presented at Rome, on the 20th of March, 1533. As the weather was very inclement, every argument and plea were offered by Henry's agents for a delay of six days; but the enemies of Luther and the other Protestants insisted on a peremptory decision, and sentence against the king of England was pronounced on March 23, by the pope. Two days after, the courier arrived at Rome; but the pretended "*infallible*," and his conclave of cardinals, would not retract. Thus the English king, against his own design, in self-defense, was obliged to eject the Papal authority from his dominions. Upon that event, Burnet thus annotates:—"This was an amazing transaction, and much to the glory of God's providence, that made the persons most concerned to hinder the breach, to be the very actors who brought it on and forced it!" Thus the renovation of the world, as far as human ken could discern, depended upon a messenger's detention on his journey from London to Rome, two days longer than had been anticipated.

The exactions of the Roman priesthood having excited very loud and universal complaints, and their dissolute lives and insatiable avarice fully justifying the complaints against them, the parliament then attempted to restrain the impositions and the power of the ecclesiastical orders. Cardinal Wolsey, who had been the Papal deputy, first was attacked by a law which completely nullified his legantine authority; by which measure all his inferior prelates, abbots, and priests were involved in the guilt of treason; and they were obliged to purchase their exemption from punishment, with the royal clemency and pardon, at a vast sacrifice of the wealth of which they had despoiled the people.

Many of the licentious festivals were instantly abolished. Images and relics were destroyed, and the pilgrimages to them were forbidden. Abbeys, monasteries, and convents were emptied. The ungodly orders of friars, monks, and nuns were suppressed. The translation of the Bible was encouraged, and the diffusion of it was sanctioned and promoted.

Nevertheless, the real progress of the religious Reformation in England, during Henry's reign, was comparatively slow and restricted. By law, he enacted the belief and profession of the most contradictory tenets; so that "Gospellers" and Romanists were consumed in the same fire; the Papist for denying the king's supremacy as head of the Church, and the Protestant for rejecting transubstantiation. In truth, the grand object attained at that period was this: the exclusion of the pope's authority, which overturned the claim of jurisdiction by divine right, the infallibility of the Papal decisions and bulls, and the immutability of the popedom in doctrine and legislation. The measures of Henry VIII. with regard to the Church were designed and tended chiefly to exterminate the ecclesiastical authority of the beast. The Papal interference was legally abolished; but the distinctive antichristian errors remained. Whence Luther sagaciously remarked: "*Henry killed the pope's body, his supremacy; but preserved his soul, the false doctrines.*" It is therefore evident from the details that Burnet has given, and from the original documents which he has preserved, that in the generally received dogmas, little alteration was perceptible among the benighted multitudes. In the ceremonies of worship, a more obvious change was effected. Many of the exterior idolatrous symbols were removed; and much of the offensive practical superstition was discarded. Those strenuous partizans of the antichristian hierarchy, the monks and nuns, having been divested of their habitations and revenues, consequently lost that overpowering influence among the ignorant people, by which the Romish apostasy and corruptions had been sustained; so that the external rites were more easily reformed.

By the death of Henry, his son Edward, then a child, was exalted to the English throne. Had his life been spared, he would doubtless have been the brightest ornament, and the most effectual support of Protestantism. During the short period of his nominal reign, a great advance was made in the extension of "pure religion." Edward encouraged literature. He aided Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, Ridley, and their brethren, in their beneficent exertions. With all energy he opposed the antiquated idolatrous "abominations." By the establishment of a regular missionary

system, he dispersed the Scriptures throughout the island. The prohibition against the marriage of priests was rescinded. Masses were condemned. The communion was administered in both kinds. The Popish altars were removed. Images were expelled from the churches. The Old and New Testaments, and the liturgical service, divested of its most offensive superstitions, were publicly read in the English language. Amendments continually were introduced into the ecclesiastical polity; and the advancement of the reform, although tardy, was unceasing. After a short reign of six years, Edward was removed to paradise, as a punishment to the nation for their resistance to the gospel, their love of the "strong delusion and lying wonders" of Popery, and their unbelief of the truth, because "they had pleasure in unrighteousness."

"*One sinner destroyeth much good.*"—Edward was succeeded by his sister, appropriately entitled, "*Bloody Mary.*" She was a furiously bigoted and merciless Papist, who reversed all her brother's enactments, repealed every evangelical appointment, and, as far as practicable, restored the whole mass of Papal wickedness. During the five years of her reign, every outrageous attribute of Popery triumphed in one incessant exhibition; and her sanguinary persecutions ceased but with her miserable death. By her command, all the married ministers of the gospel were displaced. The entire farrago of idolatrous superstitions was restored; and the pontifical sway, in all its terrific attributes, once more was established. Eventually she promulged the "*Great Excommunication*" against the secular occupants of the lands which had belonged to the friars, monks, and nuns, provided the baronial grandees and others to whom Henry, her father, had transferred them, did not voluntarily surrender those estates to their former proprietors. Thus most fearfully did Mary attempt to resuscitate the envenomed monastic iniquity which her brother had entombed. The relentless queen was called to her eternal residence while devising the means requisite to accomplish her project; the execution of which would have involved the kingdom, through all its borders, in one simultaneous commotion.

The remark which Burnet makes, at the end of his narrative, concerning the reign of the *begrimed* Mary, who, like her harlot mother, "*Queen Rome,*" was a "woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," cannot be too often and too extensively reiterated. The historian says, "God shortened the time of her reign, for the elect's sake. He seemed to have suffered Popery to show itself in its true and

natural colors, all over, both *false and bloody*—even in a female reign, when gentleness and mildness might have been expected—to give such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion, as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it."

Elizabeth, who then became queen, speedily dissipated all the schemes of the court of Rome. The expectations of "the unclean spirits, who came out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast," instantly were extinguished. Mary's fabric of iniquity was overturned; for Elizabeth soon reinstated ecclesiastical affairs nearly as they existed when Edward "went away to life eternal."

Although those alternations appear most unnatural and alarming, yet the then existing system admitted such stupendous "*turnings*" with the utmost facility. The impassable gulf which now severs Protestantism from Popery, at that period was scarcely discernible; for neither the unenlightened priests nor the blinded people had ever seen the Bible. Little else could be perceived by the unreflecting commonalty, than the identical edifices called churches, with the same men arrayed in their habitual gorgeous drapery, so slightly metamorphosed, that the difference was almost invisible. The prayers, with little alteration, were muttered forth in their usual order; so that obtuse capacities could not comprehend imaginary discrepancies with scarcely a real distinction. Except a few ecclesiastical dignitaries, the whole nation, "*like people, like priests,*" were impelled solely by the arbitrary mandate of a male or female tyrant, armed with the means of irresistible coercion. Many of the nobles and prelates commenced their course with Henry, infuriated Papists. Afterward, in accordance with his opposition to the pope, they professed to be converted to semi-Protestantism. Under Edward they avowed themselves to be almost reformed Puritans. While Mary swayed, they exhibited Dominican malignity. As soon as Elizabeth attained the sovereignty and developed her predilections, they joined her standard, and lived and died stanch prelatists of "the Church of England, as by law established." The far-famed zealous high-Churchman of Oxfordshire resided in the same parish during the whole convulsion. His entire creed was comprised in one unchangeable article: "*I believe whatever the king or queen shall enact; for all my faith is to continue vicar of Bray!*" He was the exemplar of that marvelous masquerading which the modern Oxford Tractarians display. They are of the same fraternity as their prototype; for they subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, as they swear, "*ex*

animo, in their literal and grammatical sense," for the sake of the collegiate dignities and emoluments; and yet they incessantly lecture, write, and publish against the Articles and the Homilies, with all Papistical virulence.

Elizabeth directed that all ecclesiastical regulations should be reappointed nearly as in the reign of Edward; because she discovered that the predominance of the Reformation was indispensable to her personal safety, and to the security of her throne. She was a "half Papist" in her principles and practice. Long did she retain that most senseless appendage of the Romish idolatry, the crucifix, with the tapers perennially burning before it. She ever displayed a vehement dislike to Christian truth, and to all married preachers of the gospel; and never would hear any sermons but during the Popish "*Lent*." As far as it was prudent for that queen to perpetuate the resemblance, she preserved all the exterior pomp and idolatrous apparatus of the Roman antichristian hierarchy. The same prelatical power which the pontiff of the Vatican had exercised, was scrupulously retained; and with invidious pertinacity it has been prolonged even until the present generation.

Among the ungodly measures which Elizabeth enforced, the "*Act of Uniformity*" is pre-eminent. Every person, both of the clergy and of the laity, was obliged to conform to the queen's requisitions, both in doctrine and worship, or was exposed to the imputation of heresy, with the assurance of her displeasure, as the "supreme head of the Church of England, in all things spiritual and temporal." By her especial injunction, the condemnation of the "mystery of iniquity," and the prayer for its extinction, which had been imbodied in Edward's Liturgy, were erased. The "real presence" of Christ in the sacramental bread was virtually admitted. The idolatrous vestments of the pagan sacrificers were declared essential to the performance of public worship. Festivals of the saints were retained. The sign of the cross in baptism, and the reading of the Apocrypha, were enjoined. Prelacy by divine right was maintained, with a long catalogue of other "Romish *mummery*," and "lies in hypocrisy," adverse to the gospel. All that contradiction to revealed truth was incorporated in the national Church as essential to its very existence. The noblest part of the Christians attached to the Reformation opposed that pernicious commixture, but without effect.

Those confessors fled from England to Germany for refuge speedily after Edward's death; and there they imbibed an ardent attachment to the pure doctrines and simple ritual of Switzerland.

After Elizabeth's accession to the throne, those disciples returned to England, naturally anticipating that they should enjoy liberty of conscience and peace as a remuneration for their prior sacrifices and sufferings for the sake of the gospel. The queen's haughty temper and tyrannic measures, with her antichristian propensities toward Popery, wofully disappointed their just and reasonable expectations.

The Popish garments and Liturgy were the original topics of discord. The Puritans wisely judged that the heathenish vestments especially ought to be banished, because they always were associated with the control of Popery; thereby prolonging its accursed sway over the unthinking multitudes, who are more easily deluded by sensible magnificence than awed by spiritual truth. From that controversy arose another dispute; for the polemics became involved in a contention respecting church government. As that subject has ever constituted the barrier between the modern prelatists and all other professors of Christianity, and as it is now the grand exciting theme of theological discussion, it is necessary to delineate precisely the themes on which the controvertists are divided.

The primitive Anglican reformers contended, that only two offices now exist in the Christian church by the appointment of the Lord and his apostles—that of "*bishop* or *presbyter*," for the words and duties included in those terms in the New Testament are synonymous, and that of "*deacon*." Burnet gives us the decision of Cranmer and his "work-fellows" upon this and the other cognate positions. They are now of great importance, and are oracular:—

"Holy Catholic Church."—The Holy Catholic Church "comprehends *all assemblies* of men, over the whole world, that receive the faith of Christ; who ought to hold the unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the Catholic Church."

Identity of bishops and presbyters.—"Bishops and priests, both were one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion. It is not of importance whether the priest made the bishop, or the bishop the priest; considering that in the beginning of the church there was none difference between a bishop and a priest. Bishops, *as they be now*, were after priests. In the New Testament, he who is appointed to be bishop or priest needeth no consecration, for election thereto is sufficient. Temporal men may preach and teach, and, in cases of necessity, institute ministers—they may preach the word of God and minister sacraments, and also appoint men to those offices, with the consent of the congregation."

To corroborate the testimony of the reformers of the sixteenth century concerning the identity of "bishops and elders" in the apostolic age, one fact, which is recorded in Buchanan's "Christian Researches in Asia," may be cited. It refers to the Hindoo Christians of Malabar. After the Portuguese Jesuits had established themselves in southern India, and with their Dominican confederates had established the inquisition at Goa, as an excuse for the persecutions which they had resolved to commence, according to their malignant custom, they began to calumniate and to revile their proscribed victims. Those accusers thus effused their vituperation concerning the Hindoo disciples of Jesus in Malabar, who doubtless were imbodied as a Christian community long anterior to the exaltation of "that WICKED" in Rome. "Such are the heresies of this church"—alledged their Portuguese Jesuit persecutors—"that *their clergy marry wives.* They own but *two sacraments*, baptism and the Lord's supper. They *deny transubstantiation.* They neither *invoke saints* nor *believe in purgatory.* They have *no other orders or names of dignity in the church than* BISHOP *and* DEACON!" That was the state of those Christians in Malabar in 1599; and it is most probable that their ecclesiastical condition had been the same from the early period when their ancestors were converted to Christianity, before either of the Romish fictions and legends was invented, through every succeeding age, until divine Providence permitted the Papal monks from Portugal to obtrude among them, and worry and devour the defenseless sheep.

They who accurately understand the dogmas and combinations of Popery know well that the denial of priestly celibacy, the five additional "sacraments," so called, of Rome, transubstantiation, image and saint worship, purgatory, and the Papal supremacy, is equivalent to a rejection of the entire "cup" of Babylonian "sorceries." Nevertheless, it is truly marvelous that the Oxford Tractarians and their confederates maintain the evangelical character of all those heretical positions invented by the Roman apostates; only for the present they announce them, according to their own avowed Jesuitical doctrine of "*equivocation and reserve*," a little modified, and partly divested of their inherent repulsive deformity.

For the pontifical superiority and jurisdiction they plead, under the gilded title of "*Peter's primacy.*" They do not urge "*priestly celibacy*" as absolutely essential, but only as "highly expedient," on account of its superior sanctity to connubial life, which "*fable*" is refuted by the express appointment and com-

mand of God, and the consecutive history of all mankind. Confirmation, matrimony, orders, auricular confession, and extreme unction they do not *yet* affirm to be enjoined distinctly by Christ, as baptism and the Lord's supper; although they affirm that those institutions are equally binding upon all "*faithful Catholics!*" because they are enacted by "*the Church;*" and "*the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith.*" "Transubstantiation" they conceal under that artful and deceptive phrase, "*the real presence.*" "Image and saint worship" they do not openly justify as necessary, but they affirm that the Popish superstitions are very commendable, when used as remembrancers, which principle truly contains the quintessence of all idolatry. "Purgatory" they do not describe, after the Romish manner, as an invisible world to be partitioned and sold in lots at the discretion of priests on earth; yet "prayers for the dead" and alms to the Church, that the priest may offer sacrifice on their behalf, they contend, are very proper—to which end, as they have not *yet* adopted the blasphemous "mass," that idolatrous ritual is metamorphosed, by the omission of its most grossly revolting attributes, into the attractive "*eucharistic oblation!*"

Now by virtue of the prelatical authority derived from Peter, the first pope, "as their lying legends tell," but WHO NEVER SAW ROME! through a dynasty of pontiffs, who were atheists, murderers, profligates, and tyrants, to whom the annals of the world afford no counterpart, and every one of whom claimed to be a "successor of the apostles," all the above catalogue of "damnable heresies," as Peter denominates them, is affirmed to be sound evangelical doctrine, infallibly descended by *tradition* from Peter, and James, and Paul, and John, and the other apostolic witnesses and evangelists of the Lord Jesus. To confute all which deadly impostures, it is only necessary to cite the Hindoo churches of the Malabar Christians, whose doctrines and ritual overthrow, with utter discomfiture, the modern apostolical company of Oxford. The direct evidence and judgment of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley may be added, "who being dead, yet speak" in the midst of the university there; and to use Latimer's last triumphant words, "*They lighted such a candle by God's grace in England,*" that we trust all the Jesuits in Oxford "NEVER SHALL PUT OUT!"

Since the first propagation of that unscriptural fallacy, that prelates are a ministerial order by divine right and superior to presbyters, the Anglican hierarchy have denied the validity of the ministerial character in all other Protestant churches. They acknowledge, however, the Popish ceremonial; and thus exhibit

one of the most profound and mischievous anomalies that can be conceived. A body condemned by the pope, from whom they professedly derive their authority, and for whose speedy dethronement they are canonically bound ever to pray; at the same time declaring, that all who unite with them in rejecting the pontifical sway, and in opposing the antichristian corruptions of Rome, unless they are high-Church semi-Papists, have no part in the covenant of grace!

Burnet relates a circumstance upon this subject which is most apposite and edifying:—"I was pressing the matter of union between the Lutherans and the Reformed in Germany, upon a very eminent minister among the Lutherans, as necessary in the state of their affairs. He said that he wondered much to see a divine of the Church of England so urgent, when, notwithstanding our own danger, in 1686, we could not agree. They differ upon topics of great moment; but, he said, 'You in England have been quarreling about forms of government and worship only, and things indifferent, for above a hundred years; and are not grown wiser by all the mischief that it has done, and by the imminent danger in which you now are. Heal your own breach, and then all the other Reformed Churches will admit your mediation.'" Burnet adds, with great modesty, "I will not presume to tell how I answered this; but I pray God to enlighten and direct all men, that they may consider how it ought to be answered."

All the early Protestants of every name upon the "mystery of godliness" were of "one mind." Burnet, equally with Neal, attests that fact. His "History of the Reformation" contains a lucid and comprehensive exposition of the controversial topics, which originated in the dissemination of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues. Scarcely any one of the prominent doctrines which are now fervidly discussed among us can be mentioned, that did not then receive a most profound examination; and however divided on the minor points, the decision of the principal reformers upon the grand themes of Christian theology was unanimous. Their dissonance adverted chiefly to the ensuing propositions.

The prelatists under Elizabeth asserted that the removal of impiety and the extermination of religious error were the duty and the prerogative of the monarch as the sole, supreme, and rightful head of the Church. That dogma was flatly denied by the Puritans; who affirmed that it is the exclusive concern of the officers and members of the churches of Christ to effect the necessary reformation. That gospel truth was distorted to imply a want of due allegiance to the queen's supremacy.

Elizabeth's commissioners affirmed that on all questions of theology respecting doctrines and discipline, not only "the Scripture of truth," but also the writings of the primitive Christian authors, ought to be adduced as the conjunct "rule of faith and practice." In reply, the Puritans declared that the sacred oracles are the only divinely appointed guide, and the sole directory of worship; and that neither ancient institutions nor human traditions are of any authority upon subjects which the "law and the testimony" alone can decide. That principle was stigmatized as rebellion against the prelates, who claimed to be "apostolical rulers of the Church."

The high-Churchmen of Elizabeth's court averred, that the Romish hierarchy was a true church; that the pontiff of the Vatican was a veritable Christian "bishop;" and that the persons commissioned by him were duly authorized "priests in the church of God." By that position they endeavored to justify their own semi-blasphemous titles and lordship "over God's heritage;" thereby to secure their terrestrial dignity and power, and their princely emoluments. On the contrary, the Puritans denounced the whole apostate system as a mere artful contrivance of "spiritual despotism," totally alien from the gospel; the head of it as "the man of sin, and the son of perdition," its doctrines and doings as incurably idolatrous, and diametrically opposed to "the kingdom of heaven;" and therefore they discarded all connection with it, because they judged the most distant approximation to it in every form as dangerous, and a flagrant backsliding from the spirit and requirements of genuine Christianity.

The prelatical controvertists alledged that the form of church government enacted by Constantine and his successors was that which had been designed and virtually instituted by our Lord and his apostles. That unholy insinuation the Puritans repelled. They contended that every requisite ecclesiastical rule was revealed in the New Testament, the only standard of order, discipline, and devotion.

Elizabeth's hierarchs proclaimed, that things in themselves *indifferent*, which are neither enjoined nor prohibited in the Bible, particularly external ceremonies of worship, forms of prayer, robes of preachers, and religious fasts and festivals, with other similar institutes, may authoritatively be imposed by the civil governor, and that disobedience to those regulations is rebellion against the state. To that unhallowed assumption the Puritans demurred. They retorted, that it is an indecent usurpation to enforce as indispensable, obligations which the adorable Redeemer has not revealed, and which the prelates themselves

admit to be adiaphorous. Especially, that those rites and ceremonies which already have been incorporated with an idolatrous system, and the use of which perpetuates superstitious reminiscences and attachments, instead of being estimated as *indifferent*, should be discarded as impious and anti-evangelical. That infallible casuistry was pronounced to be contempt for the royal and prelatical jurisdiction.

To insure uniformity and obedience to those ungodly claims, a court was established after the model of the Romish inquisition, and called the "*high commission*." The sentence of that nefarious tribunal was perfectly arbitrary; and the commissioners were armed with spite and myrmidons to subdue the conscientiously refractory Puritans. Those "*examiners*" were authorized to extort answers to every question which they chose to propound, either by imprisonment, or the rack, or any other torture. In the audacity of their proceedings, and in their ingeniously cruel machinations, they exhibited all the iniquitous barbarity and appalling excruciations of the Dominican monks. One circumstance alone brands the ecclesiastical rulers of that period with indelible disgrace. The afflicted Christians whom they imprisoned, robbed, scourged, starved, exiled, or "killed all the day long," most sincerely believed the theology which was enacted as the public creed of the English nation. Hence, at the period of Elizabeth's decease, the great majority of the people were but little more emancipated from Popery than half a century previous, when Mary assumed the government.

The progress of the gospel in Ireland was very similar to that of England, and was attended by the same revolutions. Archbishop Brown, after Henry's rejection of the Papal jurisdiction, exerted himself vigorously to eradicate the existing superstitions. He demolished the images, burned the relics, abrogated the idolatrous ritual, effaced the absurd customs, and procured a general open denial of the pope's sway in that island. By the confiscation of the monkish revenues, the overthrow of the conventual system, and the banishment of the friars and nuns, Protestantism flourished during Edward's reign. Mary, however, resolved utterly to extirpate all the reformed people of Ireland; but Jehovah released his servants from entire destruction by removing her from the world; although the large majority of the Irish people, from that period, have been the most besotted and sanguinary devotees of the court of Rome.

In Scotland, the effects of the light diffused by the reformers long were almost imperceptible. Twelve years elapsed after

Luther's public opposition to the Papacy, before the number of the Protestants appeared formidable to the Popish prelates; but about 1530, persecution with inquisitorial power was commenced. Burnet depicts the heart-rending horrors of that "*killing time*" with great pathos and effect. Among the details of the butchered martyrs during that eventful period, we select one paragraph for its brevity and force:—

FRIAR FORREST.—"Forrest,' a simple Benedictine monk, was accused for having said that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr; yet since there was no proof to convict him, Friar Walter Laing was sent to hear his confession. To him, Forrest acknowledged that he thought Hamilton was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might be defended. That was revealed by the friar Laing, and taken for good evidence; so Forrest was condemned to be burned for a heretic! As he was led to execution, he said, '*Fie on falsehood! fie on friars! Let never man trust them after me. They are despisers of God, and deceivers of men!*' When they were considering where to burn him, a man advised the archbishop to burn him in some cellar; for, said he, '*the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew.*'"

The national confusion and discord, however, were favorable to the progress of the gospel. Through every obstruction the influence of the Reformation increased, until the year 1557; when, by the labors of the immortal Knox, the first covenant was signed by multitudes of the people, with some of the most distinguished barons; the unity and force of which were powerfully augmented by the feudal system. That compact decried the entire Roman craft as antichristian; and the influence, wealth, and lives of the Covenanters, all were pledged in support of Protestantism. They were entitled the "*Congregation of Christ*," in distinction from their Papist opponents, who were denominated the "*Congregation of Satan*." Both parties being opposed to a warlike struggle, the Covenanters from religious principle, and the Romanists from dread of the result; their collision remained in external peace until the martyrdom of Walter Mill. Indescribable horror seized all the reformers when they heard the story of his tortures, and the barbarity of the Papist archbishop to the last Christian murdered by the inquisitor of Scotland. From the morning of his martyrdom, the Reformation extended its flight with the utmost velocity to all parts of the kingdom, which was not less irresistible than universal, until, through the divine benediction, it was celebrated with shouts of triumphant hallelujahs by Knox and his victor fellow-champions. In no other portion of Europe was the predominance of Popery so completely overthrown as in North

Britain. Every particle of the Babylonian "abominations and sorceries" which could be discovered—the desecrated cross, the dishonored Virgin, and the disgraced saint in the cathedral; the forged canon and decretal; and the genuine bull and anathema concealed in a monk's cloister; a cardinal's pompous benediction at the altar and before the monarch's court, and a friar's base seduction and blasphemous pardon in the dark confessional—all with equal avidity were searched out, and with burning Christian indignation were obliterated.

From this concise detail, we can easily perceive the prominent causes why the Reformation was so comparatively inefficient in promoting the social melioration which it might have produced. It is instructive, but painful, to investigate the numberless artifices by which "the servants of sin" counteracted the energetic assaults of the Protestants upon the strongholds of the dragon and the beast. Wars, persecution, the Council of Trent, and the Jesuits, all combined their unholy and malign opposition; and through the mysterious providence of God, "*the healing of the nations*" was obstructed, and the world, instead of being recovered "out of the snare of the devil, are yet taken captive by him at his will." The "*two witnesses*" still "prophesy, clothed in sackcloth." The beast now "deceiveth them who dwell on the earth," and exerciseth his murderous power over "kindreds, and tongues, and nations."

Notwithstanding, all those combined foes could not have impeded, much less have vanquished the reformers in the countries which were truly revolutionized, had not the political despots interposed their arbitrary authority in connection with ecclesiastical persecutors, who coalesced to obstruct the spread of the gospel, either by force, openly; or covertly, by secularizing its principles and influence; thus rendering it subservient to their own ungodly purposes. The history of England, as well as that of other modern nations, is irrefragable testimony that in reference to mere worldliness of object and malignity to opponents, so far as the power extended, the Bonners and the Gardiners under Mary were not more ferocious, except as surrounding circumstances impressed a different character upon their proceedings, than many of the prelates who served Elizabeth, the two James's, and the two Charles's; and when we contrast the ecclesiastical proceedings during their reigns with Oliver Cromwell's protectorate, we distinctly perceive that the Romish prelatical system has a natural affinity with civil despotism.

To every reader of Burnet's "History of the Reformation," the

melancholy truth is evident, that the dependence of the hierarchy upon the state, by transferring the former pontifical prerogatives to the reigning monarch, was the curse of the churches, and the "*dead palsy*" of the Reformation. In every subsequent age, the strife between truth and error, freedom and bondage, the unadulterated gospel and the polluted traditional admixtures of men, has been incessant, and even now is displayed in all the certainty of transparent demonstration.

From the accession of Queen Elizabeth, through the whole intervening period of two hundred and eighty years, the British prelacy have manifested an inflexible opposition to the welfare of mankind, except their ecclesiastical domination also was aggrandized; while the dormant influence and operative tendency of their system encouraged both infidelity and Popery. That mischievous conclave, the English convocation, became so inimical to the public peace and safety, that the government were obliged to prohibit the assembling of that body. Many of the dignitaries who professedly belonged to the established Church of England became so skeptical, that Bishop Butler, in his preface to his "*Analogy of Religion*," affirms: "Among them, Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but they live as if it is discovered to be fictitious." Archbishop Secker confirms that statement. He says, "The open disregard to religion has introduced a torrent of impiety, so that Christianity is ridiculed; and the emissaries of Rome have begun to reap a great harvest." That was the period when the Wesleys, George Whitefield, and their brethren began their apostolic career. A preacher of the gospel, according to the Thirty-nine Articles, combining the doctrines of regeneration, justification by faith, sanctification in "the blood of Jesus Christ the Lamb," and the experience of the work of grace upon the heart by the Holy Ghost, with a life of obedience after the example of "the Son of God," was scarcely to be found in the established Church throughout England. Almost the only symptom of vitality which they manifested, was their persecution of the Methodists by riotous mobs, until the "ungodly deeds and hard speeches" of those "ungodly sinners" were curbed by that Lutheran monarch, George II.

When, however, about the commencement of the late French revolution, the lethargy of the Lord's disciples seemed partly to be discarded, and Christians began to shake off the slumber of ages, then also the Anglican hierarchy was startled from its death-like sleep. For what result? To unite in evangelizing the world? Not at all. In action they have reversed Isaiah's glowing prophecy:

for instead of exalting and filling the valleys, they have toiled to deepen and empty them; instead of bringing the hills and mountains low, they have endeavored to pile the Alps of confusion upon the Andes of error and superstition; instead of making the crooked straight, all their ingenuity and energy have been perversely tried, to make the straight crooked; instead of making the rough ways smooth, they have wearied themselves for the vanity of making the plain places rough, expressly that all flesh shall NOT "see the salvation of God."

There is another most important and pungent circumstance in this survey. From the first migration of the Puritans till the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, more than two hundred years, exclusive of the efforts of the Stuart pretenders to regain the throne of Britain, not one outbreak against the administration of public affairs has occurred in England, which has not proceeded, either directly or remotely, from the influence of the Church upon the state. Our revolutionary war originated in high-Church toryism; and the true cause of the present collisions in Britain is the determined resistance of the hierarchy to the acquisition, by the people, of equal religious and civil immunities for all.

The final concussion in Britain, which is rapidly hastening to its crisis, is now unfolding in two extraordinary and apparently contradictory aspects. The Scotch Presbyterians are returning to the gospel in its native freshness and with their primitive simplicity; and the result, ere long, must be the end of the kirk's subordination to the civil government. That measure will nullify the acts of union, or it will change the terms of the compact, and eventually leave the Scots and the Irish ecclesiastically severed from the political jurisdiction. To counteract that subversion of the prelatical edifice in England and Ireland, the clergy of the established Church are striving to consolidate their power, and to protract their hierarchical existence, by calling to their aid the superstitions and juggleries of those dark ages when monks deluded the ignorant people with their impious legerdemain, and chained them in slavery by their fearful oppressions.

The pseudo-Catholicism which the Oxford Tractarians have introduced, is now debasing all classes of the Anglican state Church. That infidels, formalists, and priests who take the office solely for the secular emoluments, and that irreligious worldlings should coincide with an antichristian system, by which they can mingle the claimed sanctity of the gospel ministry with that "carnal-mindedness which is death," is not surprising; but that

men evangelically indoctrinated can thus "turn aside to vanity," would be incredible, did we not know that the "evil heart of unbelief is deceitful above all things, and prone to depart from the living God."

By a recurrence to Burnet's "History of the Reformation," in connection with the "Book of Homilies," which is one of the authorized standards of the established Church of England, we find, that the dogmas of the Oxford Tractarians are exactly the same heresies that the Anglican reformers incessantly and strenuously labored to exterminate, as "strong delusion and all deceivableness of unrighteousness," that "working of Satan" which is accursed of God, and doomed to utter extermination. Who are extending and enforcing that corrupt and direful "*falling away*" in England? The very men who claim exclusively to be Christians; and by whose instrumentality, at this day, Popery, with all its multiplied dread mischiefs, is resuscitating in Britain with a progressive rapidity and an accumulating vigor, more evident than were the means used during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, to eradicate its tares and curse.

It is of the highest importance for the sincere members of Protestant churches, and especially to all ministers of the gospel, to be fully illuminated upon this momentous controversy. The pretended sanction to the heresies now emitting from Oxford, through the extant writings of the primitive Christians, must accurately be comprehended by the champion of the truth, who is anxious to preserve the sheep from "going astray" from the fold, to be devoured by "wolves in sheep's clothing." Burnet's "History of the Reformation" will enable him to demonstrate that the present race of Oxonian errorists, although professing to belong to the reformed Church of England, are genuine disciples of the friars and monks who buried "the Scripture of truth," that they might substitute for it their own "doctrines of devils"—and that in reality they have no more fellowship with the primitive preachers of the English Establishment, and the galaxy of their like-minded successors, than the Jews had dealings with the Samaritans. Moreover, the Oxford Tractarians now loudly boast, that they neither truly believe the Thirty-nine Articles, nor are content with the Liturgy, canons, and rubric. They condemn all those standards as altogether imperfect, because they do not include the glaring superstitions of the Romish Missal. They fly away into the distant gloom of fourteen centuries, and shelter themselves in a Gothic dungeon of darkness and spectral superstitions. Encircled with battlements of positive assertions, garbled quotations,

deceptive omissions, and fallacious misconstructions, by which the ancients are perverted, they fancy that their spiritual Jericho is impregnable against the artillery of Christians.

To counteract that dangerous imposture, Protestant theologians should unite with Burnet's "History" the work entitled, "The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice," with the supplement, "The Case as it is," by *Goode*—who irrefragably proves that the Oxford Tractarians are as widely separated from the Greek and Latin Patristic authors as they are opposed to the Anglican martyred servants of Jesus. The "Tracts for the Times" demonstrate that the propagators of the modernized antichristian dogmas at Oxford are disguised adherents of the court of Rome; who, "by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive," attempt to ensnare those on whom, in the real garb of an emissary of the Vatican, they could not produce the smallest effect, either by the thunder of Hildebrand, or the fraud of Loyola, or the fire of Dominic.

The modern Oxford system has not yet fully developed its most appalling attributes. It essentially imbodies that distinctive, indelible, and deadly brand, EXCLUSIVENESS, which is its "*sine qua non*," and its "ALL IN ALL!" for it conjoins the venom of the most selfish bigotry with the ferocity of the most unrelenting persecution. The fangs of the monster may be concealed, as long as his instinct tells him that, being chained, if he shows the leopard's ravening, the bear's feet, and the lion's mouth, (Rev. xiii, 2,) his claws will be extracted, and a "deadly wound" will render him powerless; but let him grow, until by his strength he can break away from his "hold-fast," then they who enrage "the beast" will be sacrificed to his destroying rage, and will become his assured prey. That is the exact portraiture of the Italian pontiff! As long as he who swayed the Roman empire curbed the "two-horned beast," he bleated "like a lamb;" but as soon as he "who let was taken away," he roared "as a dragon." Such, according to present indications, will be the course of the Oxford ecclesiastical offspring "of the first beast," (Rev. xiii, 11–13,) in Britain. The masked adversary of truth is now apparently very submissive in discontinuing the ungodly "Tracts for the Times;" but the "British Critic" is ten-fold more Papistical. With all Jesuit-like "*reserve*," he turns into every forbidden path; and, after the exemplar of the fabled Proteus, he assumes every shape, while he shifts his vizor so adroitly and constantly, that scarcely for one moment can we be certain of his identity. At Oxford he speaks on every side of the subject; but in the Quarterly Book we ascer-

tain that he is a genuine Romanist; announcing his "lie" with all boldness, and decorating the "mystery of iniquity" in the robes of the "mystery of godliness," whence the thoughtless and blinded multitudes may be completely bewildered, and irrecoverably seduced, by his Babylonian "great wonders," and Egyptian enchantments. During all this profound deception, the awful antichristian design makes progress, until at length evangelical preachers are excluded from the ministry in the English Church establishment, because they proclaim the doctrines of their own solemnly attested "Articles of faith and Homilies." The next procedure will be this, to punish the evangelical teachers for their refractory adherence to the gospel, to supply the vacated parishes with those descendants of "the vicar of Bray" who will maintain the heresies which the excommunicated confessors denounced, and then to coerce external conformity on the part of the people. Thus the hydra-headed monster of persecution, sprung from superstition and irreligion, will be let loose, like death, the rider on "the pale horse," to "seek whom he may devour," with hell following after him. That direful consequence cannot possibly be avoided; for the doctrine of exclusion from the church on earth, by ecclesiastical power, from want of the priestly absolution, encourages every unholy and malignant temper.

About ninety years ago a letter was addressed to the prelates of England and Ireland by "A Christian." It was entitled, "Serious Thoughts on the present State of the Church and of Religion." One paragraph, unfolding the origin of that EXCLUSIVENESS, is so appropriate to the present era that it is quoted to corroborate the application of the general principles to the existing polemical hosts in England and the United States:—

"Our public forms and the rituals of our Church ascribe to all our clergy such high and transcendent powers, that a God of infinite wisdom can never have given; and which, were they actually possessed, would make it the duty and the interest of princes to bow down before them, and of the people to pay them the most unlimited submission. The power to '*forgive or to retain*' *the sins of men* is the very same as to have '*the keys of the kingdom of heaven*,' *either to open or to shut its gates*. This doctrine, if believed by the laity, ought to bring them at the priests' feet, as the ambassadors of Palermo prostrated themselves before Pope Martin V., thrice repeating these words, '*O thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!*' Upon this stupendous prerogative, as claimed and affirmed to be conveyed by prelatical ordination, Samuel Clarke, vol. viii, sermon xvii, thus writes: '*Profane beyond all profaneness is the doctrine of those who contend that the apostles themselves, much less any of their most fallible successors, had a discretionary power to forgive or retain whose sins they pleased.*'

What adds exceedingly to the absurdity of this claim is this, that the Papal form of ordaining priests was never used, and was not even known, until it was introduced about the twelfth century; a period of the deepest ecclesiastical darkness, stupidity, and oppression."

An illustration of this topic has very recently occurred, which is a practical comment upon Clarke's text, of a very extraordinary character.

The Maryland prelate, on the occasion of "instituting a priest" at Baltimore, in his Discourse on the "Priesthood in the Church," announced that which is "profane beyond all profaneness," and the "chief distinctive principles of the Tracts for the Times," with the most fearful Papal superstitions. Having described the ministry of the New Testament as a "priesthood, *the essence of which is ministerial intervention that sins may be pardoned,*" he declared, that "the same power which the Lord Jesus had on earth to forgive sins, he conveyed in the most explicit manner to those whom he left on earth to represent him in his church, and to minister in his behalf to the end of time." After which he says,—

"Sent, therefore, CHRIST's ministers have been,—sent to preach that men *may believe*,—sent, *when they do believe*, to remit their sins in baptism, and in the communion of the flesh and blood, which he who eateth and drinketh, hath eternal life,—sent in the *very essential fullness of the priestly character and functions*, the subordinate, instrumental, ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins."

"If even to preach the gospel, as the Holy Ghost has taught us, it is necessary 'they be sent,' how much more to apply its seals to individual believers, and in baptism wash away the sins of those who come to CHRIST, and in the supper of the LORD convey into the hand of faith, to use the language of the reformer Jewell, 'the body and blood of our LORD, the flesh of the Son of GOD, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, of grace, and truth, and life; by the partaking whereof we be revived, strengthened, and fed unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporated unto CHRIST, that we may abide in him, and he in us'—'so that we err not,' to sum up all in one strong expression of the Synod of Dort, 'so that we err not when we say that that which is eaten and drank by us is the proper and natural body, and the proper blood of CHRIST.'"

Exclusive of the antichristian dogmas which the preceding extracts contain, they furnish a lucid specimen of the utter duplicity which the Oxford Tractarians invariably manifest in all their references to the authors whom they quote. The Maryland prelate not only affirms the priestly power to "forgive sin, and in baptism to wash away sins," but he asserts the "*real presence*" of

the body and blood of the Lord in the "EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE;" in other words, the Popish transubstantiation modified, and under another phrase; and to sustain his absurd superstition, he attaches the name of *Jewell*, who most powerfully confutes the Papistical delusion in the same disquisition whence his words are cited.

The language of the Synod of Dort is garbled by the American prelate in such a shameless manner, that it inculcates, according to the preceding extract, just the contrary that the synod express. The author of the Discourse cannot offer the semblance of an apology for his "*cunning craftiness*," for in article xxxv, which he quotes, the very next words to those which he cites, demolish his entire Romish "strong delusion." The synod thus announce their faith respecting "the holy supper of our Lord Jesus Christ." After a lengthened explication, they "confess"—

"Jesus Christ hath not enjoined to us the use of his sacraments in vain. He works in us all what he represents to us by those holy signs, though the manner surpasses our understanding, as the operations of the Holy Ghost are hidden and incomprehensible—so that we err not when we say, that that which is eaten and drank by us is the proper and natural body, and the proper blood of Christ. *But the manner of our partaking the same is not by the mouth, but by the Spirit through faith.* This feast is a spiritual table. Therefore we reject all mixtures and damnable inventions which men have added, and blended with the sacraments, as profanations of them."

In the eightieth answer of the synod's Catechism, they say, that the doctrine of the Maryland prelate, as carried out to its legitimate extent by the Romanists, but as yet concealed by their masked adherents in their "*reserve*," is not only a "*damnable invention*," but "*accursed idolatry*." Nevertheless, they are cited as witnesses to prove the very identical heresy, which, at the same moment, they abhor and condemn.

The boasted "*unity of the Church*" was exemplified on that occasion in Baltimore in a very edifying manner. Having "instituted the priest," to whom his diocesan had professed to communicate Christ's authority in the morning, Mr. Johns, in the same church in the afternoon, boldly impugned the "all deceivableness" which the prelate had uttered respecting the Lord's supper, and the Romish delineation which he had given of the commemorative institution appointed by the adorable Redeemer, to "show the Lord's death till he come."

Having demonstrated the unscriptural error of calling "Christ's body," as it now appears at God's right hand, "a proper natural body," Mr. Johns proceeded to confute both the Papist and the

Oxford Tractarian heresies respecting the divine ordinance; thus exhibiting the rich contrast of a nominal Protestant prelate announcing *Papal superstitious absurdities* in the morning at the "institution of a priest;" and that identical priest in the afternoon, in the same pulpit, preaching evangelical truth, to counteract those "profane and vain babblings," which, as Paul affirms, "will increase unto more ungodliness."

The Oxford Tractarians and their American disciples, equally with their elder brethren, the Roman friars, all peremptorily affirm, that high-Church prelatists alone have any portion in the covenanted mercies of God. Whence, as with the decisions of the gospel upon that subject, those parties have no concern; the Dominican inference is logical, that he who inevitably will be excluded from "the kingdom of God in heaven" is not good enough for earth; and therefore, that it is both proper and necessary to burn him out of this world, that he may pass into the future everlasting Tophet. That the old-fashioned Marian fires of the sixteenth century will be rekindled in England, "ere this generation has passed away," unless the God of mercy arrests the predominance of the Oxford Tractarian "*sorceries*," is just as certain as that a round ball started on the top of a mountainous descent, if not interrupted, will roll with increasing velocity into the valley. Their concealed creed is the combination of the prime errors of the "man of sin," sustained by "lies in hypocrisy;" and producing a fearful extinguishment of every kind and Christian sensibility. Like its progenitor, it will terminate in the repetition of the fearful vision which John saw in Patmos—high-Church drunkenness "with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus."

The Savilian professor of geometry in the university of Oxford, Mr. Powell, in his work entitled "*Tradition Unveiled*," depicts the practical consequences of the Oxford Tractarian system as it regards the principle of *persecution* in this forcible language; and it is of more weight because he resides among the controvertists, and has watched all their manœuvres:—

"The upholders of authoritative tradition can claim nothing less than infallibility; for without this, their pretensions and practice toward others would be monstrous, and their claims presumptuous and impious. This last consequence of authoritative tradition, the maintenance of the principle and spirit of PERSECUTION, inseparable from it, constitutes the most objectionable and repulsive characteristic of this school, the worst and most noxious element of their system. I find them putting forth an exclusive claim themselves to constitute 'THE CHURCH!' assuming a lofty tone of superiority, and condemning as

heretics those who differ from them; affecting the character of infallibility, assuming the seat of judgment over their brethren, and, as far as they have the power, *following out their sentence to actual persecution.* Thus the system appears invested with a most reprehensible character, and stands most strongly condemned in its own awful consequences."

That this death-dealing result always will follow the predominance of Roman EXCLUSIVENESS, the author of the "History of the Reformation" in England was fully convinced, as is evident from a very affecting circumstance which occurred in the latter period of his life. It constitutes a powerful recommendation of his standard work on the Reformation, as developing his humbleness of mind, his incorruptible integrity, his brotherly love, and his Christian fearlessness!

To understand the fact aright, it must be premised, that toward the latter end of Queen Anne's reign the tory high-Church party in England, who held the ascendency in the parliament, enacted several persecuting laws against Protestantism, thereby to favor the restoration of the Stuart family to the British throne, and with them the re-establishment of Popery. Burnet was a decided reformed partisan, in favor of the Hanoverian succession, and therefore was hated by all the Sacheverell "*malignants*;" and as every nonconformist sustained the same cause, by the law which it was anticipated would go speedily into operation, they were doomed to be crushed. Among them, Dr. Evans, the author of that excellent work, "Sermons on the Christian Temper," was then a prominent preacher, with whom the compiler of the "History of the Reformation" held friendly intercourse, in the endearing relation of Christian brotherhood.

BISHOP BURNET AND DR. EVANS.—"A short time before the demise of Queen Anne, as Bishop Burnet was riding in his coach slowly round that part of Smithfield whence so many blessed *martyrs* ascended to 'the rest that remaineth to the people of God,' he observed a gentleman standing on that *distinguished spot*, in a musing, pensive attitude, and apparently quite absorbed in thought. The bishop ordered the carriage to be stopped, and sent his servant to the person with a request that he would come to him. It was Dr. Evans. 'Brother Evans,' said Burnet, 'give me your hand, and come up hither—I want to ask you a question.' After he was seated, the coachman continued to drive slowly round, and the bishop asked the nonconformist minister, 'What directed your steps to Smithfield, and what were you thinking of as you stood there?'

"'I was thinking,' answered Evans, 'of the many servants of Christ who sealed the truth by their death in this place. I came purposely to feast my eyes once more with a view of this precious spot of ground. As public matters at present have a very threatening aspect, I was

examining myself whether I had grace and strength enough to suffer for the gospel if I should be called to it; and was praying to God that he would make me faithful even unto death, if it should be his pleasure to let the old times come over again.'

"'I myself came hither,' replied Burnet, 'on the same business. I am persuaded that if God's providence do not interpose very speedily, and almost miraculously, those times must, and will soon return; in which case, you and I *shall probably be two of the first victims who will be called to suffer death at that place*'—and the bishop pointed to the PAVED CENTRE! that marked hallowed spot where the stakes for the martyrs were set up, and whence the Christian worthies were wafted in flames to heaven.

"But it pleased God to disappoint the fears of those two brethren by the almost sudden death of Queen Anne, and the accession of George I. to the sway of the British dominions."

One additional and decisive collateral recommendation of Burnet's History is found in the fact, that all the adherents of the Oxford "Tracts for the Times" depreciate his renowned work. A solution of that contradiction to truth may be discovered in his preface to the second volume. It demonstrates the certainty of the Papal boast, that *the Roman priestcraft is unchangeable!* The monitory instruction which the historiographer imparts is as needful now as formerly, and equally adapted to both sides of the Atlantic. He referred to the divisions which were excited and prolonged among the British Protestants, by the ensnaring artifices of the Jesuit emissaries, at the latter end of the reign of Charles II. Burnet writes,—

"It is plain that there have been labored designs to make tools of the several parties, and to make a great breach between them, which now lays us open to our common enemy. It looks like a sad forerunner of ruin, when after so long experience of the mischievous effects of those contests, we cannot learn to be so wise as to avoid the running on those rocks on which our fathers did so unfortunately split; but, on the contrary, many steer so steadily toward them as if those rocks were the only safe harbors where they may securely weather every storm."

The prolific source of that discord among Christians, and of those backslidings from the gospel, is this—ignorance of the modern churches. It is an appalling feature of the present period—the unspeakable facility with which men are bewildered and misguided in reference to their spiritual welfare and their religious obligations. The Christian observer involuntarily pauses, almost with incredulity, when he attempts to combine the inflated statements of the rapidly augmenting dissemination of useful intelligence among us, with the gross impostures, and the most revolting antichristian

impieties which are so gladly received, by persons of all classes and every denomination among the professed followers of Jesus Christ, the Prophet and King in Zion.

Without controversy, the grand cause of this wayward tendency to fall away from the testimony of the divine oracles may be discovered in the general and withering dearth of essential knowledge in relation to Christianity. As a natural consequence, the most absurd and long since exploded deadly errors are revived, by the crafty instruments of the great adversary, "that old serpent, the devil," with all the freshness of racy novelties, by "which they who are unlearned and unstable are led astray and fall from their steadfastness."

All "the powers of darkness" seem to be on the alert to restore that "strong delusion" among the nations, when "*all the world wondered after the beast!*" In no portions of our habitable globe is the prediction, (Rev. xvi, 13, 14,) that "the spirits of devils go forth to gather the nations to battle against God Almighty," more visibly now exemplified, than in this country and Britain. Their unholy machinations and their polluting sorceries are developed in a two-fold form; to entrap the infidel under the vizor of "*liberality*," and to cajole the unwary believer in divine revelation, by a hypocritical exterior reverence for antiquity, and the simulated appeal to traditional authority, as requisite to sustain "the Scripture of truth."

The manifest design of the "Tracts for the Times," Palmer's "Treatise on the Church of Christ," the British Critic, and numerous discourses in this country on the "Priesthood of the Church," with its correlate heresies and superstitions; and especially of the introduction into church edifices of numberless Babylonian symbols, under the specious mask and name of "*church furniture*," is this—that the unthinking multitudes may be seduced to abandon the gospel for human traditions, and to substitute for the unreserved surrender of the heart, the mind, the will, and the affections to our righteous "Lawgiver and King," their allegiance to an earthly usurper, who would dethrone "the Lord of glory," and in his stead "make an image to the beast," like Nebuchadnezzar, which they can set up and worship.

That the professed disciples of HIM, whose "name is called THE WORD OF GOD," may not be "made drunk with the wine of wrath" offered them by the "mother of abominations," (Rev. xvii, 1–6; xviii, 2–10,) they should take copious temperance antidotes from the historical survey of the Anglican struggle to cast off the Papal yoke, as administered by the Protestant DOCTOR Burnet.

His narrative develops the mainspring of all the original movements on behalf of the gospel; unfolds the then exact political and social condition of the people; describes the true character, motives, and acts of the ostensible chiefs in that stupendous change; and discovers the difficulties encountered by the reformers while attempting to achieve the emancipation of the people from the thraldom of the antichristian hierarchy, and the tyrannous court of Rome. He depicts their escape from the Babylonish captivity; their gradually augmenting illumination; their humbleness in prosperity; their immovable steadfastness; their "always abounding in the work of the Lord;" their patient fortitude in affliction; and their triumphant martyrdom.

Burnet's "History of the Reformation" in England should carefully be studied by all persons who love evangelical truth as the "pearl of great price," and who are anxious to comprehend accurately the genuine unchangeable attributes of Popery under all its disguises, and the beneficent designs, theological doctrines, noble acts, and dying attestations of the British reformers. That research also is enforced by its peculiar adaptation to the existing state of our own churches, and of the controversy elicited recently in England; for Burnet's authentic History demonstrates, that every effort must be utterly futile to enlist those champions of the Reformation in the sixteenth century as authors and advocates of the modern Oxford Romanism. Of those antichristian perversions of "the oracles of God," it may emphatically be affirmed, that they are "*another gospel!*" Between Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, who were burned in the midst of the university at Oxford, with their immortal brethren, Bradford, Ferrars, Hooper, Palmer, Philpot, Rogers, and Taylor, who were murdered by "HIGH-CHURCH CATHOLICS" in Smithfield, and other places which are hallowed by "the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus," and the Oxford Tractarians and their coadjutors in the United States and Britain—to adopt the inspired testimony of the apostle Paul—there is not more fellowship than righteousness hath with unrighteousness, no more communion than light hath with darkness, no more concord than Christ hath with Belial, and no more agreement than the temple of God hath with idols. "WHEREFORE, COME OUT FROM AMONG THEM, AND BE YE SEPARATE, SAITH THE LORD; AND TOUCH NOT THE UNCLEAN THING," invented by the Oxford allies of BABYLON THE GREAT!

ART. II.—*Concio ad Clerum. A Sermon delivered in the Chapel of Yale College, September* 10, 1828. By NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR. New-Haven: republished by A. H. Maltby & Homan Hallock. 1842.

THE reappearance of this Sermon evinces the tenacity with which its author holds fast his peculiar sentiments on a very important point of Christian doctrine. The conspicuous and highly responsible station he sustains, as theological professor in Yale College, enables him to exert a very extensive influence on community, through the young gentlemen who receive his instructions. And perhaps not any clergyman of the Congregational order has exerted a more deep and extensive influence in molding the minds of both clergy and laity in the Congregational Church, and indeed also in some portions of the Presbyterian Church, in New-England, and other parts of the country, than Dr. Taylor has done; and we know not that he is on the wane in this respect. Placed as he is at the head of a theological school in one of the oldest and largest of the colleges in the land, he has an opportunity of infusing his doctrine far and wide, through the medium of candidates for the ministry. We regard him indeed as a man of talents, of boldness of thought, of an independent spirit, of fearless intrepidity of character, being neither ashamed nor afraid to express his opinions freely and without disguise. His opinions, therefore, are entitled to respect, though they may not be received without a careful examination. And as he claims and exercises the liberty of thinking and speaking for himself, he will not be offended, we are sure, if we take the liberty of a free and candid examination of his sentiments, of declaring our dissent, where we do dissent, and of stating our reasons for it.

This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Address to the Clergy*, is founded on the following words of St. Paul to the Ephesians, chapter ii, verse 3, "*And were by nature children of wrath even as others.*"

From these words the author deduces the following proposition, namely, *That the entire moral depravity of mankind is by nature.* In illustrating this proposition, he attempts to show,—

"1. In what the moral depravity of man consists; 2. That this depravity is by nature." And in showing what he understands by this depravity he is very explicit, meaning thereby

"The entire sinfulness of their moral character," "that state of the mind or heart to which guilt and the desert of wrath appertain."

Who would, after this announcement of his belief, expect to find him, in subsequent parts of his discourse, endeavoring to show that we are *not* sinners by nature, or that we *do not bring into the world with us a nature morally depraved?* And yet, if we do not greatly misapprehend his meaning, and we have endeavored to ascertain it correctly, this is the fact. In asserting, in the first place, in what moral depravity does not consist, he says,—

1. It does "not consist in any essential attribute or property of the soul—not in any thing created in man by his Maker." To this we agree. God did not make man originally sinful, nor does he now make him sinful by any operation upon his heart by motive or otherwise, nor has man lost any of his original faculties either of body or mind, though the latter is darkened, and the former has become subject to mortality, as a consequence of Adam's sin.

He says,—

2. "Nor does the moral depravity of men consist in a sinful nature which they have corrupted by being *one* with Adam, and by *acting in his act*."

Here we suspect the author has a little misrepresented those who believe in hereditary moral depravity, by taking advantage of an incautious use of words; for in respect to this opinion, thus represented, he affirms,—

"To believe that I am one and the same being with another who existed thousands of years before I was born, and that by virtue of this identity I truly acted in his act, and am therefore as truly guilty of his sin as himself—to believe this, I must renounce the reason which my Maker has given me; I must believe it also in the face of the oath of God to its falsehood, entered upon the record."

Now it appears most manifest that here is a play upon words not comporting exactly with the soberness and dignity of either theological or philosophical inquiry. No one, it is thought, who believes in the hereditary depravity of man, or that in consequence of Adam's sin all men have inherited a morally corrupt nature, believes also that we were in such a sense *one with him*, as to be "one and the same being with him, and that, by virtue of this identity, they truly acted in his act, and are as truly guilty of his sin as himself." This, therefore, is not a fair representation of their views. As far as we understand the subject, those who hold to this opinion mean to say that Adam stood as our representative, and that we all so far partook of the consequences of his sin as to bring into the world with us a nature morally impure, and that this nature is sinful. Yet there is unquestionably a sense in which we

existed in Adam, and in that sense sinned, not actively, but passively and seminally, in and with him, though not in such a sense as to be held personally responsible for his sinful act.

That all men were, in some sense, created in Adam, is clearly evinced by the solemn declaration of the inspired historian, in which he says, that God *finished* his work of creation in six days, and pronounced it all *very good*.

This idea receives support from what St. Paul says of Levi, who "payed tithes in Abraham. For he was yet in the loins of his father when Melchisedec met him." Heb. vii, 9, 10. So we were in the loins of Adam when he partook of the forbidden fruit, and thereby brought upon himself, upon the material universe, and upon all his posterity, who seminally existed in him, the malediction of God. All animals, plants, and vegetables, as well as man, were so formed as to be capable of propagating their own species, from generation to generation, so that they all re-produce their like; and as Adam had fallen from his God, by which his communion with him was broken off, his image effaced, before he had any children, he begat sons and daughters in his own moral as well as natural likeness. But Dr. Taylor adds,—

"Nor does the moral depravity consist in any *constitutional* principles of their nature.—Nor in any degree of *excitement* in these propensities or desires, not resulting in choice. Nor yet in any *disposition* or *tendency* to sin, which is *the cause of all sin*."

In respect to the latter, a disposition to sin, he says,—

"I am not now saying that there is not, what with entire propriety may be called a disposition or tendency to sin, which is the cause of all sin, nor that there is not, as a *consequence of this* disposition or tendency, what with equal propriety may be called a *sinful* disposition, which is the true cause of all other sins, itself excepted."

From this declaration it is certain that the Sermon does not allow of any *sinful* disposition, only as it is induced by a prior act of the mind, arising out of the disposition or tendency to sin from the actual circumstances in which we are placed; and hence it follows most conclusively, that we are born into the world free from original sin, or moral impurity. How the author could have persuaded himself that this is the doctrine of Calvin and other writers whom he quotes to sustain his views, it seems difficult to conceive. Calvin's words, it appears to us, prove directly the reverse. He says, referring to the text in Ephesians,—

"Our nature is there characterized, not as it was created by God, but as it was vitiated by Adam; because it would be unreasonable to make God the author of death."

Here Calvin most evidently contradistinguishes what our nature *was*, when *created* by God, and what it *is*, as *vitiated* by Adam, in which he positively denies that this morally impure nature was so *created*, but was inherited from our great progenitor, having been transmitted from father to son, from one generation to another. Hence this quotation proves, that when the Sermon asserts that moral depravity does not consist in any thing *created* in man, it asserts a great Scriptural truth; but when it asserts that it does not consist in a sinful or *vitiated* nature which we bring into the world with us, it maintains a novel—if we except the exploded doctrine of Pelagius—and a most dangerous error.

The quotation from the Westminster divines is equally unfortunate for the cause it is brought to sustain. They say, that "every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God," &c. On this our author asks, "Is not transgression action? Is it not something done, and done knowingly and voluntarily?"

Here it appears to us that the author begs the question, or, at least, does not meet it fairly. For most assuredly this quotation makes a clear distinction between *original* and *actual* sin, but calls them both a "transgression of the righteous law of God." They held therefore that there could be sin *without* action—that a sinful nature could be transmitted from father to son, which is in opposition to that law of God which justly requires all men to love God with all the heart; and they distinguish between this *original* sin and that *actual* sin, which, from its name, they would not hesitate to acknowledge, consists in "action." Let it be remembered here, that the question is not now whether these divines were right, but whether or not they support Dr. Taylor's views, when he says that moral depravity consists in action altogether. And it seems self-evident that they do not support these views; for they clearly and positively assert that there is a manifest distinction between *sin original* and *sin actual*, the former lying back of all voluntary sinful action, and being the exciting cause of all actual transgression.

The other quotations from Dr. Bellamy and President Edwards are also, in our humble opinion, far from sustaining Dr. Taylor's position, although they all prove that the writers did not believe that God *created* man impure, for which we believe no man now pleads. They are both, however, equally clear and explicit in asserting their belief in the doctrine of original, inherent depravity, and in distinguishing between such depravity and actual transgression, showing that the latter alone subjects us to condemnation.

His quotations from the sacred Scriptures we will examine after we have stated in what he believes positively moral depravity does consist. The following contains all that is necessary for a full understanding of his views upon this point:—

"The decision claimed is, that all particular or specific sins, as fraud, falsehood, injustice, unbelief, envy, pride, revenge, result from a *wicked heart*—from a *sinful disposition*, as the cause or source of such sinful acts. To this fact I yield unqualified assent."

From this "unqualified assent" to the existence of a sinful disposition, the reader might suppose that the controversy between Dr. Taylor and his brethren of the old school was a mere logomachy, a dispute about words. On a careful perusal of what follows, however, he will be convinced that this is not so, that there is a wide difference between them, and that the doctor denies, after all the force of this concession, any inherent, original, moral depravity, according to the common understanding of those terms. Listen to the following illustration of his meaning, while he "yields his unqualified assent" to this proposition:—

"Let us, then, look at the fact in its full force and just application. There is a man, then, whose course of life is wholly that of a worldling, his heart and hand shut against human woes, living without prayer, without gratitude, unmindful of God, and rejecting the Saviour of men, devising all, purposing all, doing all, for the sake of this world. Why is it? You say, and all say, and say *right*, It is owing to his love of the world—to his worldly disposition—to a heart set on the world. Now while we all say this, and are right in saying it, we have one simple question to decide, viz., What do all *mean* by it? Every child can answer. Every child knows that the meaning is, that this man does freely and voluntarily fix his affections on worldly good, in preference to God; that the man has chosen the world as his chief good, his portion, his God.—This forbidden choice of worldly good, this preference of the low and sordid pleasures of the earth to God and his glory—this love of the world which excludes the love of the Father—*this*—*this* is man's depravity. This is that evil treasure of the heart, from which proceed evil things; this is the fountain, the source of all *other* abominations—man's free, voluntary preference of the world as his chief good, amid the revealed glories of the perfect God."

From this extract, which we have given at length, to prevent misapprehension, it is manifest that the moral depravity which is allowed to exist by *nature*, consists altogether in the *volition* of the mind, in the *act of choosing*, and not in any prior disposition of the heart. Moral depravity, then, according to this view of the subject, consists in *acting wrong*, instead of the wrong action being considered as a proof of the existence of a wrong or impure prin-

ciple of the heart. And yet Dr. Taylor, in showing what we are to understand by being depraved by nature, most unquestionably makes it appear that the very reason why all men will sin, "in all the appropriate circumstances of their being," is because there must be some defect in their will or disposition; for he says, "Change their circumstances as you may; place them where you will within the limits of their being; do what you will to prevent the consequence, you have one uniform result, entire moral depravity;" that is, they will choose to sin in every circumstance in which they may be placed, until prevented by Almighty power and goodness.

We have now the theory of Dr. Taylor fairly and fully before us; and it appears,—

1. That he denies hereditary moral depravity.

2. He holds that moral depravity consists altogether in the choice and action of the mind, otherwise pure and innocent; for surely that must be pure and innocent which possesses no moral taint, no sinful propensity.

The object of the sermonizer in broaching this theory is certainly a laudable one; it is to fix the responsibility of all moral actions on men, and thereby to clear the throne of God from all blame in the condemnation of incorrigible sinners—by proving that they sin freely and voluntarily, without any intervening cause, either in their own hearts, or by a direct operation upon their will, by motive or otherwise.

Now let us see if this theory, viewed in connection with some other doctrines which the doctor holds as fundamental, will at all answer his purpose. If we mistake not, he still holds fast to the doctrine of universal decrees, as set forth in the Saybrook Platform, and as advocated by divines of the old Calvinistic school. This we judge from a clause in a note on page 36, in which he says, "The writer hopes he will not be charged, *without proof*, with denying what he fully believes—that the providential purposes or decrees of God extend to all actual events, sin not excepted." Here, then, the secret is out, that "all *actual* events, sin not excepted," are brought about by the "providential purposes or decrees of God." It matters not, therefore, whether sin be necessary to the greatest good of the universe, or whether it be merely incidental, arising out of the best possible system of beings and things which God could make, nor by what agencies, causes, instrumentalities, or means, sin is produced; it is all, according to this notion, just as God would have it, tending, by a uniform operation of causes and effects, to the same grand result.

What, then, it may be asked, has Dr. Taylor achieved by this labored essay to show that mankind are not depraved otherwise than as they choose evil instead of God? For this choice itself, with all its motives, attendant circumstances, effects, and ends, is as much under the direction and control of Almighty God as is the pen with which we write; and hence all just responsibility for the choice of the mind and the external action is entirely annihilated; for man can no more choose or act in contravention of God's eternal decree than he can create a new world. It appears to us, therefore, that the labor is labor lost. However true or false may be the speculation, it cannot alter the unalterable purposes of God, or render that null and void which God has determined shall be. The speculation, however, has this pernicious influence, it tends to unsettle the minds of men on a most important point of theology, and, were it true, would render useless the whole system of redemption by Christ Jesus.

Let not the reader be startled at this announcement. Let it be observed, that Dr. Taylor does not found his doctrine of the entire capability of man to choose freely and voluntarily, upon any grace offered or received by him. It is by *nature*. Every man is born into the world with this capability, and until it is exercised sinfully man is innocent. All therefore who die in infancy—and we are glad to find the author of the Sermon avowing his belief in the eternal salvation of such—go to heaven. But how are they fitted for that holy place? Not by the redemption of Christ; not by being washed in his blood—this they needed not; for they were not morally impure—they go by *nature*. Here then are an innumerable company who go to heaven entirely independent of the blood of Christ.

But this is not all. If all are born with a capability of choosing freely and voluntarily, without any restraint upon their choice, then may they choose good as well as evil, and hence may choose to love and obey God, and thus go to heaven without any grace. Do you say no—they *must* choose evil only? Then you deny that they choose to sin voluntarily; for that cannot be a voluntary choice which is impelled, either by the circumstances of their being, by motive, by nature, or by temptation, to one line of conduct only. A choice, under such circumstances, is as much fixed, in that particular way, as is the adamantine chain of immutable fate. Dr. Taylor, therefore, must either abandon his doctrine of voluntary choice, or allow that a sinner may choose the good and the right way, and thus escape moral depravity, and go to heaven without grace.

But as the sacred Scriptures declare, most expressly and emphatically, that all who are saved, are saved by grace, through faith in the Lord Jesus, his theory falls to the ground.

Let us, however, examine those texts of Scripture with which he has attempted the support of his new theory. The very text itself which he has made the foundation of his discourse, it appears to us, teaches a contrary doctrine. *And were by nature children of wrath, even as others.* How strange would this sound with the comment which his theory obliges him to put upon it—and were *made children of wrath by their voluntary choice and conduct!* What but an extreme tenacity to a favorite theory could induce a man to give this interpretation to the word *nature!* Equally forced and unnatural is his comment upon the context, *Ye who were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein ye walked.* "You see," says the Sermon, "it was a *walking*—a *living death.*" Truly. But a walking in a death, that is, a *separation from God*, consequent upon being in trespasses and sins. Can a man walk, that is, live and have his being, in that which does not exist? As well might it be said of a man that he walks in the atmosphere, and creates the atmosphere in which he walks *by his walking*, as to affirm that a man walks in a death which is created *by his walking* in it. In consequence of original sin, a separation took place between God and the soul of man, according to the declaration of St. Paul: "Wherefore, as by ONE MAN, SIN entered into the world, and DEATH by sin, and so DEATH passed upon ALL MEN, for that all have sinned;" and in this spiritual death, or *separation* from communion with God, all are born into the world; and in *this death* they walk until quickened to spiritual life by the Spirit of God. And those "desires of the flesh and mind," which they fulfilled by walking "according to the course of this world," were they not thriving plants which grew in a prolific soil, *naturally* existing, in which they lived? Moreover, when they first fulfilled these evil *desires*, did they not act from those sudden impulses which arose from that impure state of the *heart* which is by nature, even that morally corrupt nature that they brought into the world with them, and that "strengthened with their strength" the longer they continued to feed them by gratifying their cravings? This state of the *heart*, this *separation* from union and communion with God, which is the proper notion of a *spiritual death*, of which the apostle speaks, resulted from man's original transgression, necessarily, as an effect results from the operation of an adequate cause, and not from an arbitrary appointment of God. Such is the poisonous nature of sin, so opposed to the holiness of God, that it corrupted

the whole mass of human existence, and inflicted such a wound upon the fair creation of God, that the earth itself felt its polluting effects, and was doomed to a curse as awful as it was destructive to its nutritious fruits; for thus it is written, "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return unto the ground," Gen. iii, 18, 19.

The text which the Sermon quotes from St. James, "*Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God is not tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man,*" proves indeed that God did not *create*, and that he does not now infuse in the heart of man, sin; but it no more proves that there is not a sinful disposition in the heart prior to an intelligent act of the mind in choosing evil, than it does that Calvinism was true when it affirmed that "God putteth sin into the heart by a positive, creative influence." What follows, however, proves to a demonstration that *lust*, or an *evil desire*, must exist in the heart, in the very *nature* of man, *before* it develops itself in the life; for *then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin*—that is, a sinful *act*—some overt act of wickedness. There is first a sinful desire, an innate propensity to transcend the lawful bounds of duty, and when this is so far *conceived* in the mind as to fix upon its object, the sinful act is done, which subjects the perpetrator of the deed to condemnation. This is the natural, the usual process the sinner takes in his downward road to destruction.

Do not the sacred Scriptures uniformly thus describe man, as a fallen and degraded being? They speak of the *heart* as being deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. They represent that even every imagination of the *thoughts of the heart* is only evil continually—that out of the *heart* proceedeth evil thoughts. They compare man to an evil tree which bringeth forth bad fruit, intimating, that until his *heart* is changed he cannot bring forth good fruit. These, and a thousand others of a like import, represent mankind in the mass as being morally corrupt *within*—as possessing, by nature, moral *defilement*—and as being in a state of *enmity* against God. And we confess that we cannot perceive how any just interpretation can be given to such like texts in conformity to the views which Dr. Taylor has given of moral depravity.

How is it with experience? With the exception of those infidels who laugh at sin as a very trifling thing, does not the experience of every man perfectly accord with this melancholy view of human nature? Does not every man find in himself strong, and almost

uncontrollable passions, with which he has to contend? If he allow his thoughts to wander back upon the first hours of consciousness, may he not call to his recollection the ranklings of anger, the desire for revenge, the existence of pride, an aversion to duty, and a love of sensual pleasure in preference to a love of God and of goodness? These passions and appetites, often overpowering in their domineering influence, are among his earliest recollections, and he found himself, by their sudden impulses, drawn, though not compelled, into the commission of some overt act of wickedness. We cannot but think that this accords, more or less, with the experience of every individual, which, were not his mind warped by an idle theory, he would honestly confess.

But how is it more especially with the penitent sinner, who, under the illuminations of the Spirit of truth, sees and deplores his sinfulness, and inwardly groans for redemption in the blood of Christ? Does he not find, in spite of himself, the workings of irregular desires, unholy passions and appetites, "the flesh warring against the spirit," and so strongly, that he is "brought into captivity to the law of sin and death?" Whence arises this warfare? this struggling for the mastery? Is it not hence—the strong power of "sin in his members, warring against the law of his mind," so that "when he would do good, evil is present with him?" And what is this but the moral impurity of his nature? Now is there no sinfulness in this native, this inherent opposition to God's holy law? A law *just*, *holy*, and *good*, as is the law of God, demands the warmest affections of the heart, and the most obedient acts of the life. Even the feeling, therefore, of opposition to this law, (and of this feeling all are conscious who have arrived to an age to be conscious of any thing,) is an evidence of impurity.

There is, moreover, a manifest contrariety between this feeling of the heart and the dictates of the judgment or understanding. While the judgment "consents unto the law that it is good," the "law of sin which is in the members" wars against its requirements, so that when the man *would do good*, he *does it not*, but does that which his judgment teaches him *to hate*. Now whence this contrariety? Is it not hence—from the existence of that unholy nature which we bring into the world with us, and which acquires strength from the repetition of every act of disobedience to God's most holy law? So far, therefore, as experience can decide a point, we think it decides in favor of the doctrine for which we plead.

To this view of the fallen, unrenewed heart, agrees the doctrine

of President Edwards, notwithstanding Dr. Taylor has quoted him to sustain his theory of moral depravity. He says, "Immediately," after man's apostasy, "the superior divine principle wholly ceased; and thus man was left in a state of darkness, woful corruption, and ruin; nothing but flesh without spirit. The inferior principles of self-love and natural appetite, which were given only to serve, being alone, and left to themselves, of course became reigning principles; having no superior principles to regulate or control them, they became absolute masters of the heart. The immediate consequence of which was a fatal catastrophe, a turning of all things upside down, and the succession of a state of the most odious and dreadful confusion." The author then proceeds to show that God did not put sin into the nature of Adam by a positive influence, but by withdrawing from him, he was left under the domineering influence of those inferior passions, particularly of self-love, and that all his posterity are thus rendered morally impure.

We have before remarked that the object of Dr. Taylor, in the adoption of this theory, was to clear the throne of God of all responsibility in the production of moral evil, and to fix it exclusively on man. And had he gone a little further, and brought in the ample provisions of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which are made for, and freely and sincerely offered to all men, by which they are fully able to resist sin, and lay hold on eternal life, without the intervention of an efficient decree to prevent any of them from so doing, his praiseworthy object would have been accomplished. This, however, he has not done. He has left all mankind under the fatal effect of an inability to choose otherwise than to sin; for he says, "Place a human being anywhere within the appropriate limits and scenes of his immortal existence, and such is his nature, that he will be a depraved sinner." According to this there is most evidently either a natural or moral necessity that man, that every child of Adam, should sin, until the "interposition," as he says in the same connection, "of something which is not included in those circumstances," in which the providence of God has placed him, "until something be done above nature," that is, until he be regenerated by Almighty power and grace. Hence it is important to inquire, whether the theory, after all, does exempt God from being the author of sin? We know indeed that it is intended, and sincerely, too, to do this. Dr. Taylor very justly shrinks with horror from the thought of charging God with being the author of sin and misery. He has resorted to this philosophical view of the subject for the

express purpose of fixing upon man alone the guilt of his iniquities; and in the conclusion of his Sermon he most pathetically and eloquently depicts the horrors of the opposite view, more especially of that doctrine which makes God "create men sinners, and then damns them for being so." He remarks,—

"But such is not the message of wrath and mercy, by which a revolted world is to be awed and allured back to its Maker. The message we are to deliver to men is a message of wrath, because they are the perpetrators of the deed which deserves wrath. It is a message of mercy to men who, by acting, are to comply with the terms of it, and who can never hope to comply, even through God's agency, without putting themselves to the doing *the very thing* commanded of God. And it is only by delivering such a message, that we, brethren, can be *workers together with God.* Let us, then, go forth with it, and clearing God, throw all the guilt of sin, with its desert of wrath, upon the sinner's single self. Let us make him see and feel that he can go to hell only as a self-destroyer—that it is this fact that will give those chains all their strength, and those fires the anguish of their burning."

We give him, therefore, entire credit for the honesty of his views, and the sincerity of his purpose, as well as for the ability with which he has handled his subject. Still, however, we cannot believe that he has at all accomplished his object. Holding fast the doctrine of Calvinistic decrees, which, according to his own declaration, "extend to all *actual*"—including, of course, all the *actions* of every individual—"events, sin not excepted," what becomes of the freedom of man? And as responsibility is based upon free agency, this is also annihilated. To be a free responsible agent, a man must not only feel himself free to choose as he does, but he must be as free to choose otherwise, and to follow his choice without compulsion or insuperable restraint. Now does the doctrine of the Sermon allow this freedom to man? We think not. The doctrine of decrees fixes him to one line of conduct only, unless you allow that he possesses the omnipotence of resisting the irresistible decrees, and thereby of defeating the eternal purpose of God. Besides, if God fixed a plan in eternity by which all events in the natural and moral world were determined, including all the actions of every individual, and set all the causes in motion which were necessary for the production of every effect, then is God the author, the originator, and the accomplisher of all things in heaven, earth, and hell—all subordinate agencies are but passive instruments in his hands, used precisely according to his good pleasure, for the accomplishment of his eternal purpose. Just so much, and no more, sin, as well as holiness, is brought

about, as should accomplish the greatest amount of good to the universe; and man is no otherwise responsible for either sin or holiness, than the water is for turning the mill, or for carrying it away by a resistless torrent; for the water flows as freely in its channel, while propelled forward by the law of gravitation, as man acts freely under those resistless impulses which his Creator either gave him at first, or so fixed in the system that he would and must inevitably acquire them.

This "philosophy of the gospel," therefore, introduced for the purpose of clearing God from the odious imputation which old school Calvinism fixed, by inevitable consequence, upon his adorable character, is but a useless speculation, not answering its design. Nor can Dr. Taylor, we presume to think, ever rid the system of this opprobrium, until he, once for all, and for ever, renounce the dogma of universal decrees, and place man upon the broad foundation of God's universal good will, and by placing before him fully and fairly life and death, showing him that he has power, by the grace of God in Christ Jesus, to choose life and live, or by obstinately refusing this, to take death as the unavoidable consequence of such refusal. This delightful, and, as we believe, Scriptural view of the subject, fully exonerates God from all authorship in man's sin and its consequent miseries, presents him as a free, responsible agent, secures to the grace of God the honor of his salvation, and fixes the shame and guilt of sin upon the willful sinner himself alone. For whatever inability, either natural or moral, has been brought upon mankind as the inevitable result of the original apostasy, it has been made up, and more than made up to them by the coming of the "second Adam," "the Lord from heaven," "who bore our sins in his own body upon the tree," so that no one is condemned merely because Adam sinned, however oppressively he may feel its consequences; but all are brought into the world justified by virtue of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

St. Paul, in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, most evidently shows that just so far as Adam's sin affected the human family, so far the redemption by Jesus Christ affected them. He there draws a most striking analogy between those two illustrious personages, the first and second Adam, showing most conclusively that as the one brought death and all our wo into the world, so the other brought life and all our bliss. "But not as the offense, so also is the free gift. For if through the offense of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not

as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offenses unto justification." Rom. v, 15, 16. These words plainly show that the superabundant grace of God in Christ Jesus hath been bestowed upon all that sinned, which most assuredly includes the entire race of man, while they declare, in equally strong and positive language, that through the *offense of one*, that is, of Adam, all were considered as *dead*, or separated from communion with God.

These, with other collateral texts of a similar import, present an open door to all mankind, into which they may, if they will, enter, and entering, obtain everlasting life, by faith in Jesus Christ. Whereas Dr. Taylor's system leaves them in a totally graceless state, under a fatal necessity, arising from their nature, of choosing sin; for he says, "That to be born once involves the certainty of sin; to become a human being is to become a sinner." Why this certainty? We know that Dr. Taylor tells us it is because they *will choose to sin*. But why *will they choose to sin?* Is it because they bring a sinful disposition into the world? No. This is peremptorily denied by the Sermon. Is it because of the *circumstances* of their being? No. This is also denied. It is because they are sinners by *nature*, that is, they will choose to sin *because they will*. But who influences their will? So far as the Sermon is concerned, this question receives no direct answer. Yet the plain inference is, taken from what Dr. Taylor declares his *full belief in*, that "God's decrees extend to all actual events, sin not excepted," their will is influenced either immediately, by some secret operation, or mediately, through the medium of some object placed before them, from which they may promise themselves pleasure, or some motive operating either directly upon their hearts, or by means of their bodily senses. It matters but little, however, by what means or agencies the mind is induced to act in choosing to sin, so long as these means are under the direction and control of Almighty God, operating according to his design. He alone is the responsible author of the choice and action; and moreover, it is as certain and inevitable as that God cannot change his purpose.

This theory also involves the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation. For if all will inevitably sin until regenerated by omnipotent power and grace, then all those who are not thus regenerated must sin on and go to destruction. He must therefore either allow that all will be regenerated in this manner, or allow that a part of the human family, notwithstanding Christ died for them, and the offers of salvation are freely made to them, must

eventually be lost, merely because God, in his sovereign pleasure, refused to renew their hearts.

What then, we ask again, has Dr. Taylor accomplished by all this labored effort? Has he removed one of the stumbling blocks which old-fashioned Calvinism had thrown in the way of the sinner's return to God? We believe not one. Has he rendered the doctrine of the gospel any more clear or perspicuous? We think not. It has indeed seemed to us, that he has rather mystified the doctrine of human depravity, and as to the peculiar truths of redemption, he has hardly brought them before his readers. There is, however, an apology for this. He was professedly treating on one point only of Christian theology, and therefore did not feel himself under obligation to bring others prominently into view. But we think a minister of Christ has done but little toward the salvation of his hearers, when he has succeeded in convincing them of their disease, especially when it is so evident that it needs but little argument to prove it home upon them. The remedy—the *remedy*—this is the grand desideratum in all discussions of this sort.

And this remedy is to be found in that great truth, that Jesus Christ tasted death for every man, and that whosoever will may come unto him and live.

Whosoever will! But how can morally depraved sinners come to Jesus Christ? Of themselves, or in their own strength, they cannot. "No man," says the great Teacher, "can come to me except the Father draw him." But does not the Father draw all men? Unquestionably the "true light lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared." The Holy Spirit is sent "to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of a judgment to come." The conviction of man's sinfulness is made upon the understandings and consciences of all men first by the Holy Spirit, by which they become conscious of their state of condemnation, and, of course, of their need of salvation. Under this conviction they may cry to God for help; they may so *seek as to find*, so *knock that it may be opened unto them*; and then they may *go in and out, and find pasture to their souls*. All therefore are without excuse if they are not saved. Jesus Christ died for them. Salvation is freely, and sincerely offered unto them, upon such terms as they may, and can, through the *preventing grace of God in Christ Jesus*, accept. Every thing, indeed, in heaven, earth, and hell, urges them to fly to Christ for life and salvation. And to remove every barrier out of their way, God has come down to their condition, provided a sovereign remedy for their disease, brought it to them, and so far

applied it, as to restore them to so much strength that they may, if they will, repent, believe in Jesus Christ, receive pardon through his blood, then *walk in the light as he is in the light, until the blood of Christ shall cleanse them from all sin.*

New-York, November, 1842.

Art. III.—*Life and Times of John Huss.*

(Abridged from the French of "L'Europe Protestante.")

Few eras in the history of Christianity are more worthy of attention than the close of the fourteenth and the commencement of the fifteenth centuries. The monarchical constitution of the Roman Church, in which Papacy had so long usurped all dominion, then exposed its inevitable vices. It no longer presented the advantages which it may have possessed in previous ages, when the task was imposed upon it of achieving the conquest of heathen Europe, and of stemming the tide of Islamism in the East. The long residence of the popes at Avignon had placed them in as shameful dependence on the crown of France, as that which had formerly debased the tiara beneath the imperial sceptre. Of all the results of the great revolution, attempted with more boldness than success by Gregory VII., there remained to the popes but a vast increase of pride, and pretensions without limit, which were the more dangerous, as they were less justified by the facts and circumstances of the times. The popes had lost sight of the great aim of Hildebrand; but they remembered that that pontiff had proclaimed the Papacy the paramount of empires, and all thrones the tributaries of the holy see. The contrast between their weakness, and the idea they had conceived of their sovereign rights as masters of the world, was to them a perpetual source of humiliation and anger; but so far from leaning, as did Gregory VII., on their temporal power to maintain and make respected their spiritual authority, they relied exclusively upon the latter, and shamefully abused it to promote their terrestrial grandeur. Hence so many atrocious wars, which it was needful to sustain by an audacious simony; hence also the alarming amount of scandal and corruption. All charity, all true piety perished in the souls of men in proportion to the increase of vain formalities, the lavishing of excommunications and indulgences, of feigned anathemas and celestial pardons. Nevertheless, such is the blindness of the

human heart, that the Papacy, as a spiritual power, had yet received scarcely a check in the minds of the people. Bowed and passive they remained under this monstrous assumption; and it was difficult to imagine what could dissipate their deplorable illusion, since they continued unenlightened by such numberless excesses, such frightful scandals, and such rivers of blood. Forty years it pleased God that the greatest strength of this power should be employed by itself to its own destruction; it was his will that the people, eager to prostrate themselves to this new divinity, should seek in vain for the place of their idol. This was caused by THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST, which commenced in 1378, when Gregory XI. returned to die at Rome, where he had re-established the holy see. The election of Clement VII. by the cardinals, six months after that of Urban VI., against which they protested as obtained from them by violence, divided Europe between the two pontiffs,—between Avignon and Rome,—and occasioned a fearful struggle, which no sovereign in Europe was in a condition to terminate. The reins of empire floated loosely in the base hands of the indolent and cruel Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia; Richard II. in England, and Charles VI. in France, began their disastrous reigns; impotent or ferocious despots rose and fell in Spain, Italy, and Hungary; on no throne was seated a man capable of applying a remedy to the Schism, or of giving to Europe a salutary impulse. It might be said that Providence had left the field free to the Papacy, that it might perish by self-inflicted wounds; as though this power, which drew all its strength from human weakness and error, was in its nature so indestructible, that naught but itself could work its overthrow. The two pontiffs spared not each other. They knew that the temporal sovereigns, who alone were capable of supporting them, had consulted only their own interest in the choice they had made of their obedience. Caution was therefore necessary, and indulgence to odious passions, which were afterward to be used for their own advantage. To guard the tiara, its abasement was needful; creatures they must become, or cease to be popes. What respect for the Papacy could subsist in the minds of men, while the two competitors, between whom the ablest intellects could with difficulty pronounce, were hurling at each other their thunders? What faith in pontifical infallibility was possible, when few thrones, few churches, were not on the one hand enriched by indulgences, and on the other loaded with anathemas? The fierce and indomitable Urban VI. ill brooked this combat with spiritual arms; more prompt and sure was the sword. He preached the crusade, and promised the

pardons of the church to all who would arm and march against his rival. This measure gave to scandal its climax, and the eloquent voice of Wiclif responded in England to the heinous impiety. "Ah!" cried he, "when will the proud priest at Rome grant indulgences to Christians to live in peace and charity, as he now does that they may murder each other?" This great man gave the signal for a struggle of two centuries against Rome, which was to end only with the triumph of Christian reason, supported by the Scriptures. Others, before Wiclif, had doubtless opposed the authority of the Bible to that of tradition and the church; but Wiclif was the first who, in proclaiming this great principle, attacked, with learning and logic, all the superstitions of the Roman worship. He was also the father of the Reformation, the triumph of which was secured by Luther: but, to obtain this triumph, it was important that the principle so boldly proclaimed by his predecessor, and which agitated England even during his life, should cross the seas and take root in the heart of Europe; it was needful that men, great by their intelligence and their virtues, should give themselves to the cause, and in some sort consecrate it by their martyrdom. The workmen failed not in their work; and among those who devoted themselves to this glorious mission, the most illustrious was John Huss, whose life was at once a picture full of interest and an immortal example.

He was born in 1373, at Hussinetz, a market-town in the south of Bohemia, from which he drew his name. Like those of Luther, his parents were honest peasants, who spared no pains for his education; good and simple people, who thought only to secure him a happy future, and deemed not that their cares were lavished to ornament a victim and prepare him for sacrifice. He acquired the rudiments of knowledge at Praschatitz, a village near the place of his birth. His mother becoming a widow, she conducted him herself to Prague, to take his degrees in the celebrated university of that capital. Of the youth of Huss, history has preserved but few of those details, in which one delights to study the developments of a great character. We know, however, that he early manifested a fervent piety, and a strong disposition to that enthusiasm which is the parent of sublime devotion. Reading near the fire, one winter evening, the life of St. Lawrence, his imagination was exalted at the recital of the sufferings of the martyr, and he placed his hand in the flames. Suddenly surprised by a fellow-student, "I was endeavoring to ascertain," he replied, "what part of the torments of this holy man I should be able to endure." All accord to him an easy and persuasive address, exemplary morals,

and a lofty spirit. "John Huss," says the Jesuit Balbinus, who was not his friend, "was more subtile than eloquent; but the modesty and severity of his manners, his austere and irreproachable life, his pale and melancholy face, his great mildness, and his affability to all, even the humblest, were more persuasive than the greatest eloquence."

Huss made rapid progress in his new studies, and his talents displayed themselves with brilliancy. He had taken orders, as was then most usual among the learned, and was equally eminent in the church and the academy. Becoming confessor to queen Sophia of Bavaria, the second wife of Wenceslaus, by the favor of that queen, as well as by his merit, he gained numerous and powerful friends at court; but his celebrity dates from the year 1404, and the chapel of Bethlehem, of which he was rector, was the cradle of his renown. The books of Wiclif were then known at Prague. A young Bohemian gentleman, on his return from a voyage to England, brought with him from Oxford the works of the great heresiarch. Huss read them; but opinions so bold astonished without convincing him; and if we may credit Theobaldus, a well-informed writer, Huss at first ran over the writings of Wiclif with pious horror. Nevertheless, the scandalous struggle of the two pontiffs, the luxury and arrogance of the cardinals, and the excessive corruption of the clergy, had sunk deep in his thoughtful mind, and pursued him even in sleep. A religious revolution, however, was far from his thoughts, and unheard-of incidents were needed to bring him to such a measure. If the scandals of the church revolted his pious soul, a violent rupture was equally repugnant to his mild and modest spirit; and it must be said to his glory, that the insurrection of which he was one of the first to give the example, was, on his part, much less a systematic and coldly premeditated opposition, than the effect of a burning indignation;—it was the revolt of an upright Christian heart, and not the rebellion of a proud, intractable spirit. To comprehend this, and to appreciate the propriety of the conduct of Huss, we shall glance rapidly at the state of Europe and the church at this epoch of his life.

The Schism had outlived its principal authors, Urban VI. and Clement VII.; indeed, it was almost impossible it should not survive them. At the death of each of these rivals, it was vainly hoped that the cardinals would unite in the college upon the surviving pontiff. This was to hope that their own interest should touch them less than the public good and the interest of the church. Their first care was to maintain their privileges,—to preserve their

riches and honors; and to abstain from giving a successor to the deceased pontiff, would have been to renounce that which constituted their strength. They knew that so soon as they should cease to be feared, their opposition would be more frequently remembered than the sacrifice they had made; they knew that to treat with safety, it is essential to treat with equal powers; and that the chances might be the same between the colleges, the existence of two popes was an absolute necessity. In protesting against the Schism, their first care was to fill the vacant seat to which their fortunes were attached. The deputies of states and ambassadors of princes, who at every vacancy came to entreat the cardinals to restore peace and union to the church, by uniting themselves to the opposing college, arrived always too late; and before the reasons which should have prevented it had been heard, a new election was consummated. But another fear dwelt in the breast of the cardinals. They felt that the Schism, by shaking the popular faith, was perilous alike to their own authority and that of the church; and if their present interest induced them to continue it, an interest more remote, but not less important, urged them also to abridge its duration. To this end their precautions were redoubled at every election, but always with the same futile result. All solemnly bound themselves to labor for the union of the church; to hesitate at no sacrifice in her behalf, not even that of the pontifical dignity. Before the election, all took the oath, which afterward the newly elected was in haste to forget. The vicar of God, who absolved others from their vows, had he not power to absolve himself? Thus all who endeavored to end the Schism were wasting their efforts in a vicious circle.

In the space of four years, five popes or antipopes gave to Europe the same scandalous drama. But from the excess of evil came forth at last the remedy, particularly after the great deception practiced by the Council of Pisa, convoked in 1409 by the united cardinals of the two colleges. When this solemn assembly, convened for the reformation of the church and the extinction of the Schism, had given a third pope as the result of its labors; when another was added to the two pontifical sees between which Europe had been divided, then commenced in many minds a salutary reaction. So many excesses aroused the thoughts of all to whom reflection was not an impossible effort, and the most degrading superstition an absolute need. England, France, and Germany were tremblingly agitated under this monstrous triple-headed power; and in Bohemia, at the voice of John Huss, the public indignation assumed a character of the gravest cast. Various

circumstances there marvelously favored the free movement of minds. The celebrated university of Prague had made of that city a focus of light; intelligent men, enlightened and bold, thither resorted from all parts of Germany. Nowhere had the abuses, corruptions, and scandals of the priests made themselves more conspicuous; nowhere had those writings which arraigned them been more widely spread, or examined with more learned comments. There at last the clergy, braved by the multitude, found in the government neither favor nor support. The king of Bohemia, the ex-emperor Wenceslaus, deposed from the imperial dignity in 1400 by the Diet of Frankfort, irritated by his deposition, cherished a hatred to the pope who had given it his approval. Queen Sophia covered the reformers, and John Huss in particular, with her powerful protection. In proportion as the Schism was prolonged, Huss studied more seriously the writings of Wiclif, and spoke of them with increased approbation. He presented himself neither as an innovator nor as head of a sect. He claimed neither admiration, submission, nor eulogy. He drew his strength from the authority of the divine word, which he preached with untiring zeal in the chapel of Bethlehem, and which the priests had so disfigured or veiled, that it seemed that this holy word was then proclaimed for the first time in Bohemia. He opposed it, as did Wiclif, to all the superstitions of the Roman Church. Like him, he branded the abuses of the confession, of prayers for the dead, of the adoration of saints, of excommunications, of indulgences, and denounced them as the source of the most infamous traffic. He also attacked the temporal riches of the clergy. But, less bold than his master, he did not admit his opinions on many capital points. He believed in transubstantiation, and did not absolutely reject the authority of the Roman Church. In many of the practices he condemned, he reproved less the principle than the abuse. Perseverance and courage, rather than expansiveness and capacity, characterized the mind of Huss. In a pope legally elected, he ever recognized the successor of St. Peter; but he refused to acknowledge a spiritual authority in a criminal pope, however legitimate.

The opposition of Huss became public in 1409, the year of the Council of Pisa. Prague had then for archbishop the timid Sbinko, a man of little learning, but of great zeal for the privileges of his church. Some months before the opening of the council, Huss having exhorted the people to unite with the cardinals in deposing Gregory XII., the archbishop, a creature of this pontiff, thundered against him an interdiction. Soon after, however,

Sbinko was forced to recognize as pope Alexander V., the elect of the council, and a reconciliation took place between the archbishop and Huss. This peace had little sincerity; and about the same time there arose in the university a stormy contest, in which Huss took a distinguished part. He triumphed; but his victory was fatal, for it created him more opponents than a defeat would have left. Huss, whose zeal for the privileges of his nation had gained him so many new enemies, was then named rector of the university of Prague. His repose was of short duration. Sbinko soon received orders from the new pope to arrest the progress of heresy, and to watch the partisans of Wiclif, among whom Huss was represented as the most dangerous.. The archbishop, in obeying, followed his own inclination. The previous year he had required all the possessors of the books of Wiclif to bring them to the episcopal palace. Imboldened by the letter of the pontiff, without further information he caused them to be burnt, and thus provoked a formidable resentment. A great number of the burnt books belonged to members of the university of Prague. The archbishop had thus violated their privileges. Huss, doubly wounded by this act of episcopal despotism, undertook their defense; and as rector of the university, and a disciple of Wiclif, he protested against the iniquity of the sentence. The question was submitted to the university of Bologna, which decided against the violence of Sbinko. Strengthened by this judgment, Huss appealed to the pope, who cited the cause before him. This pope was John XXIII., (Balthasar Cossa,) successor of Alexander V.; and never was the tiara placed upon a more unworthy brow. It would be difficult to mention a crime of which he was not accused by his contemporaries, and of which he has not also acknowledged himself guilty. Every man who questioned the spiritual authority of a simoniacal pope, and preached the reformation of the manners of the clergy, was the natural enemy of John XXIII. He honored Huss with all his wrath. He cited him to his court, and committed his affair to the cardinal Colonna, before whom he summoned him to appear at Bologna. It was then seen what a prodigious influence Huss had been enabled to conquer. The king, the queen, the university, and a great number of the principal barons of Bohemia and Moravia, unitedly sent an embassy to the pope, to entreat him to excuse Huss from appearing in person. All was useless. John XXIII. rigorously pursued the process before new commissioners. The proxies of Huss were refused a hearing, and suffered great indignities, while he himself was excommunicated. The pope confirmed the sentence, and interdicted the city of

Prague. So long as Huss remained there, a prohibition was laid upon the celebration of mass, of baptism, the interment of the dead, and every other ordinance of religion. This anathema kindled a flame in the city, and provoked sedition and massacre. Then the character of Huss appeared in its true light, and it was seen how free was his opposition from personal ambition and interest. The court protected him; he was favored by the people; indignation against the clergy was general; he saw himself unjustly oppressed, borne down by a man who had become the object of almost universal contempt; but he profited not by so many advantages to throw off the authority which, even while attacking, he still respected. This Christian, so ardent and bold when thundering against the scandals and abuses of the church, was but a simple man, feeble and humble, when called to substitute the authority of his reason for that of his oppressors; and after vainly appealing to men, he appealed from men to God. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," he said, "very God and very man, when surrounded by priests, scribes, and Pharisees, his adversaries and judges, gave to his disciples the beautiful example of submitting their cause to the judgment of God. Seeing myself oppressed by an iniquitous sentence, and by the pretended excommunication of pontiffs, scribes, Pharisees, and judges in the seat of Moses, I follow that holy example, and appeal to God. I, John Huss, present this appeal to Jesus Christ, my Master and Judge, who knows and protects the cause of the humblest of men."

Huss at length left his dear chapel, and sought refuge in his village of Hussinetz. Thence he wrote to his disciples, acquainting them with the cause of his retreat: "Know, my well beloved," said he, "that if I have retired from the midst of you, it is to follow the precept and example of Christ, and that I may not give to the wicked a pretext to draw upon themselves eternal condemnation, and be to the good a cause of persecution and affliction. I have also withdrawn myself through fear that impious priests might longer forbid among you the preaching of the word of God; but I have not left you for the purpose of denying the divine truth, for which, with the help of God, I desire to die." In other letters he quoted the reply of the apostles Peter and John to those who wished to forbid the promulgation of the word: "It is better to obey God than men." He also said with St. Augustine, that "he who so flees persecution that the ministry is not abandoned by his retreat, does what Jesus Christ has commanded." His conduct was consistent with his words. Following the example of the Saviour, he went preaching in the towns and villages, attended by

a multitude, who listened with eagerness, wondering why this man, so modest, so grave, and at the same time so mild, should be proscribed as a demon by the priests, and be rejected by the church, when, without revolting against its spiritual authority, or the principles from which it drew its strength, he attacked only the abuses that periled its existence.

Most of the letters which Huss wrote at this interesting period of his life bear evidence of a vague presentiment of martyrdom. Thus, after thanking the new rector for the encouragement he had received from him, he adds: "It is to me a great consolation to reflect, that if I persevere in the cause of right, no persecution can make me abandon the truth. If I would live in Christ, must I not suffer in his name? What are the riches and favors of the world! what are opprobrium and outrage, when, if borne with humility, they give to the children of God immortal glory! What, in short, is death, if by losing this perishable life we strip off corruption to be clothed in life eternal! Ah! might it please God that this miserable body should be offered in sacrifice to the truth!"

Huss afterward strikingly portrayed the fearful license of the clergy, in which he beheld the antichrist; then giving way to his grief, he exclaimed: "Wo to me, wo, if I preach not, if I write not, if I weep not over such abominations! Alas! are there many of us to-day who should not say wo to ourselves? Behold, the time is coming, and is already come, when the angel of the Apocalypse cries, flying through the midst of heaven, 'Wo! wo to the inhabitants of the earth!'"

This cry was prophetic to the unfortunate country in which it was uttered; for through long years Bohemia presented a scene of blood and carnage. The retirement of Huss did not calm the agitation, and that which ever happens, happened also in this instance;—when persecution cannot strangle a doctrine in its birth, it gives to it wings and strength. The multitude recalled their preacher in the language proper to them—that of violence and fury. Blood flowed in Prague; the insulted priests were in peril; and Sbinko, powerless and hesitating between a besotted monarch and a furious people, quitted the city to implore the protection of the brother of Wenceslaus, Sigismund king of Hungary. Sbinko had become the declared adversary of the partisans of Huss; to them, therefore, his departure was a triumph. But soon a sinister rumor was spread: the archbishop had died on the road from poison. The Hussites were wrongly accused of this crime. The suspicion, though unjust, rapidly gained ground; and the tragic event which delivered Huss from a powerful enemy, created new

foes not less exasperated, and rendered the hatred of all more ardent and implacable.

According to the testimony of the historian* least favorable to Huss and his partisans, the latter had no part in the death of the archbishop; but at Prague there was little anxiety to examine the justice of imputations which were to one party a disgrace, and to the other a spur to revenge. The fire of civil war lay smoldering in the hearts of men, and to kindle it into a flame a just cause was no longer needed, but merely a pretext. The ascendency which Huss had acquired could be no illusion, for the caprice of fashion or an unreflecting infatuation was no longer sufficient to rally partisans or disciples to his doctrine. The hour approached when his friendship must bring with it dangers, and it was evident that each would soon have to answer for his esteem for the preacher of Bethlehem. But few, however, abandoned him at this critical moment. The queen and a great part of the people and nobility remained faithful; and among the lords and barons, Nicolas de Hussinetz, Wenceslaus Duba, Henri de Latzenbock, and more especially John de Chlum, adhered to him with a devotedness that was proof against every trial. Huss also found a lively sympathy from the students and men of learning; among the latter, however, one who had till then manifested for him the greatest esteem, a man who had long lived with him on terms of intimacy, Etienne Paletz, became his enemy. An adroit courtier, a priest ambitious of honor, Paletz feared that the affection which his master had shown him would one day become onerous, and he hastened to guard against an anticipated contingency. Grief for this defection was softened in the mind of Huss by the constancy of the most illustrious of his partisans, Jerome of Prague, whose name has remained inseparable from that of his master in the eyes of posterity. Of a temperament rash and audacious, vast intelligence, in speech eloquent and passionate,—these advantages and these defects were united in Jerome of Prague. He had successively studied at Oxford and several other universities of Europe, and had not tarried till his return to Bohemia to display his zeal against the Roman Church. Imprisoned at Vienna as a favorer of Wiclif, and released at the request of the university of Prague, he hastened to Huss in that city, and no longer regarded the pope and the cardinals. Among other problems, he boldly proposed the following: Whether the pope had more power than another priest; whether the bread of the eucharist, or the body of Christ, had more virtue in the mass of the Roman pontiff than in that of any other offi-

* Jean Cochlée.

ciating priest. It is related that on one occasion this same Jerome, disputing with a monk, and irritated by a too vigorous opposition, carried his violence so far as to throw his opponent into the Muldau. The monk reached the shore, "but," says the naive chronicler, "he found he had lost the thread of his argument, and was therefore unable to continue the discussion." Such was Jerome of Prague, whose contemporaries have awarded to him an intellectual power superior to that of Huss; but the latter, by his manners, his character, and his piety, possessed so great an authority that Jerome always yielded to him the ascendency.

Though superior to most of his contemporaries by his eminent qualities, by his faults Jerome belonged to his age,—a remarkable epoch, when a spirit of audacious violence agitated all classes of men, and everywhere provoked sanguinary disorders. The Schism offered to the ecclesiastics a continual cause of revolt. The bishops were rather soldiers than churchmen. How could it be otherwise, when three popes showed themselves more anxious to destroy each other, than careful to gain disciples to God and Christ? Among the popes, the most warlike, and the one most interested to excite the belligerent spirit of his partisans, was John XXIII.; for besides his spiritual authority, he was forced to defend his temporal domain, which had been often invaded and was continually menaced by his formidable enemy, Ladislaus of Hungary. At length, availing himself of his ghostly power, on the 9th of September, 1411, this pope thundered against Ladislaus a terrible bull, which prescribed to all patriarchs, bishops, and prelates, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, that on sabbaths and festivals, with ringing of bells, and tapers extinguished and cast to the earth, they should declare Ladislaus excommunicate and perjured, a schismatic and blasphemer, a relapsed heretic and sustainer of heretics, attainted of treason, a foe to the pope and the church. By the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus, he implored emperors, kings, princes, cardinals, and the faithful of every age and sex, to rescue the holy church, by pursuing to the utterance and exterminating Ladislaus and his defenders. Those who took the cross in this cause were promised the same indulgences secured to those who marched to the conquest of the Holy Land. A second bull, published at the same time, in which Angelo Corrario (Gregory XIII.) is called *the son of perdition, a heretic and schismatic*, was addressed to the pontifical commissioners. It promised remission of sins to preachers of the crusade, and to mendicant friars who should engage in the cause. It suspended or annulled the effect of all other indulgences, not even excepting

those of the holy see. These bulls, directed against a Christian prince, and for an interest purely temporal, filled the measure of fury that animated the see of Rome.

Shortly after his return to Prague, the legates and Albicus, the new archbishop, cited Huss before them, to answer on the subject of the bulls. "Will you obey the bull of the pope, and preach the crusade?" demanded the legates. Huss replied: "I have nothing more at heart than to obey the apostolic commands." The legates, who knew no difference between the commands of the pope and those of the apostles, turned toward Albicus and said: "You hear, my lord archbishop; he is willing to obey the apostolic commands." But Huss, determined to leave no doubt of his meaning, boldly replied, that were he to be burned, he would obey the orders of the pope no further than they were conformed to those of the apostles. This declaration broke up the interview. Huss then caused to be placed on the doors of the churches and monasteries of Prague an invitation to the public, especially to the doctors, priests, monks, and scholars, to dispute with him the following theses, to wit: If, in accordance with the law of Christ, Christians could in good conscience approve the crusade ordered by the pope against Ladislaus and his accomplices; and if such a crusade could result in the glory of God, the salvation of Christians, and the welfare of the kingdom of Bohemia.

At the day appointed, the concourse of people was prodigious, and the rector, alarmed, vainly endeavored to dissolve the assembly. A doctor of laws, a canon in the church, attempted a defense of the pope and his bulls; then turning to Huss, "You are a priest," said he, "and you abuse the pope, your spiritual father. Only bad birds befoul their own nests; Ham was cursed for exposing the shame of his father." A murmur then arose among the people, and stones were beginning to fly, when Huss interposed and calmed the storm. Jerome of Prague followed Huss, and closed his eloquent harangue by exclaiming, "Let our friends follow us. Huss and myself are going to the palace, where we will expose the vanity of these indulgences." The crowd dispersed. The students, says the historian of that period, followed Jerome as the most learned; but the people accompanied Huss in triumph to the chapel of Bethlehem.

This was the beginning of the furious commotions that occurred at Prague. Jerome continued to exasperate the public mind by the violence of his invectives against Rome. Huss, more calm and elevated, but not less ardent and resolved, completely refuted the bulls for the crusade, which he pronounced inhuman and

unchristian; and stigmatized indulgences as an impious profanation.

The reply of Huss to the bulls of John XXIII. created great excitement. The rejection or acceptance of the bulls became the rallying word of parties. They were accepted by the king, who was then at war with Ladislaus. The friendship of Wenceslaus, like that of most princes, was subordinate to the interest of his policy, and for a time he withdrew his protection from Huss. All who expected favors from the pope or the court declared for the bulls. Paletz, already an influential member of the clergy, seized this occasion to signalize his zeal; and showed himself the more ardent against his ancient master, as he had once openly declared himself his friend. But these disgraceful defections, though they incensed the multitude, rendered their preacher more dear to them. Some of the most furious partisans of Huss one day met in a public place, and bound themselves to enter every church, and insult the priests who should publish indulgences. The magistrates took the alarm. The rector summoned Huss and Jerome before him, and conjured them, as they valued their lives, to use their efforts to allay the sedition. They declined to tolerate the publication of the bulls, but engaged to oppose it with discretion. The sabbath following a fearful report was spread: three men had been thrown in prison for declaiming against indulgences. The students were roused, arms were seized, and Huss, followed by a crowd of people and scholars, repaired to the town hall, and demanded the release of the prisoners. The magistrates were deliberating in fear and perplexity, and one of them replied: "Dear master John, we are astonished that you should light a fire, in which you run the risk of being burnt yourself. It is hard for us to pardon those who spare not even the sanctuary, who fill the city with tumult, and who, if order is not restored, will deluge the streets with blood. Retire in peace, nevertheless, and your request shall be granted." Huss announced to the crowd that the prisoners were pardoned, and the people uttered a shout of joy; but soon streams of blood were seen to flow from the prison. The magistrates had taken a dangerous part,—that of inspiring terror after betraying their own fear. An executioner, secretly introduced, had beheaded the prisoners, and it was their blood that had been seen to flow. At this sight arose a wild commotion. The doors of the prison were forced, the dead bodies were seized, and carried in winding sheets to the vaults of the chapel of Bethlehem. There they were interred with funeral honors, while the scholars chanted round their tombs, *These are the saints who have given their lives*

for the gospel of God! Huss at first was silent; but at the next solemn festival he mounted his pulpit and cried, "These are the saints and martyrs!" Bohemia was roused, and Huss, in his invectives against the pope, overleaped all bounds of prudence. He attacked the despotism and simony of the pontiffs, the revelry and pomp of the priests;—he rejected the traditions of the church concerning fasts and abstinence, and to every authority opposed that of the Scriptures.

The pope had recourse to foreign powers; he craved the assistance of kings and universities against Huss. The illustrious Gerson, espousing the cause of the pontiff, with his own hand wrote to Conrad, the new archbishop of Prague, these remarkable words —remarkable as showing how strongly a superior mind was influenced by the spirit of the age: "If other remedies fail, there remains but to lay the axe to the root of this accursed tree. It is your duty to avail yourself to the utmost of the secular arm. The salvation of souls confided to your care imposes upon you this obligation." Pierre d'Ailly, another light of the university of Paris, was more guarded in his words, and probed the difficulty to its source. "It is expedient," said he, "that these new heresies and their authors should be driven from the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia; but I see not how it can be accomplished, but by bringing back the court of Rome to its ancient manners and customs."

This was, indeed, the great problem to be solved,—the problem which for so many years found no solution. It was in vain that a council of doctors assembled at Prague, and pretended to confound both Huss and his adherents. The latter responded with vigor, and a new interdict was hurled at the city. Huss again retired to his village, where he published his celebrated tract *On the Church*, of which we shall speak hereafter; another on the *Abominations of the Monks*, sufficiently explained by its title; and a third on *The Members of Antichrist*, a violent and passionate diatribe against the pope and his court. His style, abounding in Scripture quotation, and inspired by an ardent passion which sometimes degenerated into anger, presented many features that would revolt the delicacy of modern taste; but often it contained figures, allegories, and rhetorical touches that vividly recalled the prophets from whom he drew his inspiration. He thundered against all the inventions to swell the coffers of the church. Images, relics, legends, canonization, by turns became the object of his vehement attacks. He compared those who persecute and take the lives of the saints to hunters who gorge themselves upon their prey, and

afterward make its eulogy, to entice others to the chase; to the Jews, who, after killing the prophets, adorned and whitened their tombs; to the Romans, who murdered their emperors, and then raised to them statues, and enrolled them among the gods. He branded the worship of saints in heaven as an invention of devils, to turn men from the love and charity prescribed in the gospel toward saints upon earth.

We have no intimation, however, that Huss was conscious of the great revolution he was preparing, to which he was not permitted to attach his name. To comprehend the extent of his work, his influence in Europe, and the importance of the part he acted to the end with such constancy and courage, it is barely necessary to number his enemies and glance at their power.

The most formidable, John XXIII., he who thought to crush the reformer beneath the anathemas hurled at Ladislaus, was a prey to apprehensions in the midst of his court at Bologna. His infallibility, in the name of which he opened heaven and hell at his will, shielded him not from secret terrors; for a new emperor, a foe to the monstrous abuses of the clergy, Sigismund of Hungary, brother of Wenceslaus, had mounted the throne. This prince, whose youth had been marked by grave excesses, which were afterward chastened by sore trials, joined to a certain greatness of character, unquestioned talent and fervent devotion. A zealous Catholic, he had long devoted himself to the defense of the church; and the deplorable state in which he beheld her was to him a continual source of humiliation and grief. Three popes divided Christendom; and while John XXIII. was denouncing his rivals from Bologna, Gregory XII. at Rimini, and Benedict XIII. at Arragon, returned his maledictions with usury. The example of simony set by the pontiffs had corrupted the entire mass of the clergy. Bohemia, Moravia, a part of Germany, and England were agitated to their centres by the new opinions. Piety had no existence with the laity, but instead, a rivalry in superstition, which substituted dead formalities for the regeneration of the heart. Above the din of this universal anarchy in Europe arose the hoarse thunder of Mussulman hordes upon her frontiers, advancing like a stormy sea to wash out unnumbered iniquities, and efface the stains of the church in blood. Touched even to tears by the spectacle, Sigismund comprehended not its cause. He had greatness of soul, but his mental vision was bounded. In his double quality of emperor and devotee he abhorred all opposition, all independence of mind, and attributed the evils of Christendom to the partisans of the Schism and those of the new doctrines.

Against these, therefore, he united his forces. He believed that a general council, convoked for the purpose of extinguishing the Schism and strangling heresy, would restore the palmy days of the church. In the eyes of Sigismund and of the kings of Europe, the Council of Pisa was not a sufficient test, for at that epoch the imperial power and the authority of the church were antagonists. The emperor Robert had declared against the council, and the council was too soon dissolved. A simultaneous action and common accord of the spiritual and temporal powers were needed; the authority of the church must be sustained by that of the imperial sword; all Christendom must be convoked in general assembly, to extinguish heresy, and reform the church in its head and members. Such was the thought of Sigismund.

The contemplated council was an object of terror to John XXIII., whose alarm was increased by the knowledge that his own scandals had provoked the measure. He would willingly have denounced as rashness and impiety the design of the emperor; fain would he have responded to it by a new excommunication; but he felt himself sinking beneath the fatal results of his own misdeeds, and his thunders at last were chained. His vanquisher, Ladislaus, pursued him with a mortal hatred: he was master of Rome: the pontiff's last hope against him was in the sword of Sigismund; and prostrated, as it were, beneath the weight of an inexorable necessity, John XXIII., in his resolutions, bore the semblance of a man struck with vertigo. It was of the last importance to his personal independence that the city chosen for the congress should be without the empire; but all his proceedings were stamped with the seal of fatality. The imperial city of Constance was designated, and when the pontiff learned the choice by his legates it was too late to dictate another. Pressed between Ladislaus his enemy and Sigismund his defender, who each inspired him with equal terror; harrowed by the remembrance of a life passed in crime, which was soon to be made a spectacle for the gaze of the world; cursing his own folly, he tremblingly bowed his head, and confirmed by his impotence the words which escaped an historian who witnessed the scene: "None can avoid what God has resolved."

The convocation of a general council was at length determined; the place of meeting was fixed. On the 30th of October, 1413, Sigismund published an edict, in which he announced that, in perfect accordance with Pope John XXIII., whom he styled his sovereign lord, a council would assemble at Constance on the first of November in the following year; that this city had been chosen

as a place where entire freedom could be secured to all. In his character of defender and advocate of the church, a title which the canons accorded to the emperor, Sigismund invited to the council Gregory XII., Benedict XIII., the king of France, and other sovereigns. "The malice of men," wrote he, in his letter to Charles VI., "has reached such a height, that unless a prompt remedy be applied, it is to be feared that ere long a cure will become impossible." John XXIII., in concert with the emperor, also invited all who had authority in Christendom. The object was not only to reform the church and extinguish the Schism, but to strangle heresy in its birth. Now there was a man in Bohemia, who by his name, by his writings, by the boldness of his words, and especially by the troublesome brilliancy of his virtues, represented in his single person all the innovators of Europe. That man was John Huss. It was necessary to confound them all in his person, and he was cited before the council. Under date of October 14, 1414, the emperor sent him a safe-conduct, by which he recommended him to all princes, ecclesiastical and secular, that each might leave him free to *pass*, *repass*, and *remain*, and furnished him with all the securities needful for the honor of the imperial majesty.

Never, since the first era of Christianity, had such preparations been made for so imposing a meeting; never had graver questions been more solemnly debated. The point at issue was, whether an anathema should be hurled at all who refused to believe that a simoniacal and impious priest could open or shut heaven at his will; whether it were an unpardonable crime to regard the union of the spiritual power and purity of morals in the person of the priest as indispensable to the exercise and authority of his ministry; it was, in short, whether Roman Catholicism could be reformed; whether the church which declared salvation impossible without her pale had power to save herself.

The composition of the council was worthy of the grave questions about to be debated. It contained representatives from every kingdom, republic, and state in Europe, and from almost every city or community. Two popes, John XXIII. and Martin V., successively presided; the first at the commencement of the session, the latter toward its close. The assembly was composed of twenty-three cardinals, twenty archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, an equal number of prelates, a multitude of abbots and doctors, and eighteen hundred priests. Among the sovereigns present in person may be noticed those of Mayence and Saxony, the elector palatine, and the dukes of Austria, Bavaria, and

Silesia. Many margraves, counts, and barons, and a great number of gentlemen, were also present. But among them all, distinguished by rank and power, the emperor stood pre-eminent. An intrepid though often unfortunate warrior, drawing new vigor even from adversity, a firm and able statesman, Sigismund would perhaps be counted among sovereigns who have done most honor to the imperial crown, had not the prejudices of a narrow and superstitious devotion too often suppressed the dictates of his heart and mind. Like too many princes of his time, his motto was, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare;* but he forgot, in assuming the character of protector of the council and defender of the faith, that he who, in the name of religion, would inspire respect for his character, should commence by showing respect for his word. He had, notwithstanding, great influence over the council, and his will was the cohesive power that for so many years kept united in a single body such diverse and opposing elements. Science and letters had also their representatives in this assembly, and several of those who were lights of their age appeared with honor beside the dignitaries of the church and the empire. There appeared the illustrious and erudite Pogga, of Florence, who gave to the world Quintilian and Lucretius; Theodoric of Nismes, whom Providence seems to have placed near the source of so many scandals, to unveil and scourge their iniquities. With these must also be mentioned Æneas Sylvius, afterward pope under the title of Pius II., less celebrated in the eyes of posterity for his triple crown than by his historic pen. But among the most learned and worthy, none exercised greater influence in the council by his personal merit than the chancellor John Charlier Gerson, and his predecessor Pierre d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambray, surnamed *the eagle of France.* Both did honor to the university of Paris at a time when all the national glories of France seemed to have chosen that celebrated body for their last asylum.

Already had most of the members of the council arrived at Constance, when two men, foes to each other, and not more distant in rank than in character,—a pope and a simple excommunicated priest, John XXIII. and John Huss,—were on their way to the city, their minds equally clouded by dark forebodings. The equipage of the pontiff being overset on a mountain of the Tyrol, which commanded a view of Constance and its lake, the accident appeared to John XXIII. an alarming omen. "Through Satan," said he, "I have fallen here. Why did I not rather remain at Bologna?" Surveying the city in the valley, "I see, I see," he exclaimed; "this is the ditch where foxes are taken." The

extinction of the Schism being the principal object of the council, he knew that the first step to attain this end was the deposition of the three men between whom Christendom was divided, thus to make way for a new pontiff, whose elevation should appear the expression of the general will. He had therefore feigned a readiness to convoke the assembly, that he might be able to dissolve it whenever his interest should prescribe the measure.

The presentiments of Huss were equally strong and well founded. Before leaving Bohemia he wrote a letter to a priest named Martin, on which were inscribed these remarkable words: "I pray you not to open this letter before receiving certain news of my death." In defiance of numerous warnings of the insincerity of the emperor, he departed, accompanied by several lords devoted to his cause, among whom were Henri de Latzenbock and the faithful John de Chlum. His journey was a triumph. The people everywhere flocked to meet him. Even the magistrates harangued him, and escorted him to the entrance of their cities; and this almost unanimous regard of the people was at once a homage rendered to his character, and an eloquent protest against the corruptions of the clergy.

On his arrival at Constance, Huss lodged at the house of a poor widow, whom he likened to the widow of Sarepta that received Elijah; but though she offered him a shelter, she could not insure him an asylum. Two of his greatest enemies, Etienne Paletz and Michael Causis, the latter of whom had once been curate of a church in Old Prague, had anticipated Huss in their arrival at Constance. Both were furious against him, by reason of the advantages they hoped to draw from his fall. The former was anxious to clear himself of an old attachment; the latter, a disgraced man, vainly hoped to re-establish a ruined reputation by attacking that of a companion odious to the church. In vain were the complaints of Huss. He was refused a hearing, and soon was forbidden to preach. His defenders, Latzenbock and John de Chlum, remonstrated with the pope, who returned for answer: "Had John Huss murdered my own brother, he should yet be safe at the council." Soon after, however, in contempt of this assurance, and of the imperial safe-conduct, the pope, at the demand of the cardinals, instigated by Causis and Paletz, gave orders for the arrest of Huss, who was torn from his residence, and imprisoned in the monastery of the Dominicans, and afterward in the castle of Gotleben. The Bohemian lords protested against this violation of plighted faith; earnest remonstrances were addressed to Sigismund. But the pope encouraged the emperor: he proved to him

from the sacred canons that no one is bound to keep faith with a heretic; he also cited the decretals, and drew from them his justification for refusing to the accused an advocate. Huss soon falling sick in prison, the pontiff appeared to relent; he sent his physicians to visit him, and took a lively interest in his convalescence. "He doubtless feared," said a contemporary, "that a natural death would rob him of his victim." But John XXIII. could not enjoy his triumph over the man who had poured contempt upon his impotent thunders. The fearful scandal of his manners but too well served for a pretext to his enemies; he saw the storm approaching, and, wishing to avoid it, fled from Constance under a shameful disguise. Soon abandoned by his protector, the duke of Austria, he fell into the power of Sigismund when the council, at its fifth session, had just solemnly declared the authority of general councils superior to that of the pope. Convicted of simony, and crimes too enormous for enumeration, John XXIII. was deposed. He publicly subscribed his own sentence, and was imprisoned with Huss in the same castle of Gotleben. What cause of joy for almost any other man in the place of Huss, to see a proud pontiff, a mortal enemy, stripped of his iniquitous power, and sharing the fate of his victim! But the soul of Huss was not exalted at this unlooked-for incident; his letters show him neither elated at the triumph nor desirous of revenge.

Huss was not ignorant of the motives that influenced the condemnation of the pope; he knew that the members of the council, in pronouncing it, had aimed, not at the enormity of the ecclesiastical power, but at its abuse in the hands of a man whom they hated, and whom the extinction of the Schism rendered it necessary to destroy. The council had preluded the sentence of the pope by a decree against Wiclif and his works: they ordered his bones to be disinterred, burnt, and scattered to the winds. After doing honor to the doctrines of the Roman faith by venting their fury upon the dead, it remained to the council to offer in sacrifice two living victims. Informed of the captivity of Huss, Jerome, his ardent disciple, hastened to defend him, and soon shared his fate; he also was loaded with chains. The favor of a common imprisonment was refused them. Huss bore this new trial with Christian constancy; all his letters and all contemporary witnesses attest his patience, his angelic mildness, and his resignation to the will of Heaven. If indignation had formerly cast over his acts or writings a shade of violence or bitterness, these defects had now given place to the contrary virtues; and it pleased God that he should never be more worthy of the crown of immortality in

heaven, than at the moment when his enemies were disposed to crown him with martyrdom on earth.

The day of trial at length arrived; and such was the eagerness of his judges, that the interference of the emperor was needed to secure to Huss a hearing before condemnation. On the 5th of June, 1515, the fathers of the council having assembled in a hall of the convent of the Franciscans, Huss, loaded with chains, was brought before them. He had hardly entered, when his works were presented to him for acknowledgment or disavowal. He acknowledged them, and offered to retract whatever they contained of error. The reading of the condemnatory articles instantly commenced; but ere the first was read, on every side arose a furious clamor. Huss endeavored to defend himself by the authority of Scripture and the fathers; but he was loaded with invectives, taunts, and sarcasms. "All," says Luther, in his strong language, "demeaned themselves like wild boars; their hairs bristled, they knitted their brows, and gnashed their teeth at Huss." He, meanwhile, surprised and motionless, sorrowfully surveyed the assembly, seeking his judges where only enemies were present. "I expected here," said he, "another reception." These words excited new tumult. He was silent, and his silence was interpreted, with insulting joy, as an acknowledgment of his errors. The fathers, finding it impossible to proceed, adjourned the sitting.

Apprised of this great scandal, the emperor resolved, by his presence, to restrain the passions of the assembly at its next meeting. He was present in person, surrounded by a retinue of princes and gentlemen; and when Cardinal de Viviers, who presided, had opened the session, a numerous guard introduced John Huss. Fronting him were his cruel adversaries, Paletz and Michael de Causis, careful to draw from his writings and their own recollection all that would insure him a capital sentence. On the opposite side, behind the emperor, were his faithful protectors, Wenceslaus Duba and John de Chlum, men more experienced in arms than in a war of words, but who, even in this new field, failed neither in address nor courage.

At this second audience the examination of Huss turned principally upon the eucharist, and his opinion on this point was found conformable to that of the church. His appeal to Christ against the excommunication of the pope was then imputed to him as a crime; and he was called to justify himself for having commended the works of Wiclif at Prague, and provoked troubles and sedition in his struggle against the pope. He was accused of saying that

he came to the council of his own free-will, and that neither king nor emperor had power to constrain his presence. Huss assented: "There were not wanting in Bohemia," he said, "lords who would have insured me in their domains a secret and inviolable asylum." This reply having raised a tumult, the intrepid de Chlum boldly exclaimed, "John Huss speaks truth; for though I am one of the least of the lords of Bohemia, I am strong enough to defend him a year against all the forces of the emperor and the king." Sigismund, in his turn, endeavored to ward off the reproach of violating his word, by giving to his safe-conduct a false interpretation, and closed by exhorting Huss to submission: "For," said he, "far from encouraging your errors and obstinacy, we would light the fire with our own hands rather than tolerate them longer." Huss calmly replied: "Sire, for the safe-conduct you have granted me, my first thanks are due to your clemency—" Dreading the effect of such an exordium, John de Chlum interrupted his friend. "Confine yourself," said he, "to a defense of the obstinacy which the emperor lays to your charge." Huss mildly repeated his accustomed defense: "I came not with the intention of maintaining aught with stubbornness. Let me be shown any thing better than what I have taught, and I am ready to retract." At these words the soldiers took him in charge, and the sitting was closed.

At the third audience Huss was called to reply to a series of articles drawn from his works, particularly from his tract on the church, and his writings against Paletz. In these works, as in all his discourses, he declared himself a Catholic, and that his doctrines differed from those of the Roman faith only as touching the authority of the pope and the priests, which he could no longer acknowledge than while it accorded with the Scriptures. The principal condemnatory articles were reduced to the following points:—1. The pope, as vicar of Christ, has no power if he conform not his conduct and manners to the example of Christ and St. Peter. 2. Ecclesiastical obedience is an invention of priests, without explicit authority from Scripture. 3. A faithful priest ought to preach, notwithstanding a false excommunication. 4. No interdiction should be laid upon the people, because Christ did not interdict the Jews on account of the persecutions he endured. 5. If a pope, a bishop, or a prelate be unholy in life, he is neither pope, bishop, nor prelate.

Huss acknowledged these articles as faithfully extracted from his works, but he added that the last should be understood with a restriction, to wit: that wicked priests cease not

to be popes, prelates, and priests as to their outward office among men, though they are no longer such before God.

Other accusations were brought against Huss by numerous witnesses, who gave a false or forced interpretation to his words and acts. "You have promised," said the cardinal of Cambray, "to defend none of the articles of Wiclif; and yet, by the testimony of many witnesses, you censured the condemnation of his works."—"Reverend father," replied Huss, "it is not my intention to defend either the errors of Wiclif or those of any other man; but my conscience not permitting me to impugn a doctrine not shown to be false by the Scriptures, I could not subscribe to that condemnation."

Huss, borne down by mental and physical suffering, after a long examination was remanded to prison, where he was attended by the faithful John de Chlum. "O," said he, recalling this incident in one of his letters, "what consolation was it to me, in the midst of my affliction, to see my lord John de Chlum extend to me his hand,—to me, a miserable heretic, languishing in chains, and already condemned by my enemies!"

By order of the council a form of recantation was prepared, and the next day it was presented by the Cardinal d'Ostie for the signature of Huss. The council exhorted him to abjure his errors and submit to his sentence, commending himself to the mercy of his judges. Here the true character of Huss appeared in its strongest light. Many before him had suffered death for defending new dogmas, and doctrines which they themselves had proposed; and perhaps the spur of self-love had aided their constancy. But Huss had advanced no novelties. It was rather on questions of discipline than of doctrine that he opposed the authority of the Scriptures to that of the church; and in this respect he was far outstripped by Wiclif. Self-love had no part in his firmness; it was evident that he devoted himself to death for the truth as conceived by his reason. In the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity, steadfastness of soul constitutes his greatness, and his strength was also his glory. "I cannot sign this recantation," said he to the cardinal; "first, because it condemns as impious divers propositions which I hold to be truths; and next, because I should thus bring scandal upon the people of God to whom I have taught these truths." He persevered to the end in this disposition, affirming not that his writings were free from error, but refusing to acknowledge with his lips that which was not clear to his conscience.

Alarmed at the impression which the death of a man so celebrated,

whose holy life presented so great a contrast to that of most of his judges, would produce in Bohemia, Germany, and Europe, the cardinals and bishops were unceasing in their efforts to obtain a recantation from his mouth. "The council," urged several, "is arbiter supreme in cases of conscience; and if there be perjury in the act it demands, the council alone is responsible to God." A doctor so far forgot himself as to say, "If the council should affirm that you have but one eye, though you have two, you are bound to agree with the council."—"While God preserves my reason," replied Huss, "I shall be careful to give no such assent, though the universe entire should urge me."

From this time he gave all his thoughts to preparation for death, and to lessening the pain of a cruel separation from his friends, by fortifying their hope and confidence in God. In a letter to his faithful disciples in Bohemia he says: "I write this in prison and in chains, expecting to-morrow my sentence of death, with full confidence that I shall never be abandoned by God,—that he will never permit me to disgrace his holy truth by confessing what false witnesses have wickedly alledged against me. When, through the merits of Christ, we shall meet in the realms of eternal peace, you will learn the mercy of God to me, and how he has sustained me through all my temptations and trials."

Huss was so superior to all resentment, that he chose for confessor Etienne Paletz,—he who had betrayed his friendship, and had shown such eager haste for his death. Another, however, was sent; but Paletz, overcome by remorse, and by the magnanimity of his victim, was constrained to pay him a visit, and shed tears in his presence. Huss asked his forgiveness for any offensive word that might have escaped him. Paletz entreated him to abjure, exhorting him not to consider the shame of a recantation, but solely the good which might be hoped to result. "Is not the shame of condemnation and punishment greater before men than that of abjuration?" asked Huss. "How then can you believe that I am restrained by false shame? But tell me, Paletz, if you were falsely accused of errors, what would you do? would you abjure them?"—"It would be hard," replied Paletz, and again he wept.

But among those who were anxious to obtain a recantation from Huss, none was more ardent or earnest than the emperor. Sigismund, through his own fault, had placed himself in a false position. John Huss had come to the council on the faith of his word and under his safeguard. In delivering him to the flames, the emperor feared the secret reproaches of conscience, and the wrath of an indignant people. If, on the other hand, he shielded

him with his protection after abandoning him to his judges, and saved him from punishment after permitting his condemnation, he endangered his influence in the council, whose narrow prejudices, as well as his title of defender of the church, enjoined upon him the execution of its decrees. The abjuration of Huss could alone draw the emperor from this dilemma; and to obtain it he spared neither entreaty, seduction, nor menace. All was vain. His efforts but inspired Huss with pity and sorrow. "Put not your trust in princes of the earth," writes he to his dear Bohemians: "I had been told that Sigismund would deliver me from my enemies; he was the first to condemn me." Huss, by his firmness, forced the emperor to suffer the shame of violating his faith, and revenged himself by stripping him of the power to save him from the flames.

It is a striking proof of the justice of the cause of Huss, that while his enemies, alarmed at their triumph, entreated him to live, and avoid the sentence which they themselves had pronounced, his friends exhorted him to persevere to the death. "Dear friend in Christ," writes John de Chlum, "in the name of God all powerful, in the name of thy salvation, and of the great cause of truth, depart not from it through fear of losing this miserable life. It is for thy greatest good that God hath visited thee with this affliction. Thy friends at Prague rejoice that thou hast borne such a trial for the truth." Huss desired this noble and faithful friend to witness his death, and the night before the day of his suffering he wrote these touching words: "O thou kind and most amiable friend, may God be thy recompense. I entreat thee not to leave me till thou hast seen all consumed. Rather please God that I may be led to the stake before thee, than be tortured as I am by so many perfidious arts."

On the sixth of July, 1415, Huss was led from his prison to the council. Cardinal de Viviers, as before, presided. The emperor was present, with all the princes of the empire. The reading of mass having commenced when Huss arrived, he was detained without until its conclusion, that the holy mysteries might not be profaned by the presence of so great a heretic. A high table was placed in the midst of the church; on it were laid the priestly vestments, with which Huss was to be clothed that he might be afterward stripped of them. Before this table he was commanded to sit, on a stool sufficiently high to make him a spectacle to all. In a low voice he uttered a long prayer, and at the same time the bishop of Lodi commenced a sermon on this text of St. Paul: *That this body of sin may be destroyed.* The discourse was so

violent against the Schism and its authors, that at first one might have supposed that the antipopes, and not John Huss, were about to be burnt. The bishop concluded, however, by addressing these words to Sigismund: "Destroy heresy and error, and especially (pointing to Huss) *this obstinate heretic.*" After the sermon, four bishops, deputies of nations, publicly produced Huss for condemnation.

A certain number of censured articles were read from Wiclif, and afterward thirty condemnatory articles from the works of Huss. He wished to make a separate reply to each article, but the cardinal of Cambray enjoined him to reply to all at once. Huss affirmed that he was unequal to so great an effort of memory; but the cardinal of Florence commanded silence, and the officers of the council were ordered to prevent his speaking. Then Huss, in the name of God, conjured the prelates to permit him to justify himself before the people; "after which," added he, "dispose of me as you will." But the prelates persisting in their refusal, Huss, raising his eyes and hands toward heaven, in a loud voice commended his cause to the sovereign Judge of the universe. After the reading of extracts from his books, the depositions of witnesses were read, but no names were disclosed. Then his appeal to Christ was again imputed to him as a crime. But Huss renewed it, as a just and legitimate appeal, founded on the example of Christ himself. Accused of despising the excommunication of the pope, he replied: "I have not despised it; but as I believed it not legitimate, I continued the functions of my priesthood. I sent my proxies to Rome; they were abused and imprisoned. This has induced me to be present at this council of my own free-will, under the public faith of the emperor who is now present." In uttering these words Huss fixed his eyes upon Sigismund, and a lively blush suffused the imperial brow.*

The refusal of Huss to abjure having been heard, two sentences were read, one of which devoted all his writings to the flames; the other condemned him to degradation, as a true and manifest heretic, guilty of publicly teaching errors long condemned by the church of God; of advancing many things scandalous, rash, and offensive to pious ears, to the great opprobrium of the divine Majesty, and

* The memory of this fact was long preserved in Germany, and in the following century was not without influence on the success of the reformation accomplished by Luther. When, at the celebrated Diet of Worms, the enemies of Luther pressed Charles V. to arrest him, in defiance of the safe-conduct which he had granted, "I have no desire," replied the emperor, "to repeat the blush of Sigismund."

detriment of the Catholic faith; of having obstinately persisted to scandalize Christians by his appeal to Christ as the sovereign Judge, to the contempt of the apostolic see.

During the reading of this sentence Huss several times exclaimed against it, and especially against the accusation of obstinacy. "I have ever desired," said he, "and I still desire, to be better instructed in the Scriptures. I declare that my love for truth is such, that if with a single word I could destroy all the errors of heretics, there is no peril I would not confront to accomplish such an object." He then took God to witness his innocence, and implored pardon for his judges and accusers. Now commenced the ceremony of degradation. The bishops clothed Huss in the priestly vestments, and placed a chalice in his hand, as if for the celebration of mass. Thus clad, the prelates again exhorted him to abjure; but, turning toward the people, he boldly declared that he would not scandalize and seduce the faithful by an abjuration so hypocritical, and again protested his innocence. They then caused him to descend from his seat, and first took from him the chalice, saying, "O Judas accursed, who hast abandoned the counsel of peace, and entered into that of the Jews, we take from thee this chalice, filled with the blood of Jesus."—"I hope, through God's mercy," replied Huss, "that from this day forth I shall drink of this cup in his kingdom." His vestments were then stripped from him one by one, over each of which were pronounced some words of imprecation; and when the marks of tonsure were about to be erased, there rose a dispute whether it should be done with scissors or a razor. "See," said Huss, turning to the emperor, "they cannot even agree among themselves on the manner of insulting me." On his head was placed a crown, or mitre of paper in form of a pyramid, on which were painted devils of a frightful figure, with the inscription,—THE HERESIARCH; and in this state the prelates devoted his soul to the demons. But Huss commended his spirit to God, saying that he bore with joy this crown of opprobrium, for the love of Him who had borne a crown of thorns.

The church then disowned him, declared him of the laity, and as such delivered him to the secular arm to be conducted to punishment. By order of Sigismund, he was instantly delivered by the elector palatine, vicar of the empire, to the magistrate of Constance, who placed him in the hands of the ministers of justice. He marched between four valets of the city to the place of execution. The princes followed with an escort of eight hundred men at arms; and the concourse of people was so prodigious, that

a bridge broke down beneath the multitude. Huss was made to pass before the episcopal palace, where a fire was consuming his books. He smiled, and protested against the act. Approaching the place of suffering, he fell on his knees and recited some of the penitential psalms, repeating often these words: "Lord Jesus, have pity upon me..... O God, into thy hands I commit my soul." Wishing to speak to the people in German, the elector palatine forbade it, and ordered him to be burned. Huss exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, for thy sake I endure with humility this cruel death; and I pray thee to pardon my enemies." While he prayed, his eyes raised toward heaven, his paper crown fell off. He smiled; but the soldiers again replaced it, in order, said they, that it might be burnt with the devils whom he had served. Having obtained permission to speak to his guards, he thanked them in German for the treatment he had received, and declared that he hoped to reign with Christ after suffering for his gospel. He was then bound by a chain to the stake, where he made some pious reflections on the ignominious sufferings of the Saviour. His face being toward the east, complaint was made of this favor shown to a heretic. He was turned to the west, and the fagots were placed about him. The elector palatine approached, attended by the count d'Oppeinheim, marshal of the empire, and again invited him to retract; but Huss declared that with joy he sealed with his blood what he had written and taught. The elector having retired, the funeral pile was lighted. The courage and holy fervor of Huss increased with his pains. He prayed and sang pious hymns while the flames permitted him utterance. The remains of his body were torn in pieces by the executioner. His ashes were carefully collected and thrown to the Rhine.

Thus perished, in the flower of his age, a man whose character did honor to the Christian church; and it is difficult, at the first glance, to discover the true causes of his death. We find these words in an ancient manuscript copy at the head of his works: *While Huss declaimed only against the vices of the laity, all affirmed that he had the Spirit of God; but no sooner had he attacked the ecclesiastics than he became odious, for this was probing the sore.* Many before him, however, had with equal force declaimed with impunity against indulgences and the abuses of the clergy, against the pope and the Roman Church. To be convinced of this, we need but read the writings of his contemporaries,—of Pierre d'Ailly, of Clemengis, and more especially of the illustrious Gerson. The latter, in his celebrated treatise on

the reformation of the church, acknowledged infallibility only in the church universal, of which all Christians are members, and Jesus Christ is the Head, and not in the particular church styled Apostolic and Roman. The *Decretals*, the *Clementines*, and other constitutions and laws made to favor popes, in the eyes of Gerson, were but inventions of fraud and ambition, to sustain the Papal dignity which Christ has eternally conferred on those who love God in truth. Huss rarely went further on this subject; but he particularly provoked the hatred of his order by his earnest declamations against the temporal possessions of ecclesiastics, in which he saw the source of the corruption of the clergy; and above all by his esteem for Wiclif, the whole of whose doctrines, however, he was far from embracing. But, in imitation of Wiclif, to obtain necessary reforms Huss addressed himself rather to the people who suffered from abuses, than to the clergy who employed them for their own profit. Like Wiclif, he also opposed the authority of the Bible to that of the church. He appealed from his judges to Christ; and though he supported no new opinion, this was a sufficient harbinger of a revolution in dogmas and discipline. It was presenting the mirror of truth to those who had most cause to blush at its sight, and to whom the truth was an insult. The condemnation of Huss was a solemn proof by which the Catholic Church demonstrated its impotence to heal its own wounds and answer the wants of the people. It was easier, said an ancient author, to depose a wicked pope, than to compel the clergy to refrain from avarice, ambition, and other passions which formed the sources of their disorders. The Roman court drew too great profit from dispensations, exemptions, indulgences, and a thousand arbitrary impositions, to renounce the traffic. The new pope, Martin V., was hardly elected, when, having adopted some unimportant amendments, he hastened to dissolve the council. All reformation was thus postponed, and the event justified the prediction of an orator: *They strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel.* What reformation could be expected from an assembly which commenced by giving the reformers to the flames? Had Huss lived, he doubtless would have gone further; and after laying the foundation of his faith on the authority of the Scriptures, he might have deduced from this great principle important consequences. So thought Sigismund; and wishing to prevent a religious revolution, he hastened its outbreak. But what Huss would have been able to do had he lived, was surpassed by the commotion caused by his death. And when, after him, his friend and generous disciple, Jerome of Prague, had followed his heroic

example; when, with matchless eloquence, he had been heard to declare his master a saint in heaven, in the face of the council which had devoted his soul to hell; when, by proclaiming the same principles, he had obtained the same crown of martyrdom, the effect of this double condemnation was immense,—irresistible. Their ashes had been thrown to the Rhine; but the dust of the soil with which they had mingled was religiously collected and borne to Bohemia. The disciples of Huss recalled the dreams and visions in which their master had read the future, and repeated with enthusiasm the words that were asserted to have fallen from his lips. He had said that the domestic fowl whose name* he bore had little strength of wing, but that others should follow him who would soar above the snares of his enemies. Some affirmed that he said to his judges, "*After a hundred years you shall answer to God and to me.*"

From most of the pulpits in Bohemia went forth an indignant cry. Fires were everywhere lighted on the heights at the anniversary of his death, as a symbol of his suffering and an appeal to vengeance. Soon appeared the avenger. John Ziska drew from its sheath his invincible sword. The Hussites rallied to the standard of the chalice, and Germany demanded by arms, and the brutal force of the masses, what she had vainly expected and implored from the wisdom of her princes. Then followed that which ever follows when the good have succumbed to the peaceful triumph of their principles: the ranks of their successors, of those who contend for the same doctrines, are filled, on the one hand, by fanatics who think to have lighted the torch of faith when they have extinguished that of reason; and, on the other, by grasping and violent men, who speak of reforms, but whose only work is to ravage and destroy. Hence, in the new views tumultuously proclaimed is found an alliance too often impure,—a deplorable mixture of good and evil, which alarms men of true wisdom and piety. It is thus until time separates the effect of human passions from the work of reform. The good and the true alone survive, and the workmen fail not to secure their triumph. After a hundred years of calamity and blood, the harvest was ripe in Germany: the time had come to separate the wheat from the tares. Luther appeared, and gave his name to the glorious Reformation of which Wiclif was the father, and, under him, John Huss the immortal precursor.

* Huss, in Bohemian, signifies *goose*.

ART. IV.—1. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice; or, a Defense of the Catholic Doctrine that Holy Scripture has been since the Times of the Apostles the sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice to the Church, against the dangerous Errors of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times, and the Romanists, as, particularly, that the Rule of Faith is "made up of Scripture and Tradition together," &c. In which also the Doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c., are fully discussed.* By WILLIAM GOODE, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Rector of St. Antholin, London. In two vols., 8vo., pp. 494, 604. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1842.

2. *A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies existing at this Day in Religion.* By JOHN DAILLE, Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church of Paris. Translated from the French, and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M. A., with a Preface by the Rev. G. Jekyll, LL.B. First American edition, revised and corrected for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. 12mo., pp. 376. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1842.

3. *The Rule of Faith.—A Sermon, preached in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, June* 13, 1838, *at the Primary Visitation of the Right Reverend William, Lord Bishop of Chichester.* By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, M. A., Rector of Lavington, Sussex, and late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Published at the request of the Lord Bishop and the Clergy. Second edition. 8vo., pp. 192. London: printed for J. G. F. & J. Rivington. 1839.

4. *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review.* Number for July, 1842. Article II.

WHAT constitutes the divine rule of faith and practice, is a question which has been variously answered. We shall not, in this paper, attempt to show what reply has been given to this momentous question by heathen philosophers, or the mere theists of modern times. That they should be in doubt with regard to it, become bewildered in the mazes of idle speculations, or come to widely different results, is not marvelous. But that Christians, who profess to have received a revelation from God, expressly designed as a foundation of faith and a guide in manners, should differ upon this question, would scarcely be credited if the fact were not too obvious to admit of doubt.

Two classes of opinions upon this question have been enter-

tained for at least twelve hundred years. One is, that the Holy Scriptures *alone* constitute that rule; and the other, that to the Scriptures is to be added the voice of the church. In these classes respectively there are several modifications. In the first, we have those who admit that the voice of God is in the *sense of Scripture*, and this sense is to be learned by the use of the various helps which God in his providence has afforded us; and also those who give the most unqualified latitude to private interpretation. The diversity of opinion upon this theory seems to be more in words than in sense; as perhaps there are none who go so far as to assert either that the Holy Scriptures are all so plain as that they need no explanation, or, on the other hand, that any of the various means of Biblical explanation and illustration, however important, are of divine authority. While those of this class hold, that for all practical purposes the Scriptures are plain and easy to be understood; that is, so far as any matter of faith or practice is essential to salvation, it is clearly revealed in God's word, and the plainest minds who will read it with attention, need not err; yet they admit and maintain that for the clear understanding of many portions of Scripture, reference must be had to the various helps to its correct interpretation; such as philology, the history of ancient times and usages, the opinions of commentators, ancient and modern, and the direct aid of the Holy Spirit.

On the other hand, those who unite with the Scriptures the voice of the church, differ as to what portion of the church is to be admitted as a witness, whether the ancient church, embracing the first four or five centuries, or the church catholic. And then, again, there are differences of opinion upon the term *catholic*. The question is, whether it is to be understood of the whole body of believers throughout the world, or of a general council, or of the Greek Church, or of the Church of Rome, or of the Church of England. All of these have their abettors, and, of course, in their affirmative positions, are at odds. But they all agree in denying that *the Scriptures alone constitute the divine rule of faith and practice*. Some maintain that *patristical tradition* constitutes the *unwritten* PORTION *of God's word*, delivered orally by Christ and his holy apostles, and handed down to us through the fathers. But others, that God has authorized the church authoritatively to interpret the Scriptures, and that her interpretations are inspired by the Holy Ghost, and consequently to be relied upon as infallibly true. It is common to the Romish and the Oxford divines to take each of these positions, and insist upon one or both, as occasion requires.

The English reformers, together with many eminent divines of the English Church who have lived since the Reformation, agree in paying a high degree of deference to the opinions of the fathers, but still consider their testimony *human*, and consequently *fallible*. We have for ourselves not the least disposition to question the competency or credibility of the fathers as witnesses of facts which they knew. In relation to these, when their testimony has not been corrupted or mutilated, we believe their declarations as high a species of human testimony as is to be found in the records of antiquity. But there are many abatements to be made to the weight of their testimony when it is adduced in proof of *doctrines* which were supposed to have existed in the apostolic age. This will be shown at large hereafter.

Mr. Wesley, after he had given us a plan, or "sketch," of church organization in this country, left us "at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the *primitive church*." From this we see that this great man venerated "the primitive church," and considered a high degree of respect due to it in matters of church order and discipline. And we have no fears that the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country will ever contemn or neglect the primitive pattern, either in doctrine, discipline, or usages. But then, be it observed, *first*, that by the primitive church we mean the church near the apostolic age; and, *secondly*, by *following* the primitive church, we mean only so far as it harmonizes with the word of God. We take nothing as of *divine authority* which is not *clearly expressed* or *evidently implied* in God's most blessed word; nothing as being necessary for faith or manners which is not therein expressed or thereby capable of evident proof.

We shall now proceed to present the twofold rule in detail, with the grounds upon which it is made by its asserters to rest.

Mr. (now archdeacon) Manning professes to give us the true view of the Anglican Church upon the subject. And in the comparison of his system with that of the Oxford school, it will be seen that he only differs from them in the carrying out—or the extent of the consequences to which he pushes his fundamental principles. His foundation is the same as that of the Tractators, and theirs the same as that of the Romanists, but he seems to have less courage in looking fairly in the face the ulterior consequences of the principles in which they all substantially agree. But we will now let the archdeacon speak for himself. He says,—

"We believe in the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation, not upon any argument *a priori* drawn from our conceptions of what God would do for the safe keeping of the faith; (though that might raise a presumption of the fact;) nor upon any attempted judgment of our minds respecting the doctrines there made known to us; but upon the same constant, unanimous witness on which we receive the sacred books; from which, also, we learn what is genuine, what authentic, and what pure in the writings of the apostles of Christ. And that witness declares to us that the Holy Scripture is 'the one perfect instrument of God,' perfect, that is, both in harmony and compass; 'the most true rule of doctrine;' 'the even and true balance;' 'the mirror without a flaw;' 'the healing medicine of the soul.' 'For in those things,' we are told, 'which are openly set in Scripture, is to be found every thing that contains the faith and practice of life.'"—Pp. 14, 15.

The sum of this statement is, that the Church of England believe in "the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation," simply "upon the constant, unanimous witness" of the fathers—or upon the testimony of Origen, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril, Vincent, and Jerome, as these are the authorities he gives in the margin.

Next he gives us the following:—

"This appeal to the proof of Holy Scripture might appear to be at once a sufficient test to ascertain what the apostles preached. And so indeed it would be, if either the Scriptures were so clear that private Christians could not err in understanding, or churches so infallible as never to go astray in expounding the interpretation. But as neither of these conditions is true; as churches both may err, and have erred, and private Christians, by the repugnancy of their interpretations, daily convict themselves of error; and as the gospel of Christ is not syllables and letters, whether of the original or translated text, but the meaning of them; and as, of all the meanings Holy Scripture *may* bear, we must believe one only to be the sense *intended*, it is plainly necessary that we should have some further rule for our common guidance."—Pp. 26, 27.

"We must" then "have some further rule for our common guidance," because "churches and private Christians may err, and have erred." So much for the necessity of the "*rule*" contended for. In what form that rule is now presented he states as follows:—

"And thus the two creeds, as we receive them, are to us the representatives of the apostolical tradition, the two witnesses of the East and the West to the one catholic faith.

"Scripture, then, being the proof of the creed, and the creed the interpreter of Scripture, the harmony of these is the first rule of interpretation."—P. 35.

We have the theory of the archdeacon more systematically drawn out in the appendix, thus:—

"1. All points of faith necessary to salvation must be proved by Holy Scripture.

"2. All interpretations of Holy Scripture, in matters of religious belief, must be made in accordance with the faith of those on whose evidence we receive the written word of God itself.

"3. The faith of the primitive church, on whose testimony we receive the canon of Holy Scripture, is presented to us in the creeds and universal consent of Christians. This consent is the basis of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England.

"4. All primitive interpretations prevalent, though not universal, claim their several measures of deference from us, and we may not lightly contradict them.

"5. Where we have no external evidence of primitive interpretation, we have no other rule than our own judgment, aided by the laws of criticism and unauthoritative exposition."—*Appendix*, p. 3.

Here we see that the Scriptures constitute the authorized record; but their *sense* is to be sought in the records of antiquity. This sense our author had in the Sermon, which constitutes the foundation of his book, limited to the Apostles' and the Nicene creeds. But now he gives it a wider range, embracing it "in the creeds and universal consent of [primitive] Christians." The different forms of this "universal consent," then, whether exhibited in the creeds or otherwise, "claim their several measures of deference from us." And these creeds, with whatever else the archdeacon would give the same authority, he claims to have come from the apostles—to have constituted an *unwritten revelation*, brought and reported from the mouths of the apostles by competent witnesses. But he seems to hang principally upon the creeds, and doubtless would scarcely have made provision for the admission of other records had the creeds embraced all the topics which it seems now exceedingly desirable that he should be able to settle by the "unanimous consent" of the primitive church. In his Appendix our author undertakes to prove that "*Scripture and the creed, attested by universal tradition, was the rule of faith in the primitive church.*"—*Appendix*, p. 37. Here it will be seen that he has but *one creed*, making his traditionary informant still less adequate to the purposes of settling all the various doctrinal and practical questions which come into dispute. But the rule of faith furnished in the creed, and doubtless all other records equally ancient and well attested, the archdeacon makes out more ancient than the writings of Christ and the apostles. In proof of his main position he undertakes to prove "the following facts:"—

"1. That the oral preaching of the apostles was the *sole* rule of faith before the Scriptures were written.

"2. That it is recognized as such in *Holy Scripture* itself.

"3. That it was the *chief* rule of faith to the *universal* church until the books of Scripture were collected, and dispersed in the canon throughout all churches.

"4. That it is recognized by the early Christian writers as a rule of faith *distinct in itself* from the apostolic Scriptures, although in *absolute agreement* with them.

"5. That the *oral preaching* of the apostles, and *not the Scripture*, was the original source of the *creed*." "It cannot be doubted that the Nicene and Apostles' creeds are the offspring and representatives of the oral preaching of the apostles."—*Appendix*, pp. 37, 75.

As to the *first* of these positions we would observe, that though upon one point it seems to look toward the truth, yet, upon the whole, it asserts what is false. By "Scripture" we suppose the archdeacon means the apostolic writings. And though we do not doubt that before these writings were executed and given to the churches "the oral preaching of the apostles" had the same authority that their writings now have, and constituted a part of "the rule of faith;" yet we deny that it did constitute "the *sole* rule of faith." For the Old Testament scriptures were by them appealed to as a divine record, and, so far as they go, as an infallible guide in religion.

As to the *second*, it is no way important.

The *third* position is erroneous: for the books of the New Testament scriptures existed separately before they were collected; and wherever one of the Gospels was read in the churches, there it must have taken the place of any traditionary reports of the oral instructions of the apostles, which may have existed after their departure from the world. Indeed, the fathers tell us, that the Gospels were written to stand in the place of the living voice of the holy apostles—that they constitute the substance of what they preached while living. The notion, that the preaching of the apostles constituted one portion of revelation, which was to be handed down by tradition, and that the Scriptures constituted another, which *mean nothing of themselves*, but must be interpreted by oral tradition, is a discovery made several hundred years after the decease of the apostles, and made to serve the purposes of heresy and corruption.

The *fourth* position, like the *second*, is wholly irrelevant to the question at issue. Did our space permit, we could, however, easily show that both "Holy Scripture" and "the early Christian

writers," are altogether against the whole traditionary system advocated by our opponents.

The *fifth* position we utterly reject as a mere hypothesis, without the least support.

That the creeds came from the apostles' mouths to us in the precise forms in which we have them, the archdeacon is a little too wary to assert. The authority for this, however, at least so far as the Apostles' creed is concerned, is as ancient and as valid as that upon which he relies for the support of his main positions. St. Ambrose says,—

"The twelve apostles, as skillful artificers, assembled together, and made a key by their common advice, that is, the creed; by which the darkness of the devil is disclosed, that the light of Christ may appear.'

Ruffinus says the apostles

"had received by tradition from their fathers, that after the ascension of our Saviour, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost, before the apostles separated from each other to go into the several parts of the habitable world, to preach the gospel to them; they settled among themselves the rule of their future preaching, to prevent their teaching different doctrines, during their separation, unto those whom they should invite unto the Christian faith: wherefore they assembled all together, and being full of the Holy Ghost, they composed the creed; each one inserting what he thought convenient; and ordained it to be a test of their future sermons, and a rule to be given unto the faithful."

"Besides the opinion, that the apostles were in general the authors of the creed; some have advanced one step further, and affirmed, that every apostle inserted his particular article; by which, according to the number of the apostles, they have divided the creed into twelve articles, allowing one article for each apostle: a full account whereof is in a sermon falsely attributed to St. Austin; where the author thereof gives us this following relation, concerning each particular article that was put in by each particular apostle. 'Peter,' saith he, said, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty;' John, 'Maker of heaven and earth;' James, 'and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord;' Andrew, 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;' Philip, 'suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;' Thomas, 'he descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead;' Bartholomew, 'He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty;' Matthew, 'from thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead;' James, the son of Alpheus, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church;' Simon Zelotes, 'the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins;' Jude, the brother of James, 'the resurrection of the body;' Matthias, 'life everlasting. Amen.'"*

* See the History of the Apostles' Creed, with critical observations on the several articles, by Sir Peter King, pp. 25–28.

All this has been considered by many a devout admirer of patristical tradition as certainly true as the Acts of the Apostles. It is not, however, marvelous that a writer of Lord King's learning and shrewdness should come to a different conclusion. He says,—

"Now as to the truth of this tradition, I think it is altogether to be denied, and that for several reasons: as that it was nigh four hundred years after Christ, before the framing of the creed by the apostles was ever heard of; and even Ruffinus himself, one of the first reporters thereof, though in the beginning of his commentary he doth roundly assert it, yet in the midst thereof, he speaks of it doubtfully, as if its authors were uncertain and unknown."—P. 28.

The same author tells us that "it is true the exact form of the present creed cannot pretend to be so ancient as the apostolic times by four hundred years." "As for the authors thereof," says he, "it cannot be denied, but that they were several and many; the creed was neither the work of one man, nor of one day, but, during a long tract of time, passed successively through several hands, ere it arrived to its present perfection; the composure of it was gradual, and not instantaneous." And though he thinks "some of the articles therein were derived from the very days of the apostles," he says, "The others were afterward added by the primitive doctors and bishops, in opposition to gross heresies and errors that sprung up in the church."—P. 33.

Again he states, "'The descent into hell,' as Ruffinus informs us, 'was neither in the Roman nor Oriental creeds:' 'the communion of saints' was not in any creed till above four hundred years after Christ, and then not immediately received in all: the clause of 'life everlasting' was omitted in several, while in others it was inserted."—Pp. 29, 30.

Archdeacon Manning attempts to prove from the Scriptures and the fathers "that the *oral* preaching of the apostles, and not the apostolic Scriptures, are the original source from which the baptismal creed was drawn."—*Appendix*, p. 63. But his Scripture argument, to say the most of it, proves nothing more than that the doctrines of the Apostles' creed are provable by the Scriptures. If it be admitted that the apostles, previous to the existence of the apostolical Scriptures, required of candidates for baptism assent to a formulary, embracing the fundamental articles of Christianity; it still remains to be shown that this was in all cases precisely the same, and that it embraced all that is now in the creed, either as to its verbiage or sense. As to the tradition upon the subject he says,—

"The constant tradition of the church attests the fact, that *some form or summary* of doctrine was professed at baptism by every candidate from the very beginning of the gospel."—*Appendix*, p. 65.

Now admitting this "constant tradition," how are we to ascertain what this "form or summary of doctrine" was? To make out that "the baptismal creeds of the later church represent the baptismal summary used by the apostles"—that the former are "lineally descended" from the latter, our author "takes some examples of the catholic creeds, and traces them upward toward the apostolic times." He now gives us "the creed of the church of Cesarea, preserved by Eusebius," "the creed of the church of Jerusalem, given by St. Cyril," "the creed of the Eastern churches," and "the Oriental creed as given by Ruffinus," "the creed of the church of Aquileia," and "the creed of the church of Rome." But each of these differs from the Apostles' creed, being differently worded, and excluding several important articles! And none of these creeds, be it known, can be traced higher up than the fourth century! "Origen," he says, "recites a more diffuse summary of evangelical doctrines as an example of the apostolical preaching." This "summary," with one from Tertullian, and another from Irenæus, still more diverse from the Apostles' creed than the former class, is as far "*toward* the apostolic times" as our author can travel. And he ought indeed not to content himself with going "toward the apostolic times" and coming very *near* them, but he should go *into* those times, and find his formulary of faith even back of the apostolic Scriptures, for this is what he undertakes to prove.

Upon starting with the archdeacon on his journey back "toward the apostolic times," it would be natural to expect that the several ways which he descries in the fourth century would be found to converge to a point at the place of destination. But, alas! the further we travel, the wider they are apart. There is no proximity to a uniform and universally acknowledged formulary. The further back we proceed, the stronger is the doubt whether any such formulary was in use in the apostolic age.

The beautiful theory under examination naturally suggests two very important queries. The *first* is, that if such a formulary existed before the apostolic Scriptures, why did not St. Luke make mention of so important a fact in the Acts of the Apostles? And, *secondly*, if several articles of this apostolic formulary, supposed to be taken from the oral teaching of the apostles, were not known or admitted into the formulary until four hundred years after the apostles were all dead, who could report them from the mouths of

the apostles? How happened it that these articles were so long hid, and afterward discovered? Living witnesses there could be none, and if the articles in question were matters of tradition, they must have been known as early as the others with which they are associated. If some shrewd patrist will settle these doubts he will render no small service to the cause which the archdeacon so stoutly maintains.

This whole subject is ably discussed in the first work placed at the head of this article. The learned author fully and triumphantly sustains the following propositions:—

"1. That no precise form of words was left by the apostles as the Christian creed.

"2. That there was no such definite summary of the chief articles of belief given by the apostles to the Christian church as the creed, and that what is called 'the Apostles' creed' is merely the ancient creed of the church of Rome, and no more entitled to the name than any other of the ancient creeds.

"3. That what is called 'the Apostles' creed' gradually attained its present form, and that two, at least, of the articles it now contains were not inserted in it before the fourth century.

"4. That the creeds of the primitive church were derived originally from the Holy Scriptures. And, therefore,

"5. That none of the ancient creeds can be considered as an apostolical production."—*Divine Rule*, vol. i, p. 96.

We should be happy to present to the reader a specimen of the author's reasoning upon these propositions, but cannot do so without exceeding our limits. He gives us the creeds of Origen, Gregory of Neocæsarea, and Lucian the martyr, and says,—"These are the only creeds that remain of the period anterior to the Council of Nice." And further, that "*it is not till quite the close of the fourth century that we hear any thing about 'the Apostles' creed.'*"—*Ib.* p. 110.

We have already said that the Tractarians push out the patristical system still further than Archdeacon Manning seems disposed to do. We shall now proceed to give some specimens of the bold positions they take, without the least apparent hesitation or reserve.

The Tractarians and the Romanists agree in maintaining the *divine authority* of tradition. With them, Scripture and tradition united constitute the divine rule of faith and practice. Mr. Newman says, "We have as little warrant for rejecting ancient consent as for rejecting Scripture itself." And that "catholic

tradition—the unwritten word—is a *divine* informant in religious matters." Again, more at large,—

"Let us understand what is meant by saying that antiquity is of authority in religious questions. Both Romanists and ourselves maintain as follows:—That whatever doctrine the primitive ages unanimously attest, whether by consent of fathers, or by councils, or by the events of history, or by controversies, or in whatever may fairly and reasonably be considered to be the universal belief of those ages, is to be received as *coming from the apostles*."

Here we have tradition, not limited to "the two creeds," but expanded so widely as to encompass all the writings of the "fathers," the decrees of "councils," and "whatever" else "may fairly and reasonably be considered" as evidence of "the universal belief" of "the primitive ages." And all this is not to be received merely, as Archdeacon Manning says, "with its various degrees of evidence," but the whole as bringing with it the highest kind of evidence of its *divine* original. It is to be regarded, *en masse*, as "coming from the apostles," as "the unwritten word," as "a divine informant in matters of religion." The system of divine revelation, according to this theory, is composed of two parts, one written, and the other oral—the Scriptures and tradition—one the *record*, and the other the *explanation*—equally essential, and of equal authority!

Assuming the *truth* of this dogma, the maintainers of it proceed to show its philosophy. It would naturally be supposed that there must appear to be some good reason for making tradition an appendage of revelation. And though the maintainers of this notion in general protest against going into any investigation of the *reasons* of things, and content themselves with what they call *facts*; here they judge it necessary to vary their course. They must now show why it is that the Bible alone is not to be taken as the rule of faith and practice.

And, *first*, they alledge that the Bible, without tradition, *has no authority*, as it is by tradition that the canon of Scripture is settled. Thus Mr. Newman:—

"How do we know that Scripture comes from God? It cannot be denied that we of this age receive it *upon general tradition*; we receive through tradition both *the Bible itself*, and the doctrine that it is divinely inspired. The sacred volume itself, as well as *the doctrine of its inspiration*, comes to us by traditional conveyance. We receive the New Testament in its existing shape by tradition."

Now we admit that a portion of the evidence upon which we receive the Bible as an inspired record, is tradition. The unani-

mous consent of Christian writers, for several hundred years subsequent to the apostolic age, is a necessary part of the historical evidence that the books of the New Testament had their origin at the period which they claim for their birth, and that they were written by the persons whose names they bear. This universal consent of Christian writers, with the admissions of enemies, and the corroborating testimony of profane history, puts the facts beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. And this is absolutely all the essential service which patristical tradition renders Christianity. But it is not true that tradition constitutes the whole of this branch of the evidence; much less that there is no other species of evidence which is available in the case. As to the evidence of the *inspiration* of the Scriptures, this is wholly *internal* —derived from the Scriptures themselves. Having learned, by indubitable historical evidence, that Paul wrote the epistles which bear his name, who needs the evidence of the fathers to learn that they were written *by divine inspiration?* If the books of the New Testament are *authentic*, their *inspiration* is a matter of course.

But, *secondly*, it is alledged that the Scriptures are *obscure*, and must be explained by an authority equal to themselves. Mr. Newman says,—

> "The need of tradition arises only from *the obscurity* of Scripture, and is terminated with the interpretation of it. Scripture does not interpret itself or answer objections or misrepresentations. We must betake ourselves to the early church, and see how they understood it. Scripture was never designed to teach doctrine to the many."

It must be admitted that there are difficult and abstruse passages in the Scriptures which "the many" cannot understand; and we might venture a query whether even the Oxford divines themselves, with all the helps derived from fathers and councils, are able fully to explain them. But that the Bible, as a rule of faith and practice, is obscure *in matters essential*, we deny; and indeed the insinuation impugns the wisdom and goodness of its divine Author. A revelation so obscure that its sense must be handed down through successive ages "from hand to hand," by the uncertain instrumentality of oral tradition! This is most unaccountable. Why not remedy the difficulty at once, and in a way to remove all doubt about the sense, by *making the record plain?* Why, sir, our opponents may reply, This would have left nothing for a *divinely commissioned priesthood*, and an *infallible church* to do. Sure enough!

Finally, it is contended that the Scriptures are defective—that

they do not teach all that is essential to Christianity; and hence the necessity for traditionary teaching upon several points.

Mr. Goode gives us, from the writings of the Tractators, a list of doctrines, usages, and facts, which are admitted not to be found in the Scriptures, but are alledged to be taught in the traditions of the church. Here the *cloven foot* shows itself fully. No unprejudiced mind can avoid the conviction, upon looking over this list of patristical verities, but that this system of adding tradition to the Scriptures, as the rule of faith, is a device to give divine sanction to doctrines and practices not taught in the word of God. But we must not longer withhold from the reader these necessary truths.

"Of points relating to the *practice* of the church, then, we have the following:—

"1. Relating to points disused,—the non-literal acceptation of our Lord's words respecting washing one another's feet; the non-observance of the seventh day as a day of religious rest.

"2. Relating to ordinances and observances in use among us,—infant baptism; the sanctification of the first day of the week; the perpetual obligation of the eucharist; the identity of our mode of consecration in the eucharist with the apostolical; that consecration by apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the eucharist; the separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order; the threefold order of the priesthood; the government of the church by bishops; the apostolical succession.

"3. Of points purely doctrinal,—baptismal regeneration; the virtue of the eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice; that there is an intermediate state, in which the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace; that they pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them.

"4. Of points concerning matters of fact,—the canon of Scripture; that Melchisedek's feast is a type of the eucharist; that the book of Canticles represents the union between Christ and the church; that Wisdom in the book of Proverbs represents the second person in the Trinity; the alledged perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord."

This, then, is the sum of the important appendage to the system of revealed truth furnished by patristical tradition. And to what does it amount? Why, simply to this: upon one of these points, the canon of Scripture, the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity seems necessary: upon two or three others, such as infant baptism and the Christian sabbath, this source of information is important; but in relation to the great mass it is absolutely worthless. For, 1. Those things which are probably true are taught with sufficient clearness in the Scriptures. And, 2. As to those which are, at least to all good Protestants, entirely indifferent or utterly antiscriptural and heretical, which embrace by far the

greatest part, no amount of patristical testimony, however explicit, could possibly be of the least authority. That the great mass of these *catholic truths* are in fact *Romish corruptions*, we need not here attempt to prove. Nor is it in the least marvelous, that those who hold these dogmas to constitute the most vital part of the Christian system, should be extremely anxious to extend the divine rule of faith and practice beyond the written record.

That the views of the Tractarians and the Romanists upon the necessity and authority of tradition are identical, Mr. Goode proves most conclusively.

A comparison of what we have quoted above from the Oxford divines, with the following brief passages from the highest Romish authorities, will be sufficient fully to show the justice of his conclusions.

Bellarmine says,—

"I assert, that Scripture, although not composed principally with the view of its being a rule of faith, is nevertheless a rule of faith; not the entire rule, but a partial rule. For the entire rule of faith is the word of God, or God's revelation made to the church, which is distributed into two partial rules, Scripture and tradition. That the Scripture is not the judge, is evident; because it admits different meanings, and cannot tell which is the right one."

And the Tridentine Catechism says,—

"The whole of the doctrine to be delivered to the faithful is contained in the word of God, which is distributed into Scripture and tradition."

Indeed the identity of the Oxford and the Romish doctrine of tradition is fully conceded by the British Critic in the review of Mr. Goode's work; and the reviewer, in relation to it, says, he trusts that "the time is past when it shall be considered an argument *against* opinions, otherwise probable, that they are held by all other parts of catholic Christendom." Yes, indeed. And "the time is past when" it will excite the least surprise to find the great organ of Oxfordism explicitly advocating any of the dogmas of Rome.

It may be proper next to inquire how men in general are to know what the fathers have said upon all the great points of faith and manners. The Romanists say, without a parable, We are to learn this from *the church*, that is, from the *priest*. Harding, in his controversy with Bishop Jewell, says,—

"Now we require you to admit this tradition, that is to say, the catholic sense and understanding of the Scriptures, which have been

delivered unto us by the holy fathers of all ages, and of all countries, where the faith hath been received."—*Jewell's Works*, p. 64.

And Mr. Newman says, "The *Church* enforces a fact, apostolical tradition, as the doctrinal key to the Scripture." And the British Critic explicitly dissents from the notion "that the individual Christian is to learn the gospel from *personal* appeal to patristic testimony;" and proceeds to plead "the present degraded position" of "the English Church" as an excuse for "resorting to church history in the manner" in which her teachers are now compelled to do. Now, alas! the people have some little right to read and think for themselves. But how the Critic would have matters settled, he is not at all backward to say. Thus he proceeds:—

"In the time of St. Augustine or St. Thomas Aquilas, it would be as little a matter of conscious inquiry with Christians whether they should *follow the church's instructions*, as it is in our days with infants, whether they should believe what their parents teach them. The church bore on her surface the plain and certain marks of her divine commission, and was listened to as a mother, of course; those who acted on her instructions most faithfully, just as in the parallel case of child and parent, obtained, *without seeking it*, a proof of their truth *by* so acting. This is the condition to which every true Catholic among us burns, so far as it may be granted, to restore the English Church."—P. 97.

Well indeed it is, if the people must have the *sense* of Scripture through the medium of ancient tradition, that "the Church" has made ample provision to procure and hand such sense over to them. For it would be utterly overwhelming to an ordinary mind to be told that we must read a cart-load of Greek and Latin folios before we can certainly know what we must do to be saved. Well, what is the process by which "the Church" draws the precious treasure from the mine of antiquity, and imparts it to her hungry children, even "without their seeking it?" Do all her priests read and understand all the holy fathers, the decrees of councils, &c.? Not one in a hundred of them has ever read, in the originals, half a dozen of the fathers. The English Church, for the present, until she can, by the aid of her faithful sons and mighty champions at Oxford, save herself from her "present degraded position," points her children to her Book of Common Prayer as a faithful, and indeed an *infallible* echo of antiquity. Mr. Newman says the Church of England "*transmits the ancient catholic faith simply and intelligibly—to follow the Church*, THEN, *in this day, is to follow the Prayer Book.*"

Dr. Hook conducts us to the same result, in connection with an account of the process by which the mass of patristical traditions was transferred by the reformers to the Prayer Book. He says,—

"Intent, not on pleasing the people, not on gaining popularity, not on consulting the spirit of the age, but on establishing and maintaining the truth as it is in Jesus, they compared the ancient Liturgies of the Church of England, in the first instance, with Scripture, discarding at once what was plainly and palpably contrary thereto; such customs, for instance, as praying in an unknown tongue, and seeking the intercession of dead saints:* they then compared them with the ancient rituals, renouncing all usages not clearly primitive; and, studying deeply the writings of the fathers, they imbodied the doctrines which had been universally received in the primitive church, in that which is the result and glory of their labors, the Book of Common Prayer.—In taking the Prayer Book for your guide to the right understanding of Scripture—the whole Prayer Book, Creeds, Catechism, Articles,† Baptismal Office, Office for the Eucharist, Office for the Ordaining of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons—you take for your guide the consentient voice of the universal primitive church."‡

We now are able clearly to see the *Catholic* theory as to the process and the media of divine communication with the mass of men—the means by which God reveals his will. First, he gave the Scriptures as the *record of truth*, but leaving them blind and imperfect, to supply their deficiency as a revelation he ordered the apostles to give the *sense* orally, (or rather this oral sense was given *anterior* to the record itself, as we have seen from Archdeacon Manning,) which sense was reduced to writing by the fathers. Next, the writings of the fathers being voluminous, and only in dead languages, the reformers digested, condensed, and translated them, and gave us the result in the Book of Common Prayer. Now, there being many things in this book that common minds and weak consciences are not able fully to settle or under-

* When Dr. Hook wrote this, the Oxford system had not fully developed itself. Now the Oxfordists openly advocate the intercession of the saints. For one of their acknowledged doctrines is, that "the saints" in "the intermediate state" "pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them." So Dr. Hook must take back this incautious and erroneous concession.

† The Thirty-nine Articles are now admitted by the Oxfordists to be, at least in their phraseology, *anticatholic*. Mr. Newman has made an ineffectual effort in Tract No. 90 to give them a *Catholic sense*. But it must require a mind of singular obliquity to concede that these Articles have the sanction of "the consentient voice of the universal primitive church," and yet to maintain that this "consentient voice" sanctions all the Romish dogmas which the Oxford divines now boldly and explicitly adopt.

‡ "The Gospel and the Gospel only the Basis of Education."

stand, *the priest* gives to such the true *sense*. But here, on the final step of the process, a trifling difficulty occurs. For priests, equally canonically authorized and apostolically commissioned, happen to differ upon vital points. There is no *consent* among them, even as to the sense of some articles of the creed, and there is more discrepancy as to the authority and meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles. What shall be done now? Shall we follow Archbishop Laud or Archbishop Tillotson? Bishop Pearson or Mr. Newman?*

We see, then, precisely how near we are brought to the original fountain of truth. God speaks; the fathers explain the sense of his words; the reformers explain the sense of the fathers; and the priests explain the sense of the reformers. Surely we "are not far from the kingdom of heaven!" But we must not go too fast. We are not absolutely obliged "at present" to waive all exercise of our own eyes and ears; we may have the Prayer Book, and even the Bible in our hands, and exercise some degree of private judgment in relation to their contents; but when the Church shall leave her "present degraded position," and come back to the good old times of "St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas," then all her true children will implicitly "follow the Church's instructions;" and then the Bible and the Prayer Book may be exchanged for auricular confession and the mass! This will bring us one step nearer the original source of information, and will lop off all the vexatious excrescences appended to the Catholic system by the English reformers. And is "this the condition to which every true Catholic *burns* to restore the English Church?" So it would seem, the British Critic being judge.

We will next proceed to consider the principles upon which we are instructed, by our Anglican advocates for tradition, to conduct our investigations in seeking for the sense of Scripture in the records of antiquity.

We would naturally be led to suppose, from the language of Catholics, both Roman and Anglican, that the holy fathers speak clearly and explicitly upon every important doctrine of religion,

* The article in the creed on the holy catholic church, Bishop Pearson makes to assert "the existence of the church of Christ." That is, when we say, "I believe in the holy catholic church," we mean, *I believe in the fact that there is such a church*. But Mr. Newman, with the Romanists, would have us mean, "*I believe what the holy catholic church* SAYS." Here is a wide and radical difference between the two expositors. Now who shall decide?

and that we only need to learn what they say to know fully the mind of the Holy Spirit. But when we come to particulars, we find that these infallible guides have left many things upon record which *we must not believe*, and so great is the difficulty, after all, of settling the true catholic doctrine, by this means, that we stand in need of certain rules of judgment, by which we must be governed in our conclusions. We must have *a rule of faith* to *judge* of the *application* of *the rule of faith*. The rule we are to carry with us in the study of tradition is embraced in these three words: "antiquity, universality, and consent." This rule is itself quite ancient, being proposed by Vincentius Lirinensis, or Vincent of Lirin, a monk of the fifth century. It would seem that so early as this author (and indeed, as might be shown, much earlier) there were rival claims to the support of ecclesiastical tradition. The Arians, and other heretics, claimed the authority of the fathers and the tradition of the church. And those writings, then comparatively fresh from the hand of their authors, which are now considered as infallible guides to the right sense of Scripture, were appealed to by both heretics and Catholics. Hence it became necessary to fix upon some great principles, by the application of which the true doctrine could be certainly gathered from ecclesiastical records. We will now give the rule from the "Commonitory" of Vincent in the translation of Reeves, published in London, 1709:—

"*Certain rules for the safe-conduct of a Christian in the choice of his opinions.*

"And for us who are in the bosom of the Catholic Church, it ought to be our first and principal care to choose such doctrines as we find to have been believed in all places, at all times, and by all the faithful. For there is nothing truly and properly catholic, (as the word sufficiently declares,) but what truly and fully comprehends all these. And we are thus catholic, when we follow universality, antiquity, and unanimous consent; but we follow universality, when we profess that only to be the true faith, which is professed by the church all the world over. In like manner, we are followers of antiquity, when we religiously adhere to that sense of Scripture which manifestly obtained among the holy fathers, our predecessors. And, lastly, we follow consent, when we embrace the definitions and opinions of almost all, if not all, the bishops and teachers in the ancient church."—Chap. 3.

The translator tells us that, "in exact conformity to this rule, the Church of England professeth to defend and maintain no other doctrine than that which is truly catholic and apostolic; and for such warranted not only by the written word of God, but also by the concurrent testimonies of the ancient fathers." And in

"Tracts for the Times, No. 78," we have a "catena patrum" —*chain of fathers*, that is, of the old English divines, who are alledged to have maintained the principle of Vincent; and are told, in a note, that "this tract has just been republished, with a translation, at Oxford, and should be carefully studied by all who wish to understand in what sense the English Church upholds tradition."—*Tracts for the Times*, vol. ii, p. 420.

So we may understand this famous rule of Vincent as having been fully admitted by the old English divines, and unhesitatingly adopted by the Tractarians. All we have to do, then, when we would find what God would have us to believe or do, is to find out from the fathers: 1. What has the sanction of the *universal* church—or what has been received everywhere. This we shall learn as soon as we can become acquainted with the opinions of every branch of the Catholic Church from the days of the apostles down to the time of Vincent, and collate and compare them, and gather out of them a common sentiment. And when this small task is performed, then we must find out, 2. What is most *ancient*. This will require no little attention, for some fathers and some doctrines are older than others. If, then, we find a doctrine or a usage to be *older* than its opposite, so far we are safe; but we must mind well our dates or we are at once far from the course. 3. More than all this: all our doctrines and usages must have the sanction of *consent*. They must be, as our oracle says, "the definitions and opinions of *almost all*, if not all, the bishops and teachers in the ancient church." In finding out this we must, of course, consult with great care all that "almost all the bishops and teachers" have said; a work which a monk, in the course of a long life of seclusion from society, might partially, and could but partially, accomplish. But we must go the whole course before we can be sure we are right. What a glorious way this! We may lay the Scriptures aside, and just find out what has been believed *everywhere*, *at all times*, and *by all men*, and then we understand the whole mystery of the faith!

Upon this famous rule Bishop Stillingfleet, as quoted by Mr. Goode, makes the following sensible remarks:—

"Wise men who have thoroughly considered of Vincentius his way, though in general they cannot but approve of it so far as to think it highly improbable that there should be antiquity, universality, and consent against the true and genuine sense of Scripture, yet when they consider this way of Vincentius, with all those cautious restrictions and limitations set down by him, they are apt to think that HE HATH PUT MEN TO A WILD GOOSE CHASE TO FIND OUT ANY THING ACCORD-

ING TO HIS RULE; and that St. Augustine spake a great deal more to the purpose when he spake concerning all the writers of the church, that *although they had never so much learning and sanctity, he did not think it true because they thought so, but because they persuaded him to believe it true, either from the authority of Scripture or some probable reason.*"—*Divine Rule*, vol. ii, p. 350.

Let those who prefer this "wild goose chase" to a diligent examination of the Holy Scriptures, take their course; and let those who choose to employ others to take it for them, take theirs; but let them know that serious consequences are reserved for them hereafter. If they voluntarily turn aside from the plain path into a trackless wilderness, with the hope of finding some more certain and safe way to the place of destination, and perish with famine or are devoured by wild beasts, the responsibility will rest upon their own souls. And when they shall be required to give a reason for "making void the commandments of God by their *traditions*," what will they answer?

We come at last to the question, Whether there is any such *consent* in the writings of the early ages of the church as is assumed by the assertors of tradition; and whether the records we have of the primitive ages are entitled to paramount authority in controversies of faith and practice.

Upon this point our materials are so voluminous that it is difficult to determine what to select, for it is not possible within due limits to give even a digest of the whole. The work of Daille is divided into two books. In the first the learned author presents a multitude of facts which go to show that it is not possible to settle the existing controversies by the help of all the records of antiquity which remain, even were we to admit the authority claimed for them. And in the second, he shows that "the fathers are not of sufficient *authority* for deciding controversies in religion." Both branches of the argument are well sustained, and can scarcely be examined by a candid inquirier after truth without a deep conviction that the notion that the writings of the fathers imbody *the unwritten word of God*, and are *of divine authority in religious matters*, is the very acme of folly. We commend this work to the reader, though on a few points it must be read with caution.

Mr. Goode handles this point most learnedly in his fifth chapter. And with all the affected contempt of the British Critic for the learned labors of the author, after carefully reading both the work and the criticism, we view the truly Protestant author occupying a

proud eminence, while the pseudo Catholic reviewer flounders in the mire. Mr. Goode has nothing to fear from such criticism. Indeed the reviewer, instead of assailing the strong points of his author with argument, contents himself with mere speculations and assumptions; the whole showing more fully, if possible, than any former effort, the identity in the great fundamental features of the two systems of Roman and Anglican Catholicity. But we must gather from our authors a few specimens of the facts upon which they rely.

1. It must be considered that in all the records of antiquity which remain, and are of undoubted authority, we have nothing like an expression from the whole primitive church. From the first three centuries we have only a few fragments, and most of them not only mutilated, but treating, in general, subjects entirely different from those now in controversy. The following is Daille's account of the writings which remain from this period:—

"All that we have left us of these times, which is certainly known to be theirs, and of which no man doubts, are some certain discourses of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, who wrote his Second Apology a hundred and fifty years after the nativity of our Saviour, Christ; the five books of Irenæus, who wrote not long after him; three excellent and learned pieces of Clemens Alexandrinus, who lived toward the end of the second century; divers books of Tertullian, who was famous about the same time; the epistles and other treatises of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom about the year of our Saviour 261; the writings of Arnobius, and of Lactantius his scholar, and some few others. As for Origen, Cyprian's contemporary—who alone, had we but all his writings entire, would be able perhaps to give us more light and satisfaction in the business we are now engaged in than all the rest—we have but very little of him left, and the greatest part of that too most miserably abused and corrupted; the most learned and almost innumerable writings of this great and incomparable person not being able to withstand the ravages of time, nor the envy and malice of men, who have dealt much worse with him, than so many ages and centuries of years that have passed from his time down to us."—P. 28.

Besides these, Eusebius and Jerome notice the works of about thirty Christian authors who lived during this period, which are now lost. Had we these writings, and were those which remain in a state of perfection, we might appeal to them with more confidence for the sense of the primitive church. But the popes and their minions have not failed to use the power which they so amply enjoyed, of annihilating every record of purely primitive times which they could not so corrupt and garble as to make it serve the purposes of heresy and corruption.

2. The records of primitive times which have come down to us have been, both through ignorance and fraud, greatly corrupted and mutilated. Daille gives us numerous instances in proof of this, which make the matter perfectly clear. And what else could be reasonably expected? We receive these writings from the hands of priests and monks who acted upon the principle that *the end sanctifies the means*, and whose interest it was to make them speak in favor of the modern corruptions of the doctrines and institutions of Christianity. The Greeks and the Latins mutually accuse each other of corrupting even the most sacred records of the primitive church, upon points which were in question between them. Even the Nicene creed has not wholly escaped the touch of hands always ready to make the ancient records what they *ought* to be—or to adjust them to their purpose. To say nothing of *de cœlis—from heaven; secundum Scripturas—according to the Scriptures;* and *Deum de Deo—God of God;* which Cardinal Julian declared at the Council of Florence to be found in some creeds, and in some others were not. It is now several ages since the Eastern Church accused the Western of having added *Filioque—and the Son*, to the article on the procession of the Holy Ghost; and the Western Church, in turn, accused the Eastern of having cut off this word from that article. We will now give a few specimens, from Daille, of the usage the fathers have met with from Romish editors and copyists:—

"We do not here write against these men; it is sufficient for us to give a hint only of that which is as clear as the sun; namely, that they have altered and corrupted, by their additions in some places, and curtailing in others, very many of the evidences of the ancient belief. These are they, who in this part of the twelfth epistle of Cyprian, written to the people of Carthage—'I desire that they would but patiently hear our council, &c., that our fellow bishops being assembled together with us, we may together examine the letters and desires of the blessed martyrs, according to the doctrine of our Lord, and in the presence of the confessors, *et secundum vestram quoque sententiam*, (and according as you also shall think convenient,') have maliciously left out these words, *et secundum vestram quoque sententiam:* by which we may plainly understand, that these men would not by any means have us know, that the faithful people had ever any thing to do with, or had any vote in, the affairs of the church. These are the same, who, in his fortieth epistle, have changed *Petram* into *Petrum*; (a *rock* into *Peter*;) and who, following the steps of the ancient corrupters, have foisted into his tract *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, wherever they thought fit, whole periods and sentences, against the faith of the best and most uncorrupted manuscripts: as, for example, in this place: 'He built his church on Him alone, (Peter,) and commanded him to feed his sheep;'

and in this: 'He established one sole chair;' and this other: 'The primacy was given to Peter, to show that there was but one church, and one chair of Christ;' and this: 'Who left the chair to Peter, on which he had built his church.' These being additions which every one may see the object of."

"These are the men, who, in Fulbertus, bishop of Chartres, (where he cites that remarkable passage of Augustine, 'This then is a figure commanding us to communicate of the passion of the Lord,') have inserted these words, '*Figura ergo est, dicet hæreticus:*' (It is a figure, then, will a heretic say:) cunningly making us believe this to be the saying of a heretic, which was indeed the true sense and meaning of Augustine himself, and so cited by Fulbertus."—Pp. 76, 77, 79.

It will be sufficient to say, that the frauds here spoken of have been in some instances detected by collating and comparing copies, and in others have been confessed by Romanists themselves; even the Benedictine editors have contributed valuable information upon the subject.

3. The fathers did not agree in many vital points. Some of the anti Nicene fathers express themselves dubiously as to the divinity of the Logos, or Word; and several explicitly teach that the Holy Ghost was created. Origen teaches that "the Holy Spirit was made by the Word." Pierius, who succeeded Origen in the school of Alexandria, affirms that "the Spirit is inferior in glory to the Father and the Son." Novatian says, "Every Spirit is a creature," and says the Paraclete is "inferior to Christ." Jerome says that Lactantius "altogether denies the entity of the Spirit." And Eusebius tells us that the Holy Spirit is "one of those things which were made by the Son," and adds, that this is the doctrine of "*the Catholic Church.*" In opposition to these, Cyprian, Basil, Jerome, and Augustine bore a decided testimony in favor of the doctrine of the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. Here are fathers against fathers upon a fundamental point. The same might be shown to be the fact in relation to other doctrines of like importance. And are writers who contradict each other upon the most essential points of Christian doctrine to be considered as infallible interpreters of God's word?

4. It is a fact, that doctrines and usages maintained by primitive fathers *as having come from the apostles*, are rejected and opposed by other fathers.

The millennium, or the personal reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years, after the resurrection of the just and the unjust, was maintained by the fathers of the first two and a half centuries. And Irenæus alledges that they had this doctrine from "the presbyters who saw John," and that they "related that they heard from

him, in accordance with what the Lord taught concerning those times." "But after this period," says Mr. Goode, "we find most of the authors that remain to us opposing, and even ridiculing the doctrine," and refers for proof to Eusebius, Jerome, and Theodoret.

The same may be said with regard to the time of keeping Easter. The Eastern division of the church, as Eusebius tells us, "observed the fourteenth day of the moon, being the day on which the Jews were commanded to kill the lamb." But in the West it was solemnly determined "that the mystery of our Lord's resurrection should never be celebrated on any other day except Sunday." Now the same authority informs us, that each custom was professedly founded upon "apostolical tradition." And Irenæus thinks it probable that the difference might have arisen from the negligence of some bishops, "*allowing that to go down to posterity as a custom, which was introduced through simplicity and ignorance.*" The following forcible remark upon this matter is given by Mr. Goode, from Dean Comber:—

"Though Biniers's Notes brag of apostolical and universal tradition, the bishops of Asia produced a contrary tradition, and called it apostolical, for keeping Easter at a different time; *which shows how uncertain a ground tradition is for articles of faith*, when it varied so much in delivering down a practical rite through little more than one century."

Conflicting traditions were also plead upon the subject of rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. A controversy arose upon this subject in the middle of the third century between Cyprian and Stephen, bishop of Rome. Stephen maintained, as a tradition, that "the apostles forbade that those who came over from any heresy should be baptized, and delivered this to posterity to be observed." But Cyprian replies: "Nor let any one say, we follow that which we have received from the apostles, since the apostles delivered that there was only one church and one baptism."

There are other points in which it might be supposed that tradition would, at least for a while, have preserved the truth, upon which it entirely fails. The following is presented by Mr. Goode:—

"Thus, as to the duration of our Lord's public ministry, we are told by Clement of Alexandria, that he preached only one year, and by Origen, that he preached a year and a few months. Irenæus, on the other hand, shows how contrary this notion is to the testimony of the Gospels themselves, but with equal error asserts that our Lord was forty or fifty years old at the time of his death, for which he refers to

Scripture and *tradition*, asserting that all the elders who had been acquainted with St. John in Asia, testified that he had delivered this to them; some of whom had seen other apostles, and heard the same account from them."

All going most conclusively to show that "the elders," even in those primitive times, were often forgetful, and that the most learned fathers sometimes wrote carelessly and fell into mistakes. And yet, forsooth, they must be taken as *infallible* interpreters of Holy Scripture!

5. The testimony of the fathers is not always to be relied upon when they claim the authority of the church.

Origen is charged by Jerome with "making his own fancies mysteries of the church." And Jerome himself maintains it to be "a doctrine of the church, that the souls of infants are created by God, and transfused into them before their birth." Augustine opposed this dogma as being subversive of the doctrine of *original sin*, which, with "the indubitable damnation of infants, unless they are regenerated in Christ," that is, *baptized*, he asserted to be doctrines of the Catholic Church. Gennadius reckoned among the doctrines of the church, that "every creature is corporeal, the angels and all the heavenly powers are corporeal, although not of a fleshly substance." That this, however, was the doctrine of the church, may be fairly doubted from the fact that Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Gregory Nyssen wholly and explicitly dissent from the notion.

Gennadius also reckons it a doctrine of the church, that "the angels and all the heavenly powers were made when the darkness yet covered the waters. But Origen tells us, that when and how the angels were created is a point not clearly manifested in the teaching of the church."

6. There is the same want of *consent* in the decision of councils, even the largest and most general the church has ever seen collected. We give from Mr. Goode two specimens:—

"In less than twenty-five years after the meeting of the first council which had any *pretension* to be called a general council—namely, the first Nicene—the orthodox creed there established was contradicted (as we have already observed) by a far more numerous assembly of bishops, which met for the Western Church at Ariminum, and for the Eastern at Seleucia; and of which Bishop Stillingfleet says, 'The Council of Arminum, together with that of Seleucia, which sat at the same time, *make up the most general council we read of in church history*. For Bellarmine owns that there were six hundred bishops in the Western part of it. So that there were many more bishops assem-

bled than were in the Council of Nice ; there was no exception against the summons, or the bishops present."

"Again, another proof of this is afforded us in the contradictory determinations of the second Council of Ephesus in 449 and the Council of Chalcedon (called the fourth general council) in 451. It is a well-known fact, that the great question upon which both these councils were assembled, that relating to the Eutychian error respecting the person of Christ, was determined by them in a precisely opposite manner; and the leading advocate of each opinion punished and sent into exile by these councils respectively ; Flavianus by that of Ephesus, Dioscorus by that of Chalcedon."—Vol. i, pp. 276, 277.

We see, then, that the vaunted *consent* of antiquity entirely fails even upon vital points of the Christian system. Had we room, it would be easy to show that the case is no better in relation to the particular points of doctrine, and the usages, for the proof of which tradition has been appended to the Scriptures: upon the "mode of consecration in the eucharist"—the necessity of "consecration by apostolical authority"—"the separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order"—"the threefold order of the priesthood"—"the government of the church by bishops"—"the apostolical succession"—"baptismal regeneration"—"the virtue of the eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice," and "that there is an intermediate state, in which the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace ; that they pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them." Upon no one of these points can the *consent of antiquity* claimed be sustained ; and as to the majority of them, the weight of testimony is altogether on the other side.

What then is the practical effect of the famous rule of Vincentius, "*antiquity*, *universality*, and *consent?*" Let Romanists and Tractarians apply it to their distinguishing dogmas, and they are "weighed in the balance and found wanting." We object not to this rule because we fear the result of a thorough examination of the records of the primitive church upon its principles; but because upon any principles of legitimate inquiry there is nothing in these records which is of divine authority, and can claim to have been handed down from the apostles as a rule of faith or practice. Indeed the Romanist and the Tractarian must both fail to establish their leading positions by the records of antiquity which are handed down to us from the first three centuries, if they go upon their own principles of investigation. Their *antiquity* is later than these times, their *universality* is confined to some half a dozen mutilated authorities, which have not the least claim to the sanction of the universal church ; and their boasted *consent* is plain contradiction and the very confusion of Babel!

We need scarcely urge that the voice of the church, subsequent to the termination of the third century, were it ever so harmonious, would not be competent to authenticate apostolical traditions. Traditions indeed sprung up, and continued to multiply from the commencement of the fourth century down to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth. But who could tell that they came from the apostles? Apply Leslie's rules, which he uses with such effect in his Short Method with the Deist, and they all fail to sustain their claims to the high antiquity which only could give them authority. We can always tell where they originated, or at least can look back to a period which extends some hundred years from the apostolic age, when they had no existence.

Who then can rationally give the authority of a divine revelation to patristical tradition? Who can show that it is the divinely authorized exposition of Holy Scripture? What single claim has it to this high and awful character? Will rational men close their own eyes and ears, and give themselves up to the directions of so blind a guide? That they do this, facts abundantly confirm, and there seems something almost judicial in the blindness and folly by which they are actuated. When men become wiser than God; when they can see defects in his revelation which human devices must remedy; when they can take any thing for evidence of the truth and divine authority of favorite dogmas, they leave the great Christian foundation: and that they should put darkness for light, and light for darkness, is nothing more than a legitimate result of the principles with which they commence. From all the vagaries of would-be Catholics we appeal to the truth, simplicity, and power of the Holy Scriptures. The Scriptures we take to be *the only rule, and a sufficient rule both of faith and practice.* If fathers agree with this rule, it is well. If any branch of the universal church agrees with it, so far we are at agreement with them, and can call them brethren in Christ. If the decrees of councils or formularies of faith, ancient or modern, accord with God's word, we respect them, and give them our assent; but if fathers, or bishops, or popes, or councils, or confessions of faith, or all Christian communities together, "speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." And when we are in our conscience convinced that this is the case, we will renounce them all. We will no longer hold fellowship with them or "bid them God-speed." We will cleave to this article, then, in the admirable language of Chillingworth, which has been so often quoted: "THE BIBLE, I SAY, THE BIBLE ONLY, IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS."

Art. V.—*Polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Methodism is a peculiarity. This peculiarity exists, to some extent, in connection with its doctrines. It is seen, too, in its modes and usages, in its ministers and its preaching. There was a peculiarity in its origin. It sprang, an humble flame, into life amid the cold formalities and aristocratic splendors of old Oxford. No favoring breeze lit upon it there, and yet that flame lived and shone, as the fair sunbeam reposes amid mountains of ice; or, as the solitary taper, at the hour of twilight, sends its faint yet certain rays along the cold aisles and crested walls of some ancient cathedral. In process of time this "star of promise" leaped from its birth-place. Delicious was its radiance, even while its early beams were gleaming along those classic groves and avenues; and happy had its light, even to the present day, been loved and cherished there, to illuminate a spot around which gloomy shades of late are gathering, threatening the return of Papal darkness. Methodism, however, tarried not at Jerusalem. She went forth to bless the nations, and to bring many lost ones to heaven. The sequel needs not to be recited here. It is sufficient to say, that in its progress, its agents, and its means of operation, it was still *peculiar*. Its whole history, aspect, and developments are unique, and present to the thoughtful mind a theme of meditation as curious as it is instructive.

We would glance at this one among the great Christian agencies now operating upon a wicked world. We design, however, but a partial view; and, omitting to contemplate Methodism as a whole, and as existing in both hemispheres, we shall limit ourselves to *a few general remarks touching more particularly the polity of American Methodism*. We write no new thing in remarking that the government of this church has, from time to time, and from various quarters, been liberally assailed. Strong minds have been enlisted in portraying its defects, and unfolding its injurious tendencies, while, within the pale of the church itself, disapprobation, and even opposition, have, at times, arisen with no ambiguous front. These facts are stated as matters of history, rather than by way of reproach. Nor have we any disposition to deny that the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church involves a system of means and measures which a man might disapprove and yet be innocent; for we grant that polity to be a peculiarity: it is an anomaly. Probably there is nothing corresponding to it in the whole Christian world besides. Nor shall we be careful to enter

into any labored defense of this peculiarity. We would take a simple, independent, and unprejudiced view, studiously avoiding all unpleasant collision with the government and usages of sister denominations. And what necessity of any such collision? In mechanics, there may be levers and wheels differing essentially in construction, yet equally good, and equally useful. In architecture, there may be timbers, diversified in shape and purpose, yet equally beautiful and equally necessary. In education, various forms of discipline are brought to bear upon the youthful mind, yet all tending to one grand result. In war, the heavy armed infantry are deemed essential; yet a child may easily understand why cavalry are likewise indispensable to a complete army. In the human body, also, there are many members—useful members too—yet but one body; and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; and, again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. In the religious world, we are inclined to believe the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be good; yet in writing it thus, we speak not by way of comparison with other denominations. It would be quite unnecessary, as well as injudicious, to assert that the Methodist mode of church government is better than any other. Still less judicious would it be to propose, or wish, that all Christians be conformed to that mode. True, the great principles of human nature are alike in all, and remain the same from age to age. It is equally true, however, that in subordinate respects there are constitutional and acquired differences, requiring modes of instruction and discipline in some degree diverse, in order to the utmost benefit and happiness. The precise extent to which all the several Christian denominations are necessary to the good of the world, and their comparative importance in respect to this great object, are questions which we shall forbear to discuss. That the several Christian sects have, each of them, a place in God's great system of agencies, and that each is designed to exert a blissful influence upon the world, we think, should not be doubted.

That grand feature by which the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church is characterized; that feature to which the others are in a great degree subordinate; and that feature which constitutes the main difference between ourselves and other evangelical denominations, is *an itinerating ministry*. From this arrangement flows the necessity of episcopacy, of conferences, of the office of presiding elders; and hence is perpetuated the unity of the church itself.

The ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church are a body of

men, who, like other gospel ministers, have given themselves to the ministry; but with this modification, or peculiarity, that, while other ministers, with the consent and approbation of their brethren, devote themselves to a particular parish, the Methodist minister gives himself to *the church;* to be placed, by the constituted authorities, wherever in their judgment may be best for the general good. It is a maxim in Methodism, that a genuine Methodist preacher is a man who holds himself ready to go to any part of the land or the world. He stands in a relation extremely similar to that of a missionary under the direction of some one of the great missionary associations. What, for example, does a young missionary do? He offers himself up to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; or to the Baptist General Convention; or to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church; or to the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; or, finally, to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. To one of these associations he addresses himself, saying, "Here am I; send me to that part of the world, wherever it be, to which I may in your judgment be the most useful." He resigns all ideas of home, or any settled place. For his home, he looks beyond this world, and anticipates his resting place in the skies. Now the case of every true Methodist minister is similar; nay, almost identical. He comes forth, a young and strong man, perhaps of a good family, respectably connected, and in pleasant circumstances. He attaches himself to a Methodist conference, and, by that act, he resigns this world, and proclaims to the authorities of his church, "Send me wherever your pious judgment shall dictate." The scheme, in its genius and practical bearings, is essentially missionary; and he takes an erroneous view of the Methodist Episcopal Church who does not contemplate it in the light of a vast missionary organization—*domestic*, at present, for the most part; *foreign*, to some extent. And let no young man venture within the precincts of the Methodist ministry who fails to comprehend this view clearly. Having become associated there, let him remember that he has given himself away. He is now emphatically a servant of the church. "Adieu, father and mother! adieu, sweet home of my childhood! I have now no home but heaven. Native trees and shades, adieu! No rural spot awaits me more. I am but a sojourner. Over all this earth there is no paradise where I may linger, and to which I may wed my soul by loved and dear associations." That young man is now to go forth to be conversant with strangers. If he is faithful, he

shall do those strangers good. He shall bless them for a few days and months; then bid them adieu to go to other strangers. Thus must he pass, a pilgrim, along this world, having no abiding dwelling place. He is an *itinerant minister*, and the world is his parish. All ideas of wealth, ease, distinction, or fame, are given up. He has made a covenant with labor, trials, and privations, as his portion under the sun. Amid all this, however, one blissful hope lights up his heart. His eye rests with unutterable delight upon the scenes beyond the grave. He anticipates rising, by and by, to heaven, and bringing with him many sons and daughters to glory. To his believing eye that prospect is sufficient. All else is not worthy to be compared with the excellence and glory of saving a soul from death, and leading him up to endless life.

And here let us not be understood as insinuating, in the smallest degree, that our ministerial brethren of other denominations are not soul-saving ministers. They are so. Would that every Methodist minister might emulate the zeal and success of some of these godly men! All we mean to urge is, that to us it appears certain that a ministry, in part itinerant, is calculated to save, on the whole, a larger number of immortal souls than if all the ministers of the land were stationary. The sacrifice is greater; we think the results are to be more glorious. Otherwise, we would hasten to abandon the scheme. Think not that the itinerant minister is blind to the comforts or the advantages of the settled pastor. O! would he not love to linger with that affectionate and dear people? Would he not delight to enjoy, for many a happy year, those pleasant associations? Would he not rejoice, for the good of that people, to strike large and comprehensive plans, reaching along many years for their full accomplishment? Would he not love to stay and see those dear children of his charge grow up around him to usefulness and honor? Would he not love to wait and see his field of labor grow more and more blooming, and fruitful, and fair, under long cultivation? Would he not love to grow old with that people, and, down amid the evening shades of life, would he not love to hear the winds whistle through the same old trees that used to wave above him in brighter days? In that old rural parsonage—the scene of many a remembered joy—with whose walks, and trees, and shrubbery, were wreathed full many a loved association—whose halls had been trodden by many a happy and beloved guest—and along which the voice of music and of prayer had attracted listening angels—in that old parsonage, would he not love to die? And would he not choose to sleep in the same grave-yard where repose many whom he used to instruct

and love on earth? And in the resurrection morning, would he not delight to rise with them and fly away in company to meet the coming Judge? The writer mistakes if such have not been the sentiments of more than one Methodist minister. In that ministry there are men—men of generous and refined soul—who do not forego these privileges without a pang which is unutterable. But they hope and believe that thus more good will be accomplished—more souls will be saved. Without any reference to others, they believe that this is, *for them*, the more excellent way.

Nor, it must be confessed, is this belief entirely without foundation. It is not for us to speak boastfully; but how happens it that within the last sixty years there has arisen in this country a great Christian organization that, from a handful, has swelled to nearly a million of members? Yet these are but a part. By what instrumentality were the many thousands converted that have died out of that church and gone to heaven? We do not mean to affirm that every one of all this multitude was truly converted; yet no one doubts that very many of them were regenerated, and will dwell in heaven for ever. But by what agency, under God, were they saved? We answer, *By the pious labors of an itinerant ministry.* This ministry has gone everywhere through this land, preaching the word of life. In countless instances they have occupied difficult fields of labor, where a settled ministry could not have operated with facility. They have accompanied the emigrant as he traveled toward the setting sun. They have gone down into the hamlets and hovels of the poor. They have whispered peace into the ear of the poor slave, and taught him to hope for eternal freedom and eternal bliss when the toils of this world are past. They have seated themselves in the gloomy wigwam of the Indian, and taught the savage how to worship the Great Spirit, and how to be happy for ever. They have done this in the midst of poverty, privations, and tribulation, such as are not known but by a Methodist minister. Hundreds of these men were strong, and talented, and respectable. They would have shone amid the elevated and honorable circles of this world. They might have moved amid wealth and fame. They might have graced a city pulpit, and, for many a sunny year, by their eloquence and zeal, have won golden opinions, and have attracted to themselves a thousand and a thousand smiles of admiration and delight. Nor were these men unaware of all this. That attractive path opened beauteously before them, and invited them to enter and walk there. Before them, too, lay the rugged road of *itinerancy*—presenting to a worldly eye absolutely nothing that was lovely or desirable—and

along which, even to the pious vision, nothing attractive arose save superior usefulness and a bright heaven beyond. These, however, were sufficient. The youthful herald of the cross tremblingly entered the toilsome pathway, and walked there.

Whether the Methodist ministry might have been more useful, or otherwise, by adopting a different course, some may consider, if they please, a matter of opinion. One thing, however, is a matter of history. This ministry—this *itinerant* ministry—have been made instrumental of rallying a great multitude of souls for the service of Christ, most of whom will probably be saved.

Having thus briefly noticed some of the bearings of the itinerant theory upon the ministry themselves, it may be proper to glance, for a moment, at its influence upon the laity.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, as the reader is aware, is made up of branches, familiarly called *societies*. These societies are scattered over the land, and correspond to the *churches* of sister denominations. They have their chapels, their public worship, and their means of grace generally, very similar to other Christians. The ministers, however, who labor with these societies, are placed there in a manner entirely different from that of the settlement of ministers in other churches. The minister of a Methodist society, it is acknowledged, came not to that society by its direct invitation or call. He was placed there by the appointing powers of the church, it being carefully understood that those appointing powers, by means unnecessary to be explained here, were clearly advised of the circumstances and wants, as well as, oftentimes, of the wishes, of the society concerned.

Here, if we mistake not, arises one of the grand objections urged against our economy by other denominations. The point is pressed, that Methodism allows not the people to select their pastors. This, understood with the suitable limitations, must be acknowledged to be true. But together with the repulsive idea that, under this system, the people select not their own ministers, it ought always to be remembered that Methodism is inconsistent with such a mode of ministerial settlement. A superficial glance alone would be sufficient to convince us that the arrangement of each society selecting its own pastor would destroy itinerancy at a blow. Five years would not probably elapse before the entire scheme of a circulating ministry would be laid low, and Methodism would be at an end. But, in our preceding remarks, we have seen that an itinerating ministry is the grand characteristic of the Methodist Church. We have stated it as our deliberate sentiment

that by such a ministry we—(for we speak not of others)—*we* shall bring more souls to eternal life; that though it is more self-sacrificing and painful, it will, however, result in more extensive good to the world, and for ever.

It is indeed a self-sacrificing scheme. We have seen, to some extent, how it affects the ministry. We now see how that a similar sacrifice is demanded at the hands of the Methodist laity. The pastor selects not his people. The people select not their pastor. This dear privilege, on either hand, is resigned. But for what is it resigned? Why is the privilege of selection given up by ministry and people? *In order that on the whole greater good may be done—more souls may escape from hell to heaven.* This is Methodism. This is its theory. This is the grand principle running through its entire economy, uniting, as with a golden chain, its several characteristics and departments. Here the candid reader may, if he choose, charge us with error. He may say that we have mistaken the path to the greatest good of our fellow-men. Be it so. If any one possesses such an opinion, he has a right to it, and we respect his judgment. That judgment may be correct and true, and Methodism, in its more distinctive features, may, after all, be an error. But in view of the statements above made, we do ask one thing of a candid community. We ask that it will forbear to write the Methodist polity a system of aristocracy and oppression. We ask that it will not be too hasty in writing down the Methodist ministry as ambitious, and plotting to lord it over God's heritage. We ask it to be not too hasty in ascribing to the Methodist community blindness and obtuseness; ignorantly yielding their rights, and submitting to oppression. Most deliberately do we pronounce all this to be an error. True, we have entered into a combination, and one requiring sacrifices. Yet we entered this combination freely; we continue in it freely, and when we wish, we will, any of us, depart as freely, and attach ourselves to another church. Am I a Methodist minister? Then, being such, my excellent bishop (God bless him!) can send me to the Cape of Good Hope, or to China. But I will not call him an oppressor; for I can, in honor too, this very day, make my bow, and take my leave of him and of his authority for ever. Or, am I a Methodist layman? Then, continuing such, I am bound, in honor, to receive and help sustain the minister whom the bishop may choose to send me. But, again I say, I will not call the bishop an oppressor; for when I fall out with such an arrangement, and would choose a different one, why I am at liberty to depart free as the mountain bird.

If the societies of other denominations are unwilling to make the sacrifices which we make, far be it from us to attach to them the smallest blame. We are aware, for example, that the privilege of selecting a pastor suited, to a great extent, to the wants and tastes of the church concerned, and the privilege of retaining that beloved man so long as he continues thus suitable, must be of great price. Let no one be reproached for coveting such a privilege. Were the writer a layman, he would prize a boon like that. He avows it as the sentiment of his heart, that he would greatly love to select his minister. Nor would it be difficult to describe the one who should be placed over him as his spiritual instructor, counselor, and guide. And with what delight would he linger from sabbath to sabbath within the sacred sanctuary! With what pleasure would he listen to that preacher, and, as he listened, eat the food of angels! How would he bless that man of God under the influence of whose instructions and example he might grow wiser, and better, and happier!

That such are the actual sentiments of more than one pious and intelligent layman of the Methodist Church, cannot be doubted. That now and then, in the progress of the regular changes of ministers, a preacher presents himself who, in the mind of one of these laymen, would be the chosen minister, is equally certain. As the allotted term of two years hastens to be finished, that favorite minister and pastor becomes more and more interesting, valued, and dear. How shall he be given up? The supposed member of his society sat down under his ministry from time to time with increasing gratification. His taste, his intellect, his heart, his whole character, were more or less molded and improved under the influence of the instructions of the sanctuary. How shall he be influenced to give up his beloved minister, and, for a time at least, accept one less capable, less eloquent and attractive? What consideration shall ever induce the afflictive sacrifice? None, save one—*the greater good.* For that single idea he consents to resign his minister. Though, as he contemplates that man of God, he still longs to have him linger; though a thousand sacred associations cluster around his person and his name; though his presence is for ever welcome and pleasant, and his voice is as celestial music to the soul; though all these circumstances combine, yet the idea, in the mind of the layman, of the greater good, unclenches his grasp, and he bids his beloved pastor go. True, the heart bleeds; the world grows dark around that weeping man. As his minister, his light retires, yet a mellow ray still plays along the cloud, while in the midst of his tears he says, *The greater good will ensue.*

And this, again, is Methodism. For the greater general good, the Methodist ministry submit to circulate: for the greater general good, the Methodist societies consent to such an arrangement, foregoing, of their own free will and accord, the superior personal advantages which they might be supposed to realize under a different system.

Call you this too refined a philanthropy? But is it more so than what is inculcated by that rule which teaches us to do to others as we would that they, under a change of circumstances, should do to us? Is it more so than what is inculcated in the command to love our neighbor as ourselves? Is it a more refined philanthropy than what is brought to view when we are taught to look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others?

Here, did our limits permit, we might linger around the bright, as well as the melancholy aspect of the itinerant arrangement in respect to its influence upon the laity, and demonstrate that, in favor of the Methodist community, there are some lights as well as shades along this picture. It might, for example, be inquired whether a change of ministers be not sometimes desirable; whether this be not felt by other churches as well as by the societies of the Methodist Church? Nay, it might be inquired whether a change of pastors, of late years especially, be an event at all uncommon in any of the denominations? It might be inquired, moreover, whether, when in one of the other denominations a change of ministers becomes desirable, such a change be not full often a matter of extreme delicacy and difficulty? Are not great skill and prudence often requisite? Are not much time and expense frequently consumed? Is it uncommon that there are jarring views and discordant feelings to be harmonized? And after all has been done that is possible, will not some hearts mourn? Will not some bitterness be engendered? some shock, more or less severe, agitate the society? But we forbear. It will be easily perceived that the Methodist system, severe as it is, yet, of necessity, precludes, to a very great extent, all such evils. In this system a change of pastors is a prominent and constitutional feature. That change is stated and regular. It is anticipated by all parties, and is accomplished, in ordinary cases, without difficulty. If the minister prove unacceptable, he will certainly retire at the appointed time, nor is that time far distant. He will go, and another will take his place without trouble, with little expense or delay.

From the foregoing remarks one or two inferences naturally follow.

1. We infer, first, the impropriety of *radicalism*.

Radicalism, as the term is here used, seems to signify a decided and freely expressed disapprobation of some one or more of the principles or usages of the church of which the individual concerned is a member. It is not meant to be insinuated that mere disapproval, however decided, should be set down as radicalism. It seems rather to be the free publication of such dislike, and so as to promote disturbance rather than peace and quietness. Having voluntarily become a member of a community, whether civil or ecclesiastical, consistency, as well as religion, seems to require that we refrain from waging war with the principles or polity of that community. Has a man, of his own free accord, associated himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church? Then, sustaining the relation which he has assumed, he is bound, in honor, to withhold his sympathies from any and all unconstitutional efforts to derange the usages of this church. Should it ever come to pass that he ceases to acquiesce in those usages or principles, such dissent may be perfectly innocent and honorable. And should this dissent become so decided as to induce him to retire to another communion, his exchange may be entirely righteous and irreproachable. If his change of views was the result of deliberate, thorough, and honest investigation, and his change of church relation was dictated by a stern and strong sense of duty, he should be approved rather than blamed for the course he adopts. He simply goes to another branch of the great Christian family, to be there, as we may hope, more happy and useful than amid his former associations. But we should all be judicious and consistent. We should be "one thing or another." We should not be associated with a community to accuse, criminate, or subvert, lest, like the fabled warriors of classic story, who grew suddenly from the earth ready armed, we wound and destroy each other. Grant, if you please, that the Methodist system is imperfect, and that in some of its features it might be improved. Yet it might better, a thousand times, exist as it is, than not exist at all. If you may prudently and constitutionally effect a reform, then do so; and may God speed you in the effort! But if this be impossible, then hush every reforming attempt of a different character.

2. We infer, secondly, the importance of charitable and elevated views of the different classes of an evangelical ministry.

An itinerant ministry is the settled policy of Methodism. To us this appears, and not without reason, to be more apostolical, efficient, and useful. It has confessedly proved a highly favored instrumentality, and blessed and glorious shall be its fruits as they

shall stand disclosed in the day of eternity. At the same time, there need be no quarreling with a settled ministry. Rather call it a great and rich blessing to the land and world. Let never a note be raised against such a ministry. Tell, rather, of the delicious fruits which, by this ministry, have been brought forth for the healing of the nations. Tell of the multitudes of souls that have thus been converted and saved. Tell of the multitudes of laborers that have thus been introduced into the great harvest of the world. Tell of the powerful missionary organizations that have been established by the agency of a settled ministry, and of the company of missionaries thus scattered over the four quarters of the earth. Tell of the zeal of this ministry in rearing up colleges and seminaries of various kinds for the promotion of education, and scientific and sacred learning. Tell of their zeal in defense of the great principles of truth, and for the detection and overthrow of pernicious errors. Tell of their readiness to defend and promote almost every noble and benevolent purpose. Fletcher, of Madeley, who might almost be mistaken for an angel incarnate, was a settled minister. So was his contemporary of this country, that gigantic and holy man, Edwards of North Hampton. So was Payson, of Portland, who only a few years ago went to heaven as in a chariot of fire. So are many living names whose praise is in all the churches; whose piety, intelligence, and usefulness are worthy of universal imitation. We will not undertake to say that these men would not have been more useful had they circulated. One truth is clear. They have done the world great good as settled ministers. Then let that glorious institution stand. Palsied be the hand that would be uplifted to destroy or to tarnish it! Let it remain firm unto the end. Let the fair sun of millennial glory, as it shall rise one day on the world, beam upon the settled ministry of this land, and gild their churches with its heavenly radiance! But the *traveling* ministry are needful too. In addition to the settled ministry, the condition and genius of society demand, for the full supply of its spiritual necessities, that peculiar modification which we term *itinerancy*. Let, then, this noble system stand also. Let this too, in ever increasing strength, purity, and efficiency, travel on to meet the rising of the millennial morning. Let not a wheel be clogged. Let not a jarring string be drawn to grate harsh discord. In delightful harmony permit the vast machinery to operate—gathering immortal blessings for the race, and helping to elevate mankind to heaven and to God.

Wilbraham, Mass., December, 1842.

ART. VI.—*Incidents of Travel in Yucatan.* By JOHN L. STEPHENS, author of "Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land," "Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," &c. Illustrated by one hundred and twenty engravings. Two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

MR. STEPHENS has had the great good fortune as a traveler to visit countries, both in the old and new worlds, almost unknown before, which imparts to his books of travels a charm of freshness and novelty, that, combined with his peculiarly happy talent of description, renders them in the highest degree agreeable and interesting. The publication of Waverley first brought to light that rich vein in Sir Walter Scott's mind which he afterward wrought for years to his own great profit and honor, and the no less delight of mankind. A like favorable reception attended our author's first appearance before the public as a writer of travels; and he has had the good sense to listen to the voice of the oracle, and go on with his mission. It happened most opportunely for him that just at the time his curiosity as a traveler, and his ambition as a writer, were thus strongly excited, the antiquities of Central America were coming to the knowledge and attracting the attention of the learned; but no account of them was to be found except in recent works, and those too costly for general circulation here; and the American public may be justly said to have been first apprised of their existence through the lectures of a clergyman of New-York, distinguished alike for his learning and his eloquence, delivered in that city in the winter of 1838, 1839. In the following autumn Mr. Stephens was sent out as our diplomatic representative to the republic of Central America, and very judiciously took advantage of the privileges of his public character to facilitate him in prosecuting his researches among the ruins recently discovered in that part of the western continent. In these researches he found a most able coadjutor in Mr. Catherwood, by the aid of whose pencil he was enabled to bring away accurate drawings of almost every thing seen. On their return to the United States, the result of their conjoined labors was given to the public in a popular form, which circulated everywhere, and soon spread far and wide the knowledge of these mighty monuments of a mysterious race. But a single visit to these deserted monuments of the past did not satisfy the curiosity which it awakened: a second was made, for the purpose of renewing and

extending the researches in the peninsula of Yucatan, during which many ruins were explored that had never before been visited or known to exist, of which a minute and most satisfactory account is given in the interesting and instructive volumes here introduced to our readers.

In the following brief notice of the work we do not propose to discuss the great question of the age and origin of the monuments of which it treats. Before such a discussion can be undertaken with any satisfactory results, a vast deal remains to be done with the materials Mr. Stephens has collected, an exact comparison must be made of the monuments with each other, and with the antiquities of the old world in all their details—their sculptured and pictured symbols, probably indicative of the uses to which they were applied, must be carefully studied, the traditions still extant among the remnants of the Indian tribes must be examined, and the affinities of their languages traced out and determined. Unfortunately the opportunity for making these investigations with the greatest chance of success has been suffered to pass away unimproved. Had they been undertaken at the time of the Spanish conquest, the deep veil of obscurity which now overshadows them might probably have been raised. The edifices now in ruins, must have then been in such a state of preservation as would have shown to what uses they were applied, and living voices from within them might have told how long they had stood, and who were their builders. Their traditions, too, were then entire, their languages uncorrupted, and their spirit unsubdued; but the Indians of the present day are as mere ruins of the proud races from which they descended, as the crumbling walls now are of the stupendous edifices to which they belonged, and the silence of both with respect to the past is alike profound. But on the other hand, archaiological learning has made great advances since that period: the ingenuity of Champollion and Rosellini has discovered the key of the hieroglyphics, ancient symbols are read and understood, craniology distinguishes the races of men, and comparative anatomy enables the savant to determine the species of an animal, from inspecting the small fragment of a bone. We may therefore hope that the darkness which has gathered by time, may still be dispelled by the new light derived from this immense increase of scientific knowledge, and that the mystery will at last be completely penetrated. Nothing can contribute more directly to the accomplishment of this great object than the impulse given by Mr. Stephens's publications; next to seeing them with one's own eyes is seeing them through his, and next to a sight of the

buildings themselves is a sight of Mr. Catherwood's exact delineations of them; if it is possible to rescue them from further oblivion, it will be done by such perseverance and fidelity as theirs. From these general observations, and the claims of Mr. Stephens relating to them, we now proceed to a more particular analysis of the work in hand.

The peninsula of Yucatan, to which Mr. Stephens's last journeyings were confined, offers very little to interest the scholar or the general reader, so far as relates to the present, and but for the discovery of its memorials of the past, both its cities and its solitudes would probably have remained for centuries to come as safe from the searching eye of the traveler as they have done since European first set foot in it. But notwithstanding the dearth of material, our author, with his wonted ingenuity, has contrived to gather "honey from the weed," and enrich his volumes with a variety of pleasant information relative to this out-of-the-way region, and its half-civilized, half-savage inhabitants. And then, too, the relation of his personal adventures is given with a vivacity and humor that compensate for this deficiency: in this respect he has an art of his own, by which he carries his readers along with him as it were *compagnons du voyage*, and sympathizers in every occurrence, however trifling, whether it be the pleasure of a cooling draught or the pain of an attack of garrapatas. On all these topics, however, we can touch but lightly, intending to confine our comments chiefly to the monuments explored: we therefore pass over the first five chapters of the work, devoted to the incidents of his voyage, the city, society, and customs of Merida, the political state of Yucatan, and an abstract of its conquest and early history from Cogolludo—that we may come to our more specific object.

The remains of forty-four ruined cities are described in these volumes, of which the first in order are those of Mayapan. On this same site once stood the ancient capital of the country, now marked by no other vestiges than half-buried mounds, the edifices that formerly surmounted them having all disappeared except one: this is a circular building of small extent and of the usual construction: near it, upon a terrace projecting from the mound, there are columns without capitals still erect, and standing in a regular double row, but how they had been connected with the building there is nothing to show. Maya was the Indian name both for the whole peninsula and the language of its inhabitants. This language is particularly deserving of attention at this time, as it was the one through which the Spanish conquerors first held communication with the natives of the American continent. Happening

to make captive a Mexican female, called by them Marina, by whom it was understood, as she had been born and brought up on the confines of Tabasco, and who also knew something of Spanish, they availed themselves of her knowledge for the purposes of mutual interpretation. By referring to Adelung's Mithridates, the general characteristics of this language may be learned, or more particularly from Bonaventura's Grammar of it, published at Mexico in 1684: its vocabulary may be studied in the dictionaries of Beltran, Avendano, or Villalpando, and a specimen of it is given in the Appendix to our author's second volume, purporting to be a concise history of the peninsula of Yucatan before the conquest. How much credit should be attached to this document we will not pretend to decide; but it is worthy of notice as a curious, original summary of history; therefore we have introduced it as abridged by Mr. Stephens:—

"Four epochs were expended by the Toltecos between their departure from their city under the direction of Tolonchante Peech, and their arrival at Chacnouitan. They arrived at this province of Chacnouitan in the first year of the following epoch, and remained in the same place with their captain Ajmekat Tutul Xiu during the space of four epochs more. They discovered Ziyancan, or Bacalar, and governed in it three epochs, until they came to Chichen Itza. They remained here until their departure to colonize Champoton, a period of six epochs. From the discovery of Champoton, where they settled and reigned until it was destroyed, and they lost it, thirteen epochs elapsed. They were wanderers among the hills during two epochs, when they established themselves for the second time at Chichen Itza. In the following epoch, Ajcuitok Tutul Xiu colonized Uxmal, and reigned with the governor of Mayapan during ten epochs. After a further lapse of three epochs, and on the tenth year of the one following, Chacxibchac, governor of Chichen Itza, was defeated by Tunac-eel, governor of Mayapan, and his seven generals. In this same epoch of the defeat of the governor of Chichen, they marched to attack Ulmil, king of Chichen, because he had made war against Ulil, king of Yzamal, and the object was effected by Tunac-eel in the following epoch. After this epoch, Ulmil, king of Chichen, recovering from his defeat, invaded the territory of Mayapan in the following epoch, and, after the lapse of two more, and in the third year of the one following, Mayapan was destroyed by the strangers, inhabitants of the hills. After the lapse of three more epochs, the Spaniards arrived for the first time, and gave to this province the name of Yucatan. In the following epoch occurred the plague, which visited even the temples and castles; and in its sixth year Ajpula died, on the 11th of September, 1493. In the eleventh epoch, and the last of this record, was the arrival of the conquerors; this happened in 1527. In the following epoch the conquest was finished, and the first bishop reached the province: the first occurred in January, 1541, and the other in 1560."

Merian, in his "Principes de l'Etude Comparative des Langues," has a chapter on the comparison of the American languages with the idioms of the ancient continent, in which he gives a list of more than three hundred analogies discovered by him, remarking, at the same time, that Vater, by the aid even of Humboldt's collections, had found not more than sixty Americo-European, Americo-Asiatic, and Americo-African analogies. Of Merian's three hundred, the following nine are with the Maya:—White in Maya is *zak*, in Ostiak it is *tchaga;* the hair in Maya is *tsots*, in Turkish *tsats;* heaven in Maya *kaan*, in Koriaik *kayan;* neck in Maya *kál*, in Latin *coll*-um; shoulder in Maya *patch*, in Armenian *petch;* throat in Maya *kal*, in Calmuck *khol*, in Armenian *koul*, in German *kehle;* day in Maya *kin*, in Kasikoumuk *kini;* house in Maya *na*, in Tonguin *nha;* fish in Maya *kai*, in Tonguin *ka*. It will be observed that the affinities of the Maya are mostly with the languages of Asia.

On visiting the ruins of Uxmal, after an absence of little more than a year, our author is at once struck with the change which so short a time had wrought in the aspect of things around them, indicating, we infer, an increasing rapidity in the progress of decay. The wonder is, that these edifices should so long have resisted its power—situated as they are in a tropical region, where the giant force of vegetable nature tramples down every thing that is not protected by the guardian hand of man, and entirely deserted for centuries, they must ere this have become one mass of undistinguishable ruins had they not been constructed with masterly skill, and of the most imperishable materials. "Age shakes Athena's tower," and crumbles into dust the proud palaces of the Cesars upon the Palatine, but these nameless monuments are still standing, many of them almost in their original grandeur, and standing in defiance of such devastations as are described in the following passage from our author:—

"The foundations, terraces, and tops of the buildings were overgrown with weeds, and vines were rioting and creeping on the façades, and mounds, terraces, and ruins were a mass of destroying verdure. A strong and vigorous nature was struggling for mastery over art, wrapping the city in its suffocating embraces, and burying it from sight. It seemed as if the grave was closing over a friend, and we had arrived barely in time to take our farewell.

"Amid the mass of desolation, grand and stately as when we left it, stood the Casa del Gobernador, but with all its terraces covered and separated from us by a mass of impenetrable verdure."—Vol. i, p. 150.

The edifice just named is one of the grandest of the many described by Mr. Stephens; a few particulars taken from his account of it may suffice to give some slight idea of its extent and magnificence; but to judge of it correctly, the description in the work itself must be read and compared with the fine drawing which ornaments the frontispiece of the first volume. It stands on an artificial elevation, formed of three successive terraces rising one above another, the lowest being five hundred and seventy-five feet in length, and the highest three hundred and sixty, all of which are supported by substantial walls of stone. The building itself is entirely of stone, and is three hundred and twenty-two feet in length. A cornice runs all the way round it, just above the doorways, dividing the lower part, the surface of which is smooth, from the upper, that is covered with elaborately sculptured ornaments, repeated without variation, except over the principal doorway, where there is a huge figure representing a person seated on a kind of throne, with a lofty head-dress decorated with enormous plumes of feathers, and above it a peculiar kind of symbol often found on these ruins. Around the head of this figure there are rows of characters, which, on close inspection, were found to be hieroglyphics; and as accurate drawings of them were made by Mr. Catherwood, they may hereafter be deciphered, and help to lay open this hitherto mysterious volume. It is to be hoped that a like precaution was used to preserve the sculptured hieroglyphics on the wooden beam, which was removed from the building and brought to New-York, and deposited in the Rotunda for the Panoramas, where it was unfortunately burnt, with many other curious and valuable objects collected from these ruins. From a sepulchre found amid the ruins of San Francisco a human skull was dug up, which was afterward sent to Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, for examination, who discovered in it the "same type of physical conformation that has been bestowed with amazing uniformity upon all the tribes in our continent," which fact Mr. Stephens regards as conclusive in support of his opinion, that "the builders of these ruined cities are of the same great race which still clings around these ruins." Were this broad inference allowable, the great question might indeed soon be settled, as nothing would be easier than to open other sepulchres and collect from them any number of crania that might be requisite for a satisfactory comparison. That these buildings have been used as temples of worship, and for other similar purposes, by the progenitors of the living race of Indians, there can be no doubt; but this circumstance, as a proof that they were built by them, is not more

conclusive than it would be to argue from the actual use of the Pantheon as a Christian church, that it was originally raised and dedicated to the one living and true God, or that the church of St. Sophia must have been built by the Turks since the conquest of Constantinople, because it is now a Mohammedan mosque. No question connected with the history of the human family is so uncertain as that of the origin of the primitive inhabitants of America, and upon none should conclusions be formed with greater caution; one only fact in regard to it seems incontrovertibly established—the remnants of tribes still existing, with the exception of those near the polar circle, are descended of one and the same race—this is proved by conformation of skull, color of skin, defect of beard, and their smooth and shining hair. Humboldt, in the introduction to his "Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amerique," after stating the fact, goes on to say that "recent observations have proved, that not only the inhabitants of Unalaska, but also many tribes of South America, show, by the osteological character of the head, the passage from the American to the Mongolian race," and then adds, "When a close examination shall have been made of the swarthy Africans, and of that swarm of people which inhabit the interior and north-east of Asia, called by travelers by the vague name of Tartars and Tschoudes, the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Malay, and Negro races, will appear to differ less, and one sole type will be recognized in the great family of man, modified by circumstances, which will probably remain for ever unknown to us." In this concluding suggestion we fully agree with him, persuaded that the diversity of races, as well as of languages, is designed by our benevolent Creator for the wisest of purposes, but one which is too wonderful for man's comprehension, and unto which he will never attain.

The ruins of Uxmal are more numerous, greater in extent, and of a more imposing character, than any others explored by our travelers, and we should greatly regret that they had not received their undivided time and labors, if they had not been particularly described and elaborately drawn in the splendid work of Waldeck. His drawings, however, differ in many material points from those of Mr. Catherwood, owing, as Mr. Stephens suggests, to his not being an architectural draughtsman; there is some difference also in regard to facts, but not more than may easily be accounted for, from the greater difficulty of access to the ruins at the time of Waldeck's visit, they being then overgrown with trees, which were afterward cleared off to make room for a cornfield. In addition to the Casa del Gobernador, already spoken of, and the Casa de las

Tortugas, which stands on the second of the three terraces occupied by the former, there are four others, scarcely inferior to it in magnificence, in the immediate vicinity, one of which, the Casa de las Monjas, or House of the Nuns, particularly entitled to notice from several peculiarities in its construction, is thus described by our author:—

"This building is quadrangular, with a court-yard in the centre. It stands on the highest of three terraces. The lowest is three feet high and twenty feet wide; the second, twelve feet high and forty-five feet wide; and the third, four feet high and five feet wide, extending the whole length of the front of the building.

"The front is two hundred and seventy-nine feet long, and above the cornice, from one end to the other, it is ornamented with sculpture. In the centre is a gateway ten feet eight inches wide, spanned by the triangular arch, and leading to the court-yard. On each side of this gateway are four doorways with wooden lintels, opening to apartments averaging twenty-four feet long, ten feet wide, and seventeen feet high to the top of the arch, but having no communication with each other.

"The building that forms the right or eastern side of the quadrangle is one hundred and fifty-eight feet long; that on the left is one hundred and seventy-three feet long, and the range opposite or at the end of the quadrangle measures two hundred and sixty-four feet.

"These three ranges of buildings have no doorways outside, but the exterior of each is a dead wall, and above the cornice all are ornamented with the same rich and elaborate sculpture. On the exterior of the range last mentioned, the designs are simple, and among them are two rude, naked figures, which have been considered as indicating the existence of that same Eastern worship before referred to among the people of Uxmal.

"Such is the exterior of this building. Passing through the arched gateway, we enter a noble court-yard, with four great façades looking down upon it, each ornamented from one end to the other with the richest and most intricate carving known in the art of the builders of Uxmal; presenting a scene of strange magnificence, surpassing any that is now to be seen among its ruins. This court-yard is two hundred and fourteen feet wide, and two hundred and fifty-eight feet deep."

"At the end of the court-yard, and fronting the gate of entrance, is the façade of a lofty building, two hundred and sixty-four feet long, standing on a terrace twenty feet high. The ascent is by a grand but ruined staircase, ninety-five feet wide, flanked on each side by a building with sculptured front, and having three doorways, each leading to apartments within.

"The height of this building to the upper cornice is twenty-five feet. It has thirteen doorways, over each of which rose a perpendicular wall ten feet wide and seventeen feet high above the cornice, making the whole height forty-two feet from the ground. These lofty structures

were no doubt erected to give grandeur and effect to the building, and at a distance they appear to be turrets, but only four of them now remain. The whole great façade, including the turrets, is crowded with complicated and elaborate sculpture, among which are human figures rudely executed: two are represented as playing on musical instruments, one being not unlike a small harp, and the other in the nature of a guitar; a third is in a sitting posture, with his hands across his breast, and tied by cords, the ends of which pass over his shoulders. Of the rest there is nothing which stands out distinct and intelligible like the serpent, and the whole, loaded as it is with ornament, conveys the idea of vastness and magnificence rather than that of taste and refinement.

"This building has one curious feature. It is erected over, and completely incloses, a smaller one of older date. The doorways, walls, and wooden lintels of the latter are all seen, and where the outer building is fallen, the ornamented cornice of the inner one is visible."—Vol. i, pp. 299–304.

Another short extract and we have done with Uxmal: from it our readers will understand what an immense field for research was presented in this intensely interesting spot:—

"At the north-east angle of this building is a vast range of high, ruined terraces, facing east and west, nearly eight hundred feet long at the base, and called the Campo Santo. On one of these is a building of two stories, with some remains of sculpture, and in a deep and overgrown valley at the foot, the Indians say, was the burial-place of this ancient city; but, though searching for it ourselves, and offering a reward to them for the discovery, we never found in it a sepulchre.

"Besides these there was the Casa de la Vieja, or the House of the Old Woman, standing in ruins. Once, when the wind was high, I saw the remains of the front wall bending before its force. It is four or five hundred feet from the Casa del Gobernador, and has its name from a mutilated statue of an old woman lying before it.

"Near by are other monuments lying on the ground, overgrown and half buried, (referred to in the Appendix,) which were pointed out to us by the Indians on our first visit. North of this there is a circular mound of ruins, probably of a circular building like that of Mayapan. A wall which was said to encompass the city is laid down on the plan so far as it can be traced; and beyond this, for a great distance in every direction, the ground is strewed with ruins; but with this brief description I close. I might extend it indefinitely, but I have compressed it within the smallest possible limits. We made plans of every building and drawings of every sculptured stone, and this place alone might furnish materials for larger volumes than these; but I have so many and such vast remains to present that I am obliged to avoid details as much as possible. These it is my hope at some future day to present with a minuteness that shall satisfy the most craving antiquary, but I trust that what I have done will give the reader some definite idea of the ruins of Uxmal. Perhaps, as we did, he will ima-

gine the scene that must have been presented when all these buildings were entire, occupied by people in costumes strange and fanciful as the ornaments on their buildings, and possessing all those minor arts which must have been co-existent with architecture and sculpture, and which the imperishable stone has survived."—Vol. i, pp. 320, 321.

Mr. Stephens's first volume closes with a minute and accurate account of the ruins of Kabah, which he thinks have never before been visited by any white man, except a Catholic priest, residing in the vicinity. "Since the hour their desolation came upon them," says he, "these buildings had remained unknown. We were the first to throw open the portals of the grave, and they are now, for the first time, presented to the public." They are similar in most respects to those of Uxmal, and, like them, stand upon lofty terraces, covered even more profusely with sculptured ornaments, some of which were more elegant and tasteful than any observed elsewhere. Particular mention is made of a curiously carved lintel, covered with well-preserved hieroglyphics, and executed in a style that betokens great proficiency and skill in the art of carving on wood. This was separated from its place in the building with great labor, and brought to New-York, where it unfortunately shared the fate of the other relics deposited in the Panorama. Although there is but little peculiar in the construction of these edifices of Kabah, we judge from all that is here said of them that none are more deserving of study on account of their sculptured hieroglyphics, and it is from them the voice must come if they are ever made to speak forth their own story. But we must leave them, and pass on.

We should not do much for the edification of our readers were we to follow our author in his researches among the many remaining ruins which he explored; for we trust that none will rest satisfied without reading the full and faithful descriptions contained in the work itself, and it is but an imperfect idea at best which can be conveyed of them without the aid of Mr. Catherwood's delineations. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that their general characteristics, as already given, continue throughout, the variations being only in their magnitude, elevation, manner of ornamenting, and a few other particulars of less importance, and in nothing whatever that marks a different style of architecture. The rectangular, long, and narrow temple, raised upon a terrace, and sometimes disposed in a quadrangular form; the teocalli, or pyramid, and the regular circular edifice, are the predominant types, and are substantially the same in all the ruins. We would not be understood that every thing is uniform; we have already spoken

of some peculiarities, and others might be pointed out, but none indicating an essential difference in the style of building.

The most remarkable of the ruins described in Mr. Stephens's second volume are those of Labna and Chichen Itza; the latter are mostly in good preservation and of a very majestic character, with a greater variety of ornament and more numerous hieroglyphics than the other edifices generally. In some, the walls of the apartments are covered with curious paintings, which are described by our author as "representing, in vivid colors, human figures, battles, houses, trees, and scenes of domestic life." "These," he further remarks, "have a higher interest than any that attaches to them as mere specimens of art, for among them are seen designs of figures, which forcibly call to mind the well-known picture writings of the Mexicans, and if these analogies are sustained, this building attached to the walls of the Tennis Court stands an unimpeachable witness that the people who inhabited Mexico at the time of the conquest, belonged to the same great race which furnished the builders of the ruined cities in Yucatan." Here, too, he observed a peculiar feature among the ruins of another kind: "Groups of small columns standing in rows of three, four, and five abreast, many rows continuing in the same direction, and then changing and pursuing another; these columns were low, many not more than three feet high, and the highest not above six, formed of several separate pieces like millstones; the number counted was three hundred and eighty, but there were many more too much broken or too confused to be counted. They inclose an area nearly four hundred feet square, and although incomprehensible in their uses and object, add largely to the interest and wonder connected with these ruins."

At Akè, a still more remarkable group of columns is described, which is spoken of by Mr. Stephens as a new and extraordinary feature, entirely different from any he had seen; and here it is that he concludes his researches among these wonderful ruins, and with what feelings and impressions we can best learn from himself, in his own words, which are as follows:—

"I have now finished my journey among ruined cities. I know that it is impossible by any narrative to convey to the reader a true idea of the powerful and exciting interest of wandering among them, and I have avoided as much as possible all detailed descriptions, but I trust that these pages will serve to give some general idea of the appearance which this country once presented. In our long, irregular, and devious route, we have discovered the crumbling remains of forty-four ancient cities, most of them but a short distance apart, though, from the great

change that has taken place in the country, and the breaking up of the old roads, having no direct communication with each other; with but few exceptions, all were lost, buried, and unknown, never before visited by a stranger, and some of them, perhaps, never looked upon by the eyes of a white man. Involuntarily we turn for a moment to the frightful scenes of which this now desolate region must have been the theatre; the scenes of blood, agony, and wo which preceded the desolation or abandonment of these cities. But, leaving the boundless space in which imagination might rove, I confine myself to the consideration of facts. If I may be permitted to say so, in the whole history of discoveries there is nothing to be compared with those here presented. They give an entirely new aspect to the great continent on which we live, and bring up with more force than ever the great question which I once, with some hesitation, undertook to consider: Who were the builders of these American cities?"—Vol. ii, pp. 444, 445.

Having replied to the arguments in favor of the greater antiquity of these ruins than he has assigned to them, he repeats his own belief that they were the works of the same races who inhabited the country at the time of the conquest, and then presents the following summary of his views on the whole subject:—

"Who these people were, whence they came, and who were their progenitors, are questions that involve too many considerations to be entered upon at the conclusion of these pages; but all the light that history sheds upon them is dim and faint, and may be summed up in few words.

"According to traditions, picture writings, and Mexican manuscripts written after the conquest, the Toltecs, or Toltecans, were the first inhabitants of the land of Anahuac, now known as New-Spain or Mexico, and they are the oldest nations on the continent of America of which we have any knowledge. Banished, according to their own history, from their native country, which was situated to the north-west of Mexico, in the year 596 of our era, they proceeded southward under the directions of their chiefs, and, after sojourning at various places on the way for the space of one hundred and twenty-four years, arrived at the banks of a river in the vale of Mexico, where they built the city of Tula, the capital of the Toltecan kingdom, near the site of the present city of Mexico.

"Their monarchy lasted nearly four centuries, during which they multiplied, extended their population, and built numerous and large cities; but direful calamities hung over them. For several years Heaven denied them rain; the earth refused them food; the air, infected with mortal contagion, filled the graves with dead; a great part of the nation perished of famine or sickness; the last king was among the number, and in the year 1052 the monarchy ended. The wretched remains of the nation took refuge, some in Yucatan and others in Guatimala, while some lingered around the graves of their kindred in the great vale where Mexico was afterward founded. For a century

the land of Anahuac lay waste and depopulated. The Chechemecas, following in the track of their ruined cities, reoccupied it, and after them the Acolhuans, the Tlastaltecs, and the Aztecs, which last were the subjects of Montezuma at the time of the invasion by the Spaniards.

"The history of all these tribes or nations is misty, confused, and indistinct. The Toltecans, represented to have been the most ancient, are said to have been also the most polished. Probably they were the originators of that peculiar style of architecture found in Guatimala and Yucatan, which was adopted by all the subsequent inhabitants; and as, according to their own annals, they did not set out on their emigration to those countries from the vale of Mexico until the year 1052 of our era, the oldest cities erected by them in those countries could have been in existence but from four to five hundred years at the time of the Spanish conquest. This gives them a very modern date compared with the pyramids and temples of Egypt, and the other ruined monuments of the old world; it gives them a much less antiquity than that claimed by the Maya manuscript, and, in fact, much less than I should ascribe to them myself. In identifying them as the works of the ancestors of the present Indians, the cloud which hung over their origin is not removed; the time when and the circumstances under which they were built, the rise, progress, and full development of the power, art, and skill required for their construction, are all mysteries which will not easily be unraveled. They rise like skeletons from the grave, wrapped in their burial shrouds; claiming no affinity with the works of any known people, but a distinct, independent, and separate existence. They stand alone, absolutely and entirely anomalous, perhaps the most interesting subject which at this day presents itself to the inquiring mind. I leave them with all their mystery around them; and in the feeble hope that these imperfect pages may in some way throw a glimmer of light upon the great and long vainly mooted question, Who were the peoplers of America? I will now bid farewell to ruins."—Vol. ii, pp. 453–455.

In reviewing these labors of Mr. Stephens we have been fully convinced that he has done more for the elucidation of the mysterious history of the people who inhabited the western continent, prior to the Spanish conquest, than has been done by all the other travelers, with the exception of Humboldt, who have visited it since that time. He does not come before us as an original discoverer, or a philosophic historian—these are not his claims; but he has wrought deep into the mine which others barely opened, and brought out the ore, from which the genuine coin will one day be made. The work he undertook to do he has done admirably, and with a fidelity that is beyond all praise, and to render his services to the public complete, he has placed the results of his investigation within the reach of every man. Had a work so rich in materials and in illustrations been brought out in Europe, a copy of it

would have cost at least ten times as much as the price of these volumes. This is a fact equally creditable to the author and to the publishers, and the mention of it reminds us to make our acknowledgments to the latter for the very fine style in which they have done their part of the work. It would be very unreasonable to expect more with respect either to type, paper, or engravings, for the low price at which it is offered.

We have directed our attention to the great object proposed in Mr. Stephens's work without stopping to comment upon his language and style as a writer: we may, however, observe that we have detected an occasional grammatical error, and the use of many words which he has coined for his own particular use, or adopted from among the provincialisms common in our country.

In the course of our remarks we have had occasion to refer to the researches of Humboldt into the antiquities of this country, and it may not be out of place in concluding them to cite from one of his works the description there given of the principal ruins then known, or rather the only one of which an account had then been published. From this description, which is found in the second volume of his "Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amerique," it will be seen that his opinion as to the antiquity of the building is wholly in accordance with Mr. Stephens's view; in fact, that he does not speak of it as a matter on which he has any doubt. We extract only such parts of the description as are applicable to our present purpose:—

"After having described in this work so many barbarous monuments, having only a purely historic interest, I take great satisfaction in making known an edifice constructed by the Tzapoteques and covered with ornaments of extraordinary elegance. This edifice is designated in the country by the name of the palace of Mitla. It is situated ten leagues to the south-west of the city of Oaxaca, or Gnaxaca, upon the road to Tehuantepec in a granitic country."

"According to the traditions which are preserved, the principal object of these buildings was to mark out the spot in which the ashes of the Tzapotèque princes are deposited.—The plan of the palace, drawn by Don Louis Martin, a distinguished Mexican artist, shows that originally there existed at Mitla five isolated edifices disposed with great regularity. A large gateway, of which some vestiges still remain, conducted to a spacious court, fifty metres (about one hundred and sixty-five English feet) square. Masses of earth, and remains of substructures, show that four small edifices of an oblong form surrounded the court. That on

the right is still in good preservation, and near it portions of two columns are found.

"In the principal edifice we find,—

"A terrace, raised one or two metres above the level of the court.

"A niche—dug out in the wall, probably for an idol.

"A well or passage, down into a tomb. Broad steps lead down to an excavation in form of a cross, supported by columns. The walls are covered with arabesques.

"Six columns intended to support the wooden beams, upon which large square stones rested to form the ceiling. Three of these beams were well preserved. The columns, either porphyry or granite, indicating the infancy of the art, and which, until then, were the only ones found in America, were without capitals, and were nearly six metres in height. In the interior of the apartments were found paintings, representing arms, trophies, and sacrifice.

"The arabesques spoken of form a sort of mosaic, composed of small square stones, skillfully placed, one in conjunction with the other. The mosaic is attached to a mass of clay, as in the Peruvian buildings.

"In the vicinity of Mitla there are found the remains of a great pyramid and some other buildings, similar to that just described. More toward the south, near to Guatimala, in a place called *Palenque*, the ruins of a whole city show the taste of the people of the Toltec and Astec races for architectural ornaments. We cannot decide positively as to the antiquity of these edifices; it does not probably go beyond the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era.

"The *grecques* of the palace of Mitla present without doubt a striking analogy with those of the vases of Magna Grecia, and of other ornaments which are found in other parts of the old continent; but I have already observed in another place, that analogies of this kind do not prove much for the intercommunications of nations, and that in every zone man has ever been pleased with a *rhythmic repetition* of the same forms; repetition which constitutes the principal character of what we call *grecques*, *meanders*, and arabesques. Moreover, the perfection of these ornaments does not indicate a very advanced civilization in the people employing them. The description of the interesting voyage of Krusenstern presents us with arabesques of uncommon elegance, tattooed upon the skin of the inhabitants of the most ferocious isles of the South Pacific Ocean."

ART. VII.—*Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* By Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University. 2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1843.

SINCE the publication of Mr. Stephens's Travels in the East, various works have appeared covering the same ground, of which the latest, and on many considerations the best, is now before us. It is the work of one who has been for many years a distinguished minister in the Methodist E. Church, and is now president of the Wesleyan University at Middletown.

In the spring of 1837 Dr. Olin sailed for Havre, broken and exhausted by protracted illness, and with only the faintest prospect of ever returning to look again upon the land of his birth. He was accompanied by a beloved wife, in the vigor and bloom of health; and, to use his own words, "every way fitted to be the minister of the richest earthly blessing which it had pleased God to confer upon him." In the winter of 1838–9, while proceeding to the south of Italy, this wife was attacked by a wasting disease, which almost immediately proved fatal. Dr. Olin buried her in a small Protestant cemetery in the romantic environs of Naples, and it was "under the pressure of this overwhelming calamity that he first resolved on visiting the East; chiefly with the hope of finding, in the vicissitudes of travel, and in communing with scenes consecrated by great events, some relief for painful reminiscences, which he felt would be rather aggravated than assuaged by an early return to the society of mourning friends."

Setting out with the author in this frame of mind, the reader will not expect any lively narrative of the incidents of his journey; indeed, such a narrative would, under the circumstances, grate upon the chord of sympathy; and, as we should judge, be at variance with the seriousness of Dr. Olin's character at all times.

The work opens with the author's embarkation from Greece for Egypt. "I sailed," he says, "from the Piræus, the beautiful harbor of ancient as well as modern Greece, for Alexandria, on the 19th day of September, 1839, on board the French *steamship* Lycurgus." Here, in the first sentence, we find matter for curious reflection. Dr. Olin is not insensible to the interest attached to historic names, but Athens and the Piræus, the city of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies, and a *steamship*, are all linked together, without even a passing comment upon the oddness of the association. But, in fact, such comment is not called for, and if introduced, it would be trite.

Steamers run regularly from the Piræus to Alexandria; the traveler embarks, as matter of course, and, barring accidents, on the sixth day he dines in Egypt.

On the 25th of December the steamer entered the harbor of Alexandria, where, with the palaces of Mohammed Ali and Pompey's pillar rising before him, Dr. Olin's attention is arrested by the grand spectacle of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets, sixty vessels of war, more than twenty of them line-of-battle ships, all moored together; and possessing at the time an exciting interest, from the fact that the Turkish fleet had been just betrayed to the pacha of Egypt, as Dr. Olin expresses it, "by the stupendous treachery of the Turkish admiral."

This "stupendous treachery," perhaps the greatest in the history of modern wars, which, but for the interference of the allied powers, would have opened the gates of Constantinople and the whole Ottoman empire to the ambitious pacha of Egypt, though an astounding item in the news of the day, was soon forgotten. No account of the circumstances was ever published, and it was generally supposed that, according to the course of events in the East, it had been brought about by the promises and bribes, or the "cunning and gold," of the pacha. Such, on the spot, was Dr. Olin's belief, and so it will perhaps be recorded in the history of the times; but we have reason to believe, on authority which can hardly be questioned, that it was the result of stranger and more deplorable circumstances, and that when the Turkish fleet appeared off the harbor of Alexandria, the intention of the admiral to betray it was entirely unknown to the pacha. Our information comes through the medium of a young American, who received it from the lips of the traitor himself.

Phis young American was well known to the Turkish admiral, having been in the habit, for a long time, of meeting him daily at the ship-yards of Constantinople. Shortly after the betrayal of the fleet, he sailed from Smyrna for Alexandria, and was on board the first vessel that arrived from Turkey after the event occurred. The admiral heard of his arrival, came immediately on board to see him, and, amid earnest and anxious inquiries as to the state of public feeling in regard to himself, unfolded the circumstances which led him, in a rash hour, to stamp with infamy a once honored name.

This admiral, in his rise as in his irretrievable fall, is a striking instance of the mutability of human fortunes in the East. Originally of the class known at Constantinople as caique men, he was selected as a rower for the sultan's own caique, and transferred by

the sultan himself to the naval service. In this he distinguished himself during the whole of the Greek war, and at the battle of Navarino; and gradually, by his own merits and the favor of the sultan, rose to the rank of pacha of three tails, and commander of the Turkish fleet. In the mean time the distinctions of birth were forgotten, and he became the counselor and adviser, friend and companion, of his master. Wealth was added to honor; his children were provided for; throughout the country no name stood higher than his, and there was no man on whom the sultan relied with more confidence. But this high position was attended by its invariable accompaniment at an Eastern court—powerful enemies, bent upon his destruction.

Pending hostilities between Egypt and the Porte, the health of the sultan declined, and at length, worn down by anxiety and suspense, he determined to bring to a crisis the protracted and dangerous war waged against him by his rebellious vassal. The fleet was lying in the Golden Horn. The sultan went on board the flag ship, attended by his principal ministers; and, against their advice and wishes, and supported only by the pacha himself, gave the latter peremptory and final orders to go out and fight the Egyptian fleet, commanding him never to return without an engagement, and to fight till one or the other should be destroyed. He was then lifted on board his caique, and the pacha made sail. Descending the Dardanelles, he stopped at Vourla to take in bread; and while doing so, a messenger arrived with dispatches from the ministers, forbidding him to sail. Suspecting treachery, and a design to bring him into disgrace, he returned the dispatches, under cover, to the sultan, and, without regarding them, went on his way to engage the Egyptian fleet. Detained at the mouth of the Dardanelles by contrary winds, he was overtaken by intelligence of the death of the sultan, and at the same time received private advices that the returned dispatches had fallen into the hands of the ministers. His enemies were triumphant; his fate he considered sealed; he had no mercy to expect. Disgrace and death awaited him if he returned; and, after keeping at sea a few days, he proceeded to Alexandria, and surrendered the fleet. Such was the traitor's own story; it is the only history of the transaction that has ever come to our knowledge, and we mention it not as excusing or palliating his treachery, but perhaps as relieving it of the darker and meaner shade of a barter of honor and honesty, and the reputation of an honorable life, for gold. The unhappy man was then drinking the cup of bitterness, already treated with neglect, and learning the hard lesson, that though the treason was loved, the traitor was

despised. But at the time this did not trouble him; all that he cared for was to know what people thought of him in Turkey: and again it is a relief to the dark picture to learn that, stripped of wealth and power, cut off for ever from kindred and country, with the brand of a traitor on his forehead, and the doom of a traitor impending over him, that which troubled him most, which gave him pangs so acute as to deaden the sense of every other ill, and bring tears into his eyes, was the thought that he was charged with ingratitude to his master—with deserting the sultan in his hour of need, and on his death-bed.

Entering Alexandria, we have at once an insight into the character of Dr. Olin's work. It is singularly minute, and embraces every object of interest, ancient or modern, which the city now contains. At the same time, the scenes which fell under his eyes in his donkey rides are not forgotten. In returning from the Catacombs and Cleopatra's Baths, he was present at an exhibition which he describes as follows:—

"We were stopped by a large crowd, which quite filled the street, near one of the public warehouses. I heard heavy blows, followed by piercing cries, in the midst of the throng of rather shabby-looking people. Urging on my donkey to the spot, I saw an athletic man inflicting merciless blows upon a female with a heavy stick. She cried out piteously, but without any effect. The crowd looked on with interest and apparent satisfaction, and no one attempted to interfere. I inquired of the young Arab whom we had employed as a dragoman what was the meaning of this outrage. He answered, with an air of great indifference, in his bad English, 'It is an Arab man licking his woman.' I asked him if this was a common practice. He answered, 'Yes; the wife do bad, and the Arab lick 'em.' I afterward learned that this sort of domestic discipline is universal in this country. No one supposes it is wrong, or that the conjugal relation can exist on better terms. A European lady, resident in Alexandria, who happened to be with us at the time, informed us that she had lately inquired of a favorite servant after the health of his wife. Very well, he said—better than common the last two days, since he had given her a good flogging. She told him that Englishmen did not whip their wives. He replied, it was indispensable to whip Arab women, otherwise their husbands could not live with them; they were not like Frank women."

Mohammed Ali, with the fleet of the sultan in his hands, seemed at that time to have consummated the great end of his daring and desperate life. Dr. Olin was disappointed of a presentation; but he had an opportunity of seeing him in his public reception room, conversing with his prime minister, and describes him thus:—

"Mohammed Ali was dressed like his ministers and military officers. He wore a high red cap, without the turban. Several persons present

wore the turban around the cap, leaving the upper part only and the tassal in sight. His loose Turkish trowsers, of blue cloth, extended to the knee, below which they fitted close to the leg and ankle, and were ornamented with rows of buttons reaching about half way to the knee. His stockings were of white cotton, and his sharp-pointed slippers of red morocco. The outside dress was a gown or tunic of black silk, hanging below the knee, open before, and very loose. His enormous sleeves were open from the wrist nearly to the elbow, and swung loosely. Under this tunic was a close-sleeved jacket of splendid colors, and richly embroidered before. A sumptuous variegated girdle was wound several times about the body, just above the hips, and carelessly tied. He wore a cimiter, as did all the high personages present."

On the 28th of December, Dr. Olin and party (Mr. and Mrs. C., of New-York) set out for Cairo. The first step of this journey is on the canal of Mahmoudia; and we find here another step in the march of improvement. Dr. Olin tells us that he embarked on board "a packet-boat which plies between Alexandria and Atfeh three times a week, a very commodious conveyance, equal to the ordinary packets on our canals. *Breakfast and dinner* are supplied on board in the European style." Among the passengers was Mr. Larkin, who advised Dr. Olin of a feature new to us in the late policy of the Egyptian government. The reader is aware that the greater part of the soil of Egypt belongs to the pacha. He uses it as an estate for life, controls the labor of the peasantry, takes the products into his own granaries, at his own price, and, to a great extent, he is the only proprietor, manufacturer, and merchant in Egypt. Besides his own exactions, the Fellahs or peasants are subject to the intermediate peculations and extortions of tax-gatherers and other officers of the treasury, to such a degree that the germ of industry is crushed, and no Fellah cares to raise more than is indispensable for his own scanty subsistence. The pacha has seen these effects, and, it is said, with pain; perhaps, however, not so much from any feeling of commiseration for his subjects, as from the fact that his revenues are actually diminishing. As one means of remedying the evil, within a year or two he has made an experiment of leasing lands to Franks at a fixed rent. Mr. Larkin had received several grants, containing in the whole about five thousand acres, and embracing several villages, with their inhabitants, who are transferred with the soil. Beyond the annual land tax, the government has no claim; the peasantry are relieved from the endless exactions and oppressions of the tax-gatherer, and accountable only to their new landlord. Mr. Larkin says that at first, in all his attempts at improvement, he was met by uniform distrust. When the Fellahs were urged to plough a larger field, they ob-

jected, saying that they could by no possibility secure more than a bare subsistence, and should only earn money to be robbed of it by the tax-gatherers and men in office; but these objections were gradually overcome, and a large proportion of waste land has been brought into cultivation. This new system, so far as it extends, cannot fail to meliorate the condition of the Fellahs; and as there can be no doubt of an increase of productions by an assurance of the enjoyment of them, it may teach the pacha that lesson of political economy so hard for an Eastern despot to learn, that his own interest is identified with that of his subjects.

The next day our party embarked on the Nile. "On the first of January," says our author, "I first saw the Pyramids, still far to the south, and which so exactly answered to the views given in books of travels, that I seemed to have seen them often." The same day he reached Cairo, and took lodgings in the Frank quarter at *Munday's hotel*. Three weeks were busily employed in visiting the various objects interesting to a traveler; perhaps those which are most so are outside of the walls. Dr. Olin says,—

"The environs of Cairo cannot be properly called grand, nor perhaps beautiful. The region is generally a perfect level, and the improvements are by no means tasteful. Still, every thing is picturesque and unique. From the city to the Nile, on the west, the rich alluvial plain is checkered with long avenues of evergreen Oriental trees, and the outline is filled up with luxuriant fields of wheat and fruitful gardens, which furnish the teeming population of Cairo with a profusion of fine vegetables. Spacious villas, imbowered among the verdant trees, and surrounded by high whitewashed walls; the various contrivances for irrigation—canals and gutters formed upon the top of long earthen mounds or low walls of stone; the huge, clumsy wheels, turned by buffaloes, for drawing water; and then the unwieldy camels, moving slowly along under their enormous loads; the multitudes of donkeys and horses, with their swarthy, almost naked drivers; and the gaudy, flowing dresses of their riders, swelling and waving in the incessant wind, form altogether a scene unlike all that is seen in the Western world, and full of interest and animation, though destitute of any very striking natural features, and certainly deficient in all that improved art and taste contribute to the decoration of nature. Pass out of the city on the opposite side, and you are in the desert. No trees, no cultivated fields—not a shrub or a blade of grass is seen. As far as the eye can reach is a sea of sand. The hills and valleys, which were, perhaps, once verdant and cultivated, have been inundated from the desert, and doomed to irreclaimable sterility. There are no suburbs on this side of the town. The sand has extended its desolation to the gates.

"This dreary region, which seems to abhor vegetation and life, has been appropriately devoted to the dead, and the tombs of more than a

thousand years cover the immense fields of sand that stretch from this side of the city into the desert. When seen at a distance, they have the appearance of a deserted town. The ground occupied by cemeteries is hardly less in extent than one-third of the area of Cairo."

Dr. Olin's account of his visit to the Pyramids is full and particular. Besides his own observation, it contains the results of the investigations of Mr. Wilkinson, perhaps the most thorough that have ever been made, of which but little is known in this country. Our author seems to have suffered the usual annoyances from the Arabs, who swarm around these great monuments, distracting the visitor, and clamoring for bucksheech; but these are minor evils. Before the dominion of Mohammed Ali, the Pyramids were inaccessible. In 1810, a French traveler was obliged to have an escort of five hundred horsemen, to enable him to visit them. Turks, Albanians, Mamelukes, and Arabs of the villages, were all at war with each other; the banks of the Nile, even in the neighborhood of Cairo, were infested with robbers and banditti, and all Egypt was a theatre of violence, rapine, and bloodshed. It is said by the admirers of the present pacha, that he has wrought a greater change in Egypt than has been effected by revolution or conquest since the days of Alexander the Great; and, whatever may be the opinion as to his character, it is due to him to say, that he has made that country as safe for the traveler as England or our own country. The streets of Alexandria and Cairo are as secure as those of London or New-York, and the stranger may stroll on the banks of the Nile as safely as by the Thames or the Hudson. In no country is the traveler treated with more respect; and it is a well-known and disgraceful fact, that, strong in the protection of the pacha's firman, the Frank is often found beating the unresisting Arab in a way that in Italy would gain for him a stab with a stiletto.

On the 15th, after many annoyances and difficulties in procuring a boat, Dr. Olin and party embarked for the voyage up the Nile. Our limits will not permit us to enter into the particulars of this voyage. It terminated at the first cataract. On setting out to return, our author says, "By sunset we were floating with the current down the Nile. I confess," he adds, "that my bosom was filled with strong emotions when I turned my back upon what I trust will prove the end of my protracted wanderings, and commenced a voyage which I hope to prosecute with only brief detours and interruptions, till I once more find myself in the midst of scenes and associations made doubly dear by all I have seen and suffered abroad."

In descending, our traveler stopped at Thebes. His account of the great temples of Camac and Luxor is again enriched with the results of Mr. Wilkinson's observations, and it is perhaps the most full and particular of any that has been published in this country; indeed, we know of none that will give the general reader more accurate information in regard to the ruins of the great city which once extended over the whole valley of the Nile.

Of the temple of Dendera the author says,—

"I could not but recognize in some of its magnificent apartments a fitness, with but few alterations, for the purposes of Christian worship. We may hope that it will yet be devoted to this holy use; and surely a nobler cathedral was never consecrated, not even in Rome, to the service of Almighty God."

On the 21st of February our traveler again reached Cairo. He tells us that he went into Egypt with a settled purpose to resist the strong inducements which might prevail over his prudence, and tempt him to undertake the journey through the wilderness to the Holy Land. "This route," he says, "is fast becoming a fashionable trip, and ladies, no less than voyagers of the hardier sex, have learned to esteem a pilgrimage of some five or six weeks among the Bedouins as quite indispensable in a visit to the Levant." We are not surprised that Dr. Olin's resolution failed him, and that he found himself impelled toward the journey through the wilderness. It is one from which few would be able to turn away. It leads over the Isthmus of Suez, the Red Sea, the wilderness of Etham, and the Mountains of Sinai, Arabia, Edom, and Petra, all full of historic interest, and all teeming with the liveliest associations.

On the second of March our traveler pitched his tent in the desert. His party consisted of the gentleman and lady who had accompanied him to Egypt, an English gentleman with whom he had become acquainted on the Nile, and three Germans and an Englishman whom they found encamped on the ground three miles from Cairo.

The next morning they commenced their march; and here, in our judgment, the great interest of the work before us begins. He was about to pursue the path of the wandering Israelites, when they took up the bones of Joseph and fled before the anger of Pharaoh, among the mountain-passes of Sinai, and through that great and terrible desert which shut them from the land of promise.

The author says,—

"Our caravan consists of about thirty camels, and nearly as many Bedouins, who guide and take care of them. Besides these there are eight or ten servants; in all nearly fifty persons—a motley group of

many nations and languages. We present, when fairly under way, a striking and picturesque appearance. The camels literally groan under huge and unsightly piles of baggage. Beds and bedding, tents, trunks, baskets, carpet-bags, large boxes of provisions, immense bags of provender for the camels, barrels and skins of water, cooking utensils, and coops full of chickens, only begin the catalogue of our cumbrous outfit. One of the gentlemen and some of the attendants are dressed in gorgeous Turkish costume. With the exception of myself, all are armed, and present a bristling array of double-barreled guns, pistols, swords, and long knives. The Bedouins are also armed with short swords and muskets, and their black, fiery eyes, sable complexions, flowing dresses, and naked feet and legs, give a wild and at least semi-barbarous air to the whole scene."

Moving on, however, a new aspect is given to journeying in the desert. Signs of improvement are visible. An occasional heap of stones is seen, picked out of the caravan's path. The East India Company is repairing the road, and our author tells us that "houses or caravansaries have been erected at intervals of eight or ten miles all the way from Cairo to Suez. These are provided with servants and refreshments sent from Cairo, whenever the steamboat is about to sail from Suez to Bombay." Alas! we live in an unhappy age. For a long time Egypt, in the eyes of the civilized world, existed only as a memorial of the past. It was her great antiquity; the mystery that overhung her early history; the recollection of her Pharaohs and her Ptolemies, and the later glories of her caliphs, that filled the mind of the traveler as he wandered through her unpeopled deserts, and among her ruined temples. But these things are passing away. We have met parties of our own townsmen while walking the silent galleries of the Colosseum; we have seen Americans feasting in an excavated dwelling of the ancient Pompeii, and we have dined with Englishmen among the ruins of Thebes: all hallowed associations are passing away. We may regret it, we may mourn over it, but we cannot help it. The world is marching onward. Ours is a practical age: an age of "facts, not fancy." The route to India by Egypt and the Red Sea is fairly opened; the desert in which the children of Israel wandered is a thoroughfare for travelers. British officers, persons connected with the East India Company's service, clerks and directors, with their wives and children, are passing and repassing, and an advertisement is now going the rounds of the English newspapers, that post-coaches, with relays of horses, run from Cairo to meet the steamer on the Red Sea. What the end is to be no man can tell. England must put forth every effort to keep open and retain this rapid communication mith her Indian possessions; every day she must draw closer the bonds of friendly intercourse with Egypt;

the stream of travel must increase; and, among the many changes of an ever-changing world, it would not be the least if a small island in the Western Ocean, whose very existence was unknown until invaded by Julius Cesar, and which was then inhabited by barbarians, should repay the debt which the world owes to the mistress of science, and carry back the light of civilization into a land which was famed for her wise men, to whose schools Grecian and Roman sages resorted, and which was, in fact, the "oracle of nations" centuries before Julius Cesar was born. Nevertheless, may our good genius save us from the bathos of crossing the desert in a post-coach!

But to return. On reaching Suez, our author found an *English hotel*, and saw a *steamboat* on the stocks. And this was on the shore of the Red Sea, the theatre of that stupendous miracle, where God divided the waters, and the Israelites passed over on dry ground, and Pharaoh and all his host were drowned.

Dr. Olin enters into a full consideration of all the published opinions in regard to the precise spot at which the Israelites crossed, and, without being influenced by any theory, gives his own conclusions, founded upon attentive observation, and a careful comparison of the localities with the account given by the sacred historian. He considers, too, in all its bearings, the opinion of Niebuhr and others, who ascribe the receding of the waters, and the dry bed of the sea, to the operation of natural causes, and, with all due respect, expresses his firm conviction that the passage of the Red Sea should be regarded as a miracle in its fullest and broadest sense; as a signal manifestation of Almighty power, not using the great natural agents according to their usual course, but making the winds and the sea obey. His argument is interesting, and, as we think, conclusive. He admits that at the narrow part of the gulf at which, it is contended, the passage was made, a strong wind acting with the tide might drive back the waters so as to leave the channel bare, and allow a passage for the Israelites; but he asks, "What then becomes of the wall of waters on their right hand and on their left?" The mere driving back of the waters does not answer the terms of the Bible description; still less does it satisfy the strong language in the song of Moses: "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together; the floods stood upright as a heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea." Besides, the gulf stretches from north to south, and none but a *northerly* wind could co-operate with the tide in clearing the channel in the manner supposed, whereas we are expressly told that "a strong *east* wind" was the miraculous agent employed.

In our opinion the author has taken the only safe view on this subject. A miracle, he says, had been announced beforehand. It was intended to make the display of divine power more profitable to the disheartened Israelites, and more terrible to the Egyptians; according to the declaration, "I will get me honor upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots and upon his horsemen." We are not for undervaluing the claims of science; but we do not believe that it can answer any good purpose to attempt to bring this sublime miracle within the operation of the laws of nature; for if successful, it throws distrust and doubt over others, which cannot by any possibility be so explained, and gives color to the skeptical opinion of Hume, that it is more probable that the witnesses by whose testimony a miracle is supported deceived themselves, or intended to deceive others, than that an event happened in violation of the laws of nature as established by firm and unalterable experience. We believe that on this subject, and on all connected with the mysteries of our religion, it is unwise to question or doubt. It is better to have faith than to seek after knowledge. The Bible as it is written, and as it is understood by ordinary intellects, is the best guide for man on earth: it teaches him his full duty to God, his neighbor, and himself. In the whole circle of religions there is none so pure, lofty, and certain. Why then put a sword into the hands of the skeptic? Why break the staff of the believer, when none better can be found to lean upon?

Re-enforced at Suez by the addition of three Englishmen and an Italian, our party set out for Mount Sinai. Sending their camels around the head of the gulf, they crossed over in a boat, and encamped at Ayoun Mousa, or the Fountains of Moses. Happily, on this side of the Red Sea we are beyond the reach of improvements; the wilderness is the same as when the children of Israel passed over it; the road has not been repaired, and no coaches run to Mount Sinai.

Journeying in the wilderness, our author says,—

"No reflection forced itself upon me so often or so urgently, in passing over the track of the Israelites, as the utter and universal inaptitude of this country for the sustenance of animal life. It really seems to possess no elements favorable to human existence besides a pure atmosphere, and no appearances favor the supposition that it was ever essentially better.—There is no corn-land or pasturage—no game nor roots—hardly any birds or insects, and the scanty supply of water is loathsome to the taste, provoking rather than appeasing thirst. What could the two millions of Israel have eaten without the miracles of the manna and the quails? How could they have escaped destruction by drought, but for the healing of the waters of Marah?"

And again he says,—

"One of the chief difficulties which I meet with in the narrative of Moses, is that of accounting for the subsistence of the numerous herds and flocks that belonged to the retreating host. We hear of no miraculous provision for their support, and it seems incredible that they could have subsisted upon the scanty verdure afforded by the flinty soil of the desert, after making all possible allowance for its deterioration by the physical changes of three thousand years."

The support of the Israelites, with their flocks and herds, in their long wandering in the wilderness, our author considers as great a miracle as the passage of the Red Sea.

Our author's description of the approach to Mount Sinai is strong and graphic. It is by a valley bounded by high, dark ranges of granite, cut by immense gorges almost to their base, and rising into lofty vertical peaks. The holy mountain towers in front, fifteen hundred feet high, in frowning perpendicular cliffs. It is nearly isolated, and separated by deep valleys, with a wild torrent running through them, from the immense dreary piles of granite, which rise in dark broad masses to the region of the clouds. Allowing for the influence which associations had upon his feelings, he says, "But sure I am I never looked upon a scene of such awful, overpowering grandeur."

At the base of the mountain is a monastery of Greek monks, the only lodging place for the traveler in the desert, which perhaps, at some future day, will be converted into an *English hotel.* It is a massive stone structure, built like a fortress; as a security against the Bedouins, it has no door, and the entrance is by a window under the eave of the roof, thirty feet from the ground. Travelers are drawn up by a windlass. Our party arrived during a shower of rain. Dr. Olin sent up a letter from the Greek patriarch at Cairo, and after waiting half an hour without receiving any answer, seated himself in the rope, and was drawn up to the window. The shelter was not so good as he had promised himself, after a fatiguing journey in the desert; and what we are somewhat surprised at, he almost complains of a want of hospitality on the part of the monks, though he ascribes the ungraciousness of their reception to the largeness of his party, and the difficulty of making provision for the accommodation of so many. We are not able to follow him in his visits to all the interesting objects around Mount Sinai. Standing on its summit, he says, "I may reasonably despair of enjoying another view embracing such a range of grand and impressive objects." Descending the mountain, he says, "We were shown the place where Moses stood during the battle with the

Amalekites in the vale of Rephidim." Of the rock shown as that of Horeb, from which water gushed forth when smitten by the rod of Moses, he says, "Believing, as I do, that water was miraculously brought out of a rock belonging to this mountain, I can see nothing incredible in the opinion that this is the identical rock, and that these fissures and other appearances should be regarded as evidence of that fact."

Our author seems to have formed no very high opinion of the monks.

"I visited the blacksmith's shop, and had occasion, as had other gentlemen of the party, to put the skill of the shoemaker in requisition. His work was incomparably bad, a real curiosity in its way—worth preserving for exhibition in a museum. The labors of the blacksmith appeared to be on a similar scale of excellence. Even the simplest handicraft trades, that minister to the prime and pressing wants of mankind, deteriorate in solitude and the absence of wholesome competition. Man out of society degenerates into a block or a brute, and every violation of the fundamental principles of our nature tends to evil and evil only. I cannot divest myself of the persuasion that the solitudes of Sinai are as little likely to improve the piety of these recluses as their mechanical skill. God has been pleased to make excellence in personal religion, no less than in learning and art, dependent upon means and circumstances which can only be enjoyed among the haunts of men, and in the performance of such duties, and the encountering of such evils, as grow out of the relations of society."

Our party was again re-enforced at the convent, and, on setting out for Petra and Jerusalem, consisted of fifteen travelers, to wit: six Englishmen, four Americans, three Austrians, one Scotchman, and a Venetian, with numerous servants and attendants, making the largest party of Franks that had ever crossed the desert, all except Dr. Olin armed with double-barreled guns, swords, pistols, and long knives.

The first night they had rain, accompanied by a furious gale of wind, which drove the water through their tent clothes, and overthrew several of their tents. The valley, which they had all admired for its romantic situation in the deep bosom of the mountains, became the channel of several powerful torrents, and our author was roused from his bed, and found himself on an island of sand, with a furious stream on each side of his tent. He says,—

"The dawning day disclosed to us a scene of such peculiar and imposing magnificence as almost to compensate for the inconveniences of the night. The valley is hardly more than a quarter of a mile wide, and the almost perpendicular cliffs that form its sides cannot be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand feet in height. Each of these elevations is cut with a narrow, deep channel, formed by the displacement of some perpendicular strata, and running at right angles with the

plane of the slope, quite from the summit to the base. The rain, which so unexpectedly inundated the valley, filled these steep channels, and converted them into foaming, furious cataracts, throughout their entire course, from the top to the foot of the mountains. We gazed at once upon two cataracts ten times as high as Niagara, pouring an overwhelming flood for a transient hour into the thirsty vale where, on the previous evening, not a drop of water could be found."

On the 25th of March our travelers pitched their tents in a grove of palm-trees near the fortress of Akaba, at the eastern extremity of the Red Sea, the Ezion-geber of the Bible, where Solomon made a navy of ships, and now the last stopping place of the pilgrims to Mecca. Here they opened negotiations with the sheikh Hussein for prosecuting their journey to Petra and Hebron. This negotiation was attended with so many difficulties, and so many unreasonable demands were made by the grasping Bedouin, that our author says,—

"Upon the whole, the interest and gratification of making the tour by Akaba and Petra are attended by very serious drawbacks. For myself, I can bear testimony to the irksomeness of our situation, absolutely in the power of a savage, who shows every disposition to impose upon us, and who has very significantly intimated to us that any attempt to get out of his clutches might be attended with danger."

Their next stopping place is at Petra, the long-lost capital of Edom, the record of whose history goes back to the time of Esau; for more than a thousand years buried from the eyes of mankind, its place unknown, and its name almost forgotten; containing the most curious and extraordinary remains existing in the world, all desolate in ruins,—"thorns coming up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, a habitation for dragons, and a court for owls." It is situated within a natural amphitheatre of two or three miles in circumference, encompassed on all sides by rugged mountains, five or six hundred feet in height. The whole of this area is now a waste of ruins, dwelling houses, palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, all prostrate together in undisguishable confusion. The sides of the mountains are cut smooth in a perpendicular direction, and filled with long ranges of dwelling houses, temples, and tombs, excavated with vast labor out of the solid rock; and while their summits present nature in her wildest and most savage form, their bases are adorned with all the beauty of architecture and art, with column and porticoes, and pediments and ranges of corridors, enduring as the mountains out of which they are hewn.

Our author gives a detailed account of the various monuments

of this extraordinary city; but we have room for only one extract. He says,—

"The theatre is in good preservation, and nearly all of the seats, which are cut into the solid rock, still remaining almost entire. It is nearly in the form of a semicircle, fronting the valley, and overhung in the rear by the lofty cliffs, from which it was excavated with immense labor. It has thirty-three rows of seats. The highest and longest is one hundred and fifty-seven paces in length; the lowest, or shortest seat, fifty-seven paces. The chord of the last, measured between the extremes of the semicircle, is forty-seven paces in length. There are remains of a row of columns which extended along the front, parallel with the street. High in the overhanging rock, immediately behind the theatre, are several excavations, which have been thought to be galleries where persons of distinction sat to listen to the performances. They were ill adapted to such a purpose, and were, more probably, tombs made before the theatre was constructed. This vast area was open to the heavens, like the theatres of Athens, and the audience looked full upon the tombs which occupy the opposite cliff. It was a strange taste which chose this gloomy spot, surrounded and overlooked by the dark habitations of death, as the arena of amusement and idle merriment."

On leaving Petra our travelers moved along the base of Mount Hor, the scene of one of the most memorable transactions recorded in sacred history: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying, Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up into Mount Hor; and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there. And Moses did as the Lord commanded; and they went up into Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation, and stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount." On the very "top of the mount," reverenced alike by Mussulmen and Arabs, is the tomb of Aaron.

Hence our travelers continued through the land of Idumea, given to Esau as of the fatness of the earth, but doomed and blasted, and now a barren waste, an eternal monument of the wrath of an offended God, and a fearful witness of the fulfillment of prophecies. "For my sword shall be bathed in heaven; behold it shall come down upon Idumea and the people of my curse to judgment. From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever; but the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it: the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it, and he shall stretch out the lines of confusion and the stores of unfitness. They shall call the nobles thereof

to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the palaces thereof; and it shall be a habitation for dragons and a court for owls. There shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate.—Also Edom shall be a desolation; every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues, the desolation thereof. As in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighboring cities thereof, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it." And again: "O Mount Seir, I am against thee. I will stretch out my hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate. I will make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off him that passeth out and him that returneth. I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return." Our author considers that the attempt to interpret these prophecies literally, and to show that every traveler who has attempted to pass through Edom has been cut off, is unwise and unprofitable; he believes that their import is abundantly satisfied by the breaking up of the great caravan route, and the immense trade which connected India with Egypt, Syria, and the cities of the Mediterranean.

On the 7th of April the travelers arrived safely at Hebron, the frontier town of Palestine, where they got rid of their Bedouin guides. Our author dismisses them with no very handsome compliments; and in taking leave of this route, but a few years ago entirely untraveled, and now, as he says, a "fashionable trip," we cannot help expressing some misgiving for its future safety. We have conversed with a young American who passed through Petra in 1841, '2, two years later. He set out with a party of Englishmen from Akaba, under the questionable protection of the sheikh Hussein, after a long wrangle with a horde of Bedouins, who claimed to form part of their escort, and who were clamorous and threatening at not being permitted to do so. Nothing occurred until after the party left Petra, when Hussein, apprehensive of being waylaid and interrupted, led them a circuitous route for two days among the passes in the mountains. On the third day, as they were returning to the caravan track, they saw about two hundred Bedouins coming down upon them. The Bedouins on both sides made immediate demonstrations for a fight, running up the sides of the hills, and pointing their matchlocks; but after great clamor and confusion, they came to a parley, and the new comers demanded that the travelers should be delivered up to them, to be escorted to Hebron. This was furiously opposed by Hussein and his party, as it would have involved the necessity of

paying over to them part of the money received from the travelers. Fortunately, two of the travelers spoke Arabic, and it was at length arranged that Hussein should pay over a certain portion, and all together the two parties, in a tumultuous body, escorted the travelers to Hebron. The scene, while it lasted, amid the noise and clamor of Arab negotiation, was by no means pleasant in the desert, and the rest of the journey was attended with such anxiety and apprehension, that the travelers were all extremely happy to find themselves within the gates of Hebron. One Englishman was so excited and unnerved, that he became crazy, and on his arrival at Jerusalem blew out his brains with a pistol. It is evident that the Bedouins are roused by the traveling through the desert, and as their rapacity and greediness of money know no bounds, it is to be feared that in some wrangle among themselves the traveler may become involved, and blood may be shed, and if it is once shed by a traveler, we believe that he will never escape from the desert, and that the route through Idumea will again be broken up, and the doors of Petra be closed.

But to return. On arriving at Jerusalem, our travelers, who had clung together for security in the desert, separated, and Dr. Olin went to the house of the American missionaries, where unexpectedly he found Mr. Lanneau, who had attended on his ministry in Charleston, S. C., fifteen years before, and by whom he was received as a friend and Christian brother. Our author says, "God had thus unexpectedly prepared me a resting-place within the walls of his Holy City, and I contemplated his merciful protection extended to me with emotions so strong as to make me forget for a while my bodily sufferings."

And here, on our very entrance into the Holy City, we are obliged to take our leave of the work before us. We have already exceeded the limits allowed us, and unfortunately must part with our author on ground which forms perhaps the most important part of his work, which seems to have been most interesting to himself, and which from professional studies and religious feeling he was perhaps best calculated to make interesting and profitable to the reader. We would fain follow him to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hill of Calvary, and Mount Zion; in his visits to the Garden of Gethsemane, Bethany, and the Mount of Olives; we would accompany him to Bethesda and the Pool of Siloam, the Hill of Evil Council, and Aceldama, or the Field of Blood; we would descend with him to the Brook of Kedron, the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, and the Vale of Jehoshaphat, the great gathering place, where, three thousand years ago, the Jew buried his dead

under the shadow of the Temple of Solomon, and where, even at this day, in every country where his race is known, it is the dearest wish of his heart that his bones may be buried. These, and all the other localities identified with the birth of Christianity, which make Jerusalem holy in the eyes of the Christian, we are obliged to leave untouched. Our author's journey extended to Jericho and the Dead Sea, Nablous, the ancient Seychem, Sebaste, Samaria, the Plain of Esdraelon, Mount Tabor, Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee, Tyre and Sidon, and Beyroot, at which last place the record of it is brought to a close.

In conclusion we have but one general remark to make in regard to the work before us, which is, that a tone of amiable, gentlemanly, and Christian feeling pervades it. Throughout, it bears the unmistakeable stamp of a good man and a true Christian, and while giving valuable information in regard to the countries visited, it elevates the affections and purifies the heart. Our author speaks in commendation of the works of Mr. Stephens and Dr. Robinson, and almost apologizes for throwing on the burdened market another book of travels; but we have no hesitation in saying that his own, regarded in the only light in which it ought to be viewed, as a means of doing good, is better than either. It is certainly better than the former, for the tone appropriate to the consecrated places visited is preserved throughout, and the comments and reflections are such as address themselves to every well-disposed mind; and it is perhaps better than the latter, for it is destitute of all pretensions to critical, philological, and antiquarian learning, which can be profitable only to the few. In our opinion it is eminently calculated to answer the precise end which its author had in view, and we may add, that this end, while it is far higher than that of mere literary distinction, is one which would satisfy the ambition of none but an humble-minded man, acting under a deep sense of the obligations of his station. He says, that "having been for a number of years devoted to the Christian ministry and to the instruction of youth in different states, he is induced to believe that this journal of his Eastern tour may be favorably received by many to whom he has become known in those interesting relations, and hopes that, recommended by such recollections, it may perhaps be made welcome in libraries of Bible classes and sabbath schools." We think that the precise channel of its usefulness could not be better indicated. To use his own words, "It would quite satisfy my highest ambition if the scanty fruits of a season of weakness and affliction might thus be consecrated to interests dear above all others to my heart."

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *A Treatise on Self-Knowledge.* By John Mason, A. M. To which is prefixed a brief Memoir of the Author. 18mo., pp. 254. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

We consider Mason on Self-Knowledge one of the best books which we have ever read. It was our good fortune to fall in with an old copy of this work early in our ministerial course, and the impressions which its perusal left upon the tablet of our heart are not yet erased. We have uniformly recommended it, especially to the young, as eminently adapted to prepare the mind for efforts in the pursuit of various knowledge. If we are ignorant of ourselves, what else can we know to any good purpose? And in our efforts to acquire this knowledge, we are persuaded, no book, except the Bible, will render us more effective aid. Its great practical principles should be deeply impressed upon the mind of the Christian, the scholar, and the man of business. The teacher of religion especially should become perfectly familiar with them. The republication of this work is timely, and we have no doubt will be acceptable.

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2. *Memorials of Miss Mary Fishwick, of Springfield, near Garstang. Containing Selections from her Correspondence. With an Introduction.* By Rev. Peter M'Owan. 18mo., pp. 187. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

What a spectacle for men and angels to gaze upon is that of a mind matured in the Christian graces and ready to meet the Lord, while subject to all the fleeting visions of youthful imagination! And how sublime to see youthful piety triumph over the king of terrors! It is pious to exhibit such examples to the admiration of the world, and to transmit them to posterity for their instruction. The work now before us is a choice specimen of juvenile biography. It presents "a sketch of the character of a highly gifted and deeply lamented young lady, whose sun went down ere it was yet noon; but of whom it might be said, She lived long in a short time." The fugitive pieces —letters, poetry, &c.,—are the breathings of a soul of no ordinary grade of intellectual and moral power. We most cordially recommend this manual to all, but especially to the young.

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3. *A Letter to the Rev. Edward B. Pusey, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford; being a Vindication of the Tenets and Character of the Wesleyan Methodists, against his Misrepresentations and Censures.* By Thomas Jackson, D. D. 18mo., pp. 208. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

It could not be expected that the Oxford divines, in their efforts to bring back the English Church to *primitive catholicity*, would altogether lose sight of the *Wesleyan Methodists*. They, being more

hopelessly entangled in the meshes of the *ultra Protestant* net than any class of regular Churchmen, must, of course, be pointed at as beacons to warn all of the danger of "degenerating into developed heresy." Dr. Pusey has accordingly, in his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented in no dubious terms what he considers the radical heresy of the Wesleyans. The grand error with which he charges them is, that of holding to "justification by feelings." This fundamental error, with several others of minor importance, together with Dr. Coke's Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, constitutes the foundation of the grave charge of heresy against the Wesleyans. Dr. Jackson, in the work placed at the head of this notice, has ably and conclusively shown the Oxford divine in gross error. In short, this little volume is a triumphant vindication of Wesleyanism from the false charges of Dr. Pusey's Letter, and those often made against Methodists both in England and America. It constitutes an important addition to Methodist literature, and we hope it will be extensively read.

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4. *Dialogues on Popery.* By JACOB STANLEY. 18mo., pp. 269. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THIS is a pleasant, and, withal, a cogent and a caustic little book. In the form of dialogues, it presents the arguments for and against Popery; bringing them within the grasp of common minds, and making the whole attractive, as well as instructive. For those who wish to see the argument in a popular form, the present work is aptly adjusted. And for such as have not means to procure, nor time to read, the large work of Dr. Elliott, or others of that class, the Dialogues on Popery will be most acceptable. At the present time it becomes all to possess themselves of the argument against that great corruption of Christianity, which falsely claims the attributes of infallible truth and spotless purity, but which is, in fact and truth, "the mystery of iniquity." We have seen no work of the size which presents so full and comprehensive a view of the whole subject as the one now upon our table.

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5. *The Life of Thomas Walsh, composed in great Part from his own Accounts.* By JAMES MORGAN. 18mo., pp. 214. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THE subject of this memoir was one of the most extraordinary men of modern times. Converted from Romanism at nineteen years of age, he engaged, with great ability and success, in the study of the Bible, and was soon employed by Mr. Wesley as one of his preachers. He made such progress in the study of the original Scriptures that he was pronounced by Mr. Wesley to be one of the best Biblical scholars in England. But distinguished as he was for his attainments in that learning which eminently qualified him for a workman that needed not to be ashamed, he was still more so for the fervor of his piety and his intimate communion with God.

6. *Elements of Algebra, embracing also the Theory and Application of Logarithms, and an Appendix, containing the general Theory of Equations, and several of the most approved Methods of solving the Higher Equations.* By Rev. D. W. Clark, A. M., Principal of Amenia Seminary. Harper and Brothers. 1843.

The above is the title of a book just published by the Harpers. The author has had several years of very successful experience as a teacher of mathematics, during most of which time the present work has been in course of preparation. Algebra has become one of the most common, as it is one of the most important and interesting, studies, in our schools of learning. The author, in this work, has evidently had one object steadily in view, viz., the preparation of a text book in the science. The arrangement of the work throughout is systematic. We are glad also to see that the *practical* predominates over the *symbolical* and *theoretical;* for however elegant and interesting, to the expert mathematician, may be intricate analytic processes, they are illy adapted to beginners in the study. The general nature of algebraic symbols is not, however, overlooked; for in section 5 quite a variety of such applications are introduced and so arranged as to render the student apt and skillful in algebraic generalizations. Logarithms, their general theory, and the methods of making and applying them, are given in a very simple and satisfactory manner, so that the student, well versed in the elementary processes of algebra, can, with little effort, acquire the mastery over this most mysterious and perplexing class of numbers. The general theory of equations, and other analytic processes, have been very judiciously reserved for the Appendix. On the whole, the work is well adapted to schools and colleges; and we commend it to the attention of teachers of mathematics, with whom it cannot fail to find favor.

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7. *Irenicum, or Pacificator: being a Reconciler as to Church Differences: a Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds; or, the Divine Right of Particular Forms of Church Government discussed and examined.* By Edward Stillingfleet. With an Appendix concerning the Power of Excommunication in a Christian Church. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball.

This volume was written by a prelate of the English hierarchy; the American edition is a very acceptable and seasonable reprint. The author proves incontrovertibly, "*that no certain unalterable form of church government was delivered to the apostles,*" and that "*ordination by presbyters*" *is valid.* He evinces, also, that the reformers of the sixteenth century, with their brethren, the confessors and martyrs of that period, were unanimous in their decision, that "any one form of church government is not necessary." We urgently recommend this unanswerable treatise to all ministers of the gospel and students of divinity, as furnishing ample armor with which to withstand and overcome all the wiles of the Papal prelatists. Our friend Sorin has conferred a public benefit upon the reformed churches by this well-timed publication.

8. *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the "Societe Evangelique." In three volumes, 12mo. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.

THIS work has been so extensively circulated in the country, and received so much attention from the public press, that it would scarcely be necessary, had we space, to attempt a full exhibition of its character and claims. We have here a history of the Reformation in its *religious* aspects—its relations to the revival of true Christianity, and the extension of the kingdom of Christ. The writer is of the evangelical church of Geneva, and is, of course, a moderate Calvinist. A slight leaning to the peculiarities of his theological views would be a natural consequence, and what few will be disposed to complain of, however they may differ from him upon some speculative points. The work, on the whole, is one of great interest, and must be a standard book upon the Reformation for a long time to come. We particularly applaud the publisher for meeting the means of a vast mass of readers in the cheapness of his last edition. The whole is furnished, in by no means a bad style, for *one dollar*.

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9. *Puseyism Examined.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century." With an Introductory Notice of the Author. By ROBERT BAIRD. 18mo., pp. 79. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1843.

THIS little work is composed of an address delivered before the young gentlemen who belong to the institution of which the gifted author is in charge. The Introduction by Dr. Baird gives a brief history of the author's parentage, life, and character. The work is a spirited and very just assault upon that corruption in the English Church called *Puseyism*. The doctrines of the work are embraced in these three sentences: "The word of God only—the grace of Christ only—the work of the Spirit only." These propositions are arrayed against the Tractarian doctrines of *tradition—baptismal regeneration—the real presence in the eucharist—justification by works*, &c. We heartily recommend this work to our readers. It is cheap, and easily read through, and no liberal mind can peruse it without profit.

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10. *A Review of Edwards's "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will."* By HENRY PHILIP TAPPAN. 12mo., pp. 300. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1839.
The Doctrine of the Will, determined by an Appeal to Consciousness. By HENRY P. TAPPAN. 12mo., pp. 318. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1840.
The Doctrine of the Will, applied to Moral Agency and Responsibility. By HENRY P. TAPPAN. 12mo., pp. 348. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1841.

THE series of volumes issued by Professor Tappan upon the great and knotty subject of the will has doubtless aided in awaking the spirit of original investigation upon the subject. We cannot at present speak particularly of the character of his works; the simple title-pages will help the reader to a clew, at least, to the general ground occupied by the author. A review of these works may be expected on a future occasion.

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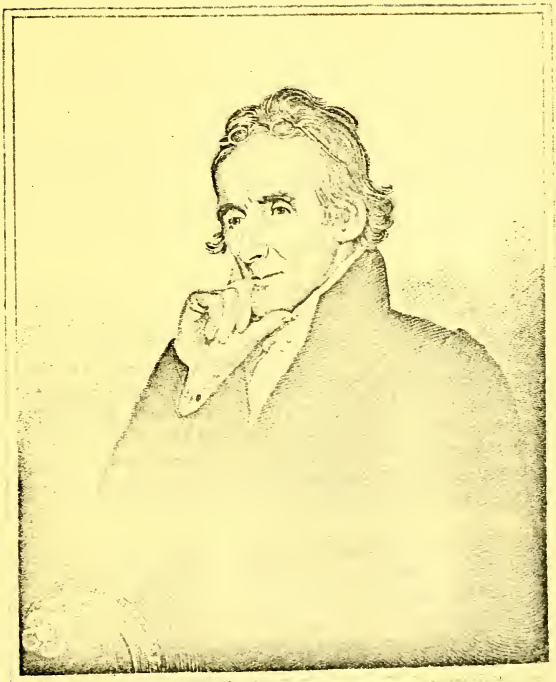
11. *Bibliotheca Sacra: or, Tracts and Essays on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology.* Editor: EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. No. 1: February. New-York & London: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

WE most cordially welcome this new and promising periodical. The learned editor has already brought the lovers of Biblical criticism under great obligations for his contributions to the amount of their resources for acquiring a knowledge of the Bible. This work will doubtless occupy the highest rank among the periodicals of the class. We have not space to enter into a detailed account of the contents of the present number. The topics are few, but well chosen, and most ably treated. We hope the undertaking may meet with ample encouragement.



JAMES MONROE

of the United States

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1843.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the earliest Period to the present Century; including Biographical Notices of Translators, and other eminent Biblical Scholars.* By Rev. JAMES TOWNLEY, D. D. 2 vols., 8vo., pp. 602, 604. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE author of these volumes was an itinerant Methodist preacher; and for six and thirty years he performed the duties devolving upon him with fidelity and success. Having received the benefit of a classical education in his youth, he continued to prosecute his studies during the whole period of his ministry, and gave to the world several works of great merit. His ILLUSTRATIONS OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, to which we purpose to devote a few pages, has never before been published in this country. It is printed on good paper, and is characterized by even more than the usual neatness and typographical accuracy of our enterprising book agents.

The subject is one of deep interest. It is a history of the word of God from its first promulgation to the present time; and although many writers have turned their attention to different points connected with the main subject, and to them our author acknowledges his indebtedness, yet nothing has ever appeared which, for extent of information, and accuracy of detail, can be compared with the volumes before us.

The *necessity* of a divine revelation may be argued from several considerations; the most prominent of which is frequently alluded to in the Scriptures themselves. It is man's utter inability, in the language of Zophar, by searching to find out God. "The world by wisdom," says the apostle, "knew not God;" that is, the wise men of the world, the philosophers, were unable to reach the great truth of his existence, much less to teach men their relationship to him, and the duties required by him. But have not philosophers

demonstrated the existence of God? Have they not given chains of learned argument by which this great truth is satisfactorily established? Most assuredly they have. Let it never be forgotten, however, that the men who have done this were in possession of God's own revelation. They did not, *by searching*, find out God: but *after* God had revealed himself; with the Bible in their possession, *then* they argued the point, and conducted it to a satisfactory conclusion. This view of the case is sustained by the fact that those philosophers who were not in possession of the Scriptures never evolved, by their reasonings, the glorious truths of God's unity, spirituality, omnipresence, and other attributes with which revelation has invested his character. And, further, even with the Bible, the wisdom of the world has never been able to discover and establish any one perfection of the Almighty, save those only which have been revealed by himself. The *necessity* of such a revelation being established, that necessity is at least presumptive evidence that God has given it to his creatures; and consequently the *onus probandi* is thrown upon those who deny that the Bible *is* that revelation.

Until the time of Moses, the longevity of the human race precluded the necessity of a *written* revelation. By *tradition* the truths which God had revealed to the patriarchs were transmitted from generation to generation. Methuselah was contemporary with both Adam and Noah; Shem, the son of Noah, lived until the days of Abraham, whose son Isaac conversed with Joseph, with whom Amram, the father of Moses, was intimate. Thus, until this era of the world, tradition was amply sufficient for the communication of religious truth. God, however, having determined to abridge the life of man, and the human race continuing to multiply and spread, some means of rendering a knowledge of his will permanent became necessary. Accordingly "the infinitely wise and gracious God condescended to the necessities of man, and favored him with a revelation suited to the brevity of his life." The opinion that God himself is the author of the first ALPHABET, or limited number of signs by which human thoughts may be expressed, has been controverted and denied. Our author advances several arguments which go far to sustain, if they do not prove, the affirmative of this position. One thing at least is clear: *the decalogue was written by the finger of God himself;** and it

* "And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, WRITTEN WITH THE FINGER OF GOD," Exod. xxxi, 18.

Again, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and

is utterly impossible to prove that any thing of the kind was previously known among the children of men; although it is probable, that by arbitrary marks, or hieroglyphics, they were enabled to communicate a few specific and distinct ideas. But the superiority of the *alphabetic* over the *symbolic* method of writing is scarcely less than infinite. In any conceivable state of perfection to which the latter could be brought, it would never have subserved the purpose of conveying to the nations of the earth its early history, or the injunctions and requirements of the Almighty.

The similarity in the form and sound of the letters of all known languages is evidence that they were all derived from one source. The Samaritan, the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Greek letters follow each other in their respective alphabets in nearly the same order, have nearly similar names, and express, for the most part, the same sounds. Of these, the Samaritan, or, as it is called by profane writers, the Phenician, is supposed to be the oldest. In its characters the decalogue was probably written, and necessary information concerning it was doubtless communicated to Moses, by whom the Jews were instructed in it. The Samaritan alphabet continued in use among that people until the time of Ezra, when the *Chaldee*, or present Hebrew character, was adopted, and "the former," says our author, "relinquished to the Samaritans, in order, as it is said, to render the separation between them and the Jews more complete."* Dr. Clarke, in his note on Exodus xxxii, 15, to which the reader is referred, seems to favor the opinion that the two tables, "written with the finger of God," were in the Samaritan character; and if so, that was, of course, the original of all alphabetic writing.

The *material* first used for rendering thought permanent, by means of letters, was, as is evident from many passages of Scripture, *tables*, or *slabs of stone*;† and in the museums of antiquarians are preserved specimens of very great and unquestionable antiquity. Afterward (as we learn from Job xix, 24) *plates* of *lead*

be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments WHICH I HAVE WRITTEN," Exod. xxiv, 12.

Once more: "The tables were the work of God, and the writing WAS THE writing of God, graven upon the tables," Exod. xxxii, 16.

So also, Moses, after rehearsing the ten commandments to the children of Israel, says, "HE (Jehovah) WROTE THEM in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me," Deut. v, 22.

* As authority for this statement, our author refers to Walton in Bib. Polyg. Proleg. i, ii; Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, iv, 51, &c., &c.

† See Deut. xxvii, 1, 8; Josh. viii, 32.

were used; and Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expliquee*, tom. ii, p. 378) assures us that in 1699 he bought at Rome a book, entirely of lead, about four inches long by three inches wide. Not only the two pieces which formed the cover, but also all the leaves, in number six, the stick inserted into the rings which held the leaves together, the hinges and the nails, were all of lead, without exception. It contained Egyptian Gnostic figures, and unintelligible writing.* Pausanias, speaking of the "works and days" of Hesiod, which, in the opinion of the Bœotians, was the only genuine production of that author, declares that he saw a copy inscribed on *leaden* tablets in the temple of the muses; and, according to Pliny, public documents were written on that metal. In process of time *slabs of wood* were used. Skins of animals and of fish; the inner bark of trees; the intestines of serpents; the leaves of the palm, the talipot, and others of large foliage; tablets of wax; linen and cotton cloth; parchment and vellum, were successively employed, although perhaps not in the precise order here indicated. Much curious information on this subject may be derived from the pages of our author.

Paper, made of linen rags, now so common in the civilized world, was the invention of a comparatively recent age; although we are ignorant both of the name of the inventor and the date when it first came into use. The oldest document written on this material, of which we have any certain knowledge, bears date A. D. 1239; and the earliest allusion to the establishment of a paper mill in England is in Shakspeare's drama of Henry VI.† Of course, in the employment of these different materials various instruments, such as the *stylus* or *graphium*, made of iron,‡ silver, gold, ivory, or wood; reeds, canes, pencils made of hair, and the quills of geese and other birds, came successively into use.

* Fragments, by the editor of Calmet's Dictionary, No. 74, as quoted by our author.

† *Jack Cade*—"Whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a *paper mill*."—*Henry VI.*, part ii.

‡ Goode's translation of a passage in the book of Job, as quoted by our author, removes a seeming difficulty as it stands in our authorized version, and is illustrative of the material used in his day:—

> "O that my words were now written down;
> O that they were engraven on a table;
> With a *pen of iron*, upon lead!
> That they were sculptured in a rock for ever."
>
> *Chap. xix*, 23, 24.

Pens are mentioned by Isidore of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century, and a manuscript of the Gospels, written in the ninth century, is ornamented with fanciful representations of the four evangelists, each holding *a quill*.

From the time of Moses to within four hundred years of the fullness of time, when the Redeemer appeared upon earth, the Jews were favored with a succession of prophets and inspired writers. Their instructions, warnings, and predictions, in prose and in poetry, were written in detached portions; were scattered abroad; and, in the opinion of many learned commentators, had suffered much from the ignorance and carelessness of those who had transcribed them. The collection and arrangement of these sacred records is universally attributed to *Ezra*. This was soon after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon. Being himself inspired, he corrected errors which had crept into the text; arranged the separate books in their appropriate order; added what seemed necessary, as in the case of the death of Moses in the last book of the pentateuch; and changed the names of those places which, during the lapse of years, had become obsolete. After the death of Ezra, several translations of the Scriptures were made by Jewish rabbins, the principal of which were the translation (or TARGUM) of Onkelos, and that of Jonathan, the former a literal version of the five books of Moses into pure Chaldee, and the latter a paraphrastical translation of all the prophets into the same language. About this time also the MASORITES, or MAZORETES, commenced their critical labors. They numbered every verse, word, and letter, and ascertained how often each separate letter of the alphabet occurred in the whole Bible. Their critical labors are called by the Jews the fence, or hedge of the law; and however much we may be disposed to smile at the magnitude of such trivial labors, we have therein a guaranty for the purity of the sacred text. The same extraordinary care is still bestowed by the Jews on those copies designed for use in their synagogues. Butler, in his Horæ Biblicæ, as quoted by our author, observes,—

"It is a constant rule with them, that whatever is considered as corrupt shall never be used, but shall be burned, or otherwise destroyed: a book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written upon parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt; that no word shall be written without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart,

or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer; that before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet of parchment, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section."

Archbishop Parker bears similar testimony to the great reverence with which the Jews regarded the sacred volume. He says,

"Some of the Jewes . . . used such diligence that they could number precisely, not onely every verse, but every word and syllable, how oft every letter of the alphabet was repeated in the whole Scriptures. They had some of them such reverence to that book that they would not suffer in a great heap of books, any other to lay over them; they would not suffer the book to fal to the ground; as nigh as they could, they would costly bind the books and Holy Scriptures, and cause them to be exquisitely and accurately written.—It must needs signify some great thing to our understanding, that Almighty God hath had such care to prescribe these bookes thus unto us. I say not prescribe them onely, but to maintain them and defend them against the malignity of the devil and his ministers, who alway went about to destroy them. *And could these never be destroyed*, but that he would have them continue whole and perfect unto this day, to our singular comfort and instruction, where other bookes of mortal wise men have perished in great numbers."—*Bishop's Bible, Pref.*, 1568.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about two hundred and eighty years before Christ, appeared the justly celebrated Greek version of the Old Testament, known as the SEPTUAGINT; concerning which some curious particulars are preserved in the volumes before us. It is generally known that from this version Jesus Christ, and the evangelists and apostles, usually made their quotations. The autograph, or original, is supposed to have been destroyed in the Alexandrian library; but copies had been multiplied, both for the use of synagogues and private individuals. This translation continued in use among Christians, and by the Hellenist Jews, until the year of our Lord 128, when AQUILA, an apostate from Christianity, prepared a version more conformable to the wishes of the Jews. Of his labors nothing now remains but a few fragments. The next version in order of time was that of THEODOTION, which appeared about A. D. 184, to which succeeded that of SYMMACHUS, and three or four others, by authors whose names are unknown. All these, together with the Septuagint and the original Hebrew, were collected and published by the indefatigable ORIGEN in his celebrated HEXAPLA.

With reference to the books of the NEW TESTAMENT there is

much doubt as to the time in which they were severally written. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Galatians are usually supposed to have been first in order, even before the Gospels; and the Revelation of St. John, by universal consent, is placed last, as a kind of postscript to the sacred canon. It was written about the close of the first century after Christ. No one of the original autographs of the evangelists or apostles is now in existence; although it seems that in the early ages they were preserved with great care. In the fourth century the manuscript of John's Gospel was in possession of the Ephesian church; and others probably were preserved in different places until that time. During the persecutions which raged against the Christians in the early ages, it is probable that all the autographs were successively destroyed; and hence the labor of critics and commentators has been directed to the collection, collating, and comparing of the various manuscripts and translations that have come down to our time. Not only were many transcripts of the Gospels and Epistles made during the first and second century after Christ, but they were translated into various languages for the benefit of those who were unacquainted with the original. *Augustus*, who lived, according to our author, in the fourth century, has the following observation in his treatise, De Doctrina Christiana:—

"The number of those who have translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek may be computed; but the number of those who have translated the Greek into Latin cannot. For immediately upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures."

Translations were made into the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt in the second or third century, and manuscripts of both dialects, the former known as the *Sahidic*, the latter as the *Coptic*, are still extant. During the first three centuries after Christ various manuscript copies of parts and of the whole of the sacred writings in different languages were made by learned men; but during the severity of those persecutions through which the church was called to pass, they were destroyed. In the reign of Dioclesian, who ascended the throne in A. D. 284, a decree was issued, that all the copies of the Scriptures that could be found should be burnt; and, says our author,—

"The most dreadful tortures were inflicted upon those who refused to deliver up the sacred volumes to the fury of the heathen; but every torture, and even death itself, was braved with the most heroic constancy by many Christian worthies, to whom the BOOK OF GOD was

more precious than life. Felix, of Tibiura, in Africa, being apprehended as a Christian, was commanded by Magnilian, curator, or civil magistrate of the city, to deliver up all books and writings belonging to his church, that they might be burned. The martyr replied, that it was better he himself should be burned. This magistrate sent him to the proconsul at Carthage, by whom he was delivered over to the prefect of the Pretorium, who was then in Africa. This supreme officer, offended at his bold and generous confession, commanded him to be loaded with heavier bolts and irons, and after he had kept him nine days in a close dungeon, to be put on board a vessel, saying he should stand his trial before the emperor. For four days he lay under the hatches of the ship, between the horses' feet, without eating or drinking. He was landed at Agragentum, in Sicily: and when brought by the prefect as far as Venosa, in Apulia, his irons were knocked off, and he was again asked whether he had the Scriptures, and would deliver them up: 'I have them,' said he, 'but will not part with them.' The prefect instantly condemned him to be beheaded. 'I thank thee, O Lord,' said this honest martyr, 'that I have lived fifty-six years, have preserved the Gospel, and have preached faith and truth. O my Lord Jesus Christ, the God of heaven and earth, I bow my head to be sacrificed to thee, who livest to all eternity.'*—Euplius of Catana, in Sicily, suffered in the same cause.—Being seized with the Gospels in his hands, he was examined on the rack, 'Why do you keep the Scriptures forbidden by the emperors?' He answered, 'Because I am a Christian. Life eternal is in them; he that gives them up loses life eternal.'—He was beheaded on the 12th of August, in the year 304."†—Vol. i, p. 107, &c.

Such instances of heroic devotedness were however comparatively rare; and when we reflect upon the number and duration of these relentless persecutions, it is not to be wondered at that so few manuscripts of this early date have come down to our times. The wonder rather is, that every vestige of God's written word had not been destroyed from the face of the earth; and its preservation must be attributed to the protecting care of Him who first gave it to the children of men. Truly, in the language of the Psalmist, the words of the Lord have been as silver tried in a furnace; and like the bush which Moses saw, burned with fire, but not consumed.

In the fourth century JEROME, an Italian monk, a man of profound learning, and one of the most eminent Biblical scholars that ever lived, revised the Latin version of the Bible, and his translation formed the ground-work of the present VULGATE, which was sanctioned by Pope Gregory in the sixth century. It was declared, officially, to be authentic, by the Council of Trent; and it

* Milner's History of the Church; Butler's Lives of the Saints.

† Butler's Lives, Aug. 12, vol. viii, p. 158.

continues still to be the only authorized version of the Romish Church. Soon after the publication of Jerome's translation, in the early part of the fifth century, MESROBE produced what has been styled "the queen of versions," being a translation of the Scriptures into the ARMENIAN tongue. Previous to his time his countrymen had no alphabet of their own, but used the Persian, Syrian, or Greek letters when writing their own language. Mesrobe invented an alphabet suitable to the genius of their tongue, which gave rise to the tradition, still prevalent among that people, that having prayed, God favored him with a vision, in which the form of his letters was revealed to him. Among the Biblical scholars of this century the name of the empress EUDOCIA deserves mention. Accused by her husband (Theodosius the younger) of conjugal infidelity, she was banished to the Holy Land, where she devoted herself to religious and literary pursuits. She versified several books of the Old Testament, and paraphrased the prophetic writings. To her also is attributed the authorship of a curious work, called Ὁμηρόκεντρα, (Homerocentra.) This was a life of Jesus Christ, composed entirely of verses, and parts of verses, selected out of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. She wrote also a poem on the martyrdom of Cyprian. It is supposed, on authority deemed sufficient by our author, that in this century some parts of the Scriptures were translated into the *Bearla Feni*, or ancient IRISH. It is known that about this time PATRICK, a native of Scotland, visited that island, and instructed the inhabitants in the use of Roman letters. Patrick was a man of learning; and so great was his zealous devotion that it is related of him that he daily sung the Apocalypse, and the whole Psalter thrice; that he preached, and prayed, and baptized; and frequently mortified his body, by standing up to his waist in a fountain of water, while he chanted a hundred psalms. He was canonized after his death, which occurred about the year 460; became the patron saint of Ireland, and is universally styled *Saint* Patrick.

It has been supposed that the gospel had been preached in BRITAIN at a very early period; and there is a tradition that the apostle Paul visited that island. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, it is evident, that in the *sixth* century heathenism was there universally prevalent. The celebrated GREGORY the First, one of the holiest and most learned men who ever filled the Papal chair, sent a band of forty missionaries, at the head of whom was the monk *Augustine*, for the purpose of religiously instructing the Anglo-Saxons. Some particulars relative to the first Gregory are given by our author; which, while they evince a spirit totally

at variance with that which has actuated most of his successors, attest the propriety of the title, *Great*, by which he is known in the Papal calendar. He was profoundly learned, modest, a great lover of the Scriptures, and a decided enemy to all kinds of religious persecution. Said he,—

"The Scriptures are infinitely elevated above all other instructions. They instruct us in the truth; they call us to heaven; they change the heart of him who reads them by producing desires more noble and excellent in their nature than what were formerly experienced; formerly they groveled in the dust, they are now directed to eternity. The sweetness and condescension of the Holy Scriptures comfort the weak and imperfect; their obscurity exercises the strong. Not so superficial as to induce contempt, not so mysterious as to deserve neglect, the use of them redoubles our attachment to them; while, assisted by the simplicity of their expressions and the depth of their mysteries, the more we study them the more we love them. They seem to expand and rise in proportion as those who read them rise and increase in knowledge. Understood by the most illiterate, they are always new to the most learned."

Strangely would this language sound within the halls of the Vatican in this age of light; and it is indeed wonderful that the name of this pope should still be venerated by his successors. But Gregory did not merely eulogize the Scriptures. He studied them himself, and encouraged others to study them. He molded his own character by their requirements, and sought by gentleness, and patience, to win souls to Christ. He utterly repudiated all compulsion and guile as means for Christianizing the heathen, and contended that the only weapons lawful for this purpose were light and love. With his missionaries to Britain he sent a library of books;—few indeed in number, but of great value. In this century also the celebrated COLUMBA, an Irishman by birth, founded a monastery at *Iona*, an island of the Hebrides, in the Scottish territory. Through his instrumentality many of the northern Picts were converted. After a long life of incessant toil for the glory of God and the good of his fellows, he died on the 9th of June, A. D. 597; but Iona continued for ages to be the seat of piety and learning; "the luminary of the Caledonian regions," says Dr. Johnson, "whence savage clans, and roving barbarians, derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." Thus while Ireland was indebted to Scotland for her patron saint, she more than repaid her neighbors by the zeal and indefatigable industry of her COLUMBA.

From this time until the invention of PRINTING, in the fifteenth century, great darkness brooded over the face of the whole earth.

Now and then indeed a faint star glimmered in the moral firmament; but as a general thing, ignorance and superstition everywhere prevailed. Bishops, archbishops, and kings were unable to sign their own names. Books were scarce, and the ability to read was almost as rare. In the time of Charlemagne, the superior ecclesiastics were directed, by an imperial edict, to ascertain whether their subordinate priests could *read* the Epistles and Gospels. The most absurd mummeries were practiced; the most stupid superstitions prevailed. The "*feast of the ass*," concerning which our author has preserved some curious particulars, was instituted in the tenth century. It originated in France, but was practiced in England, Germany, and other countries. From an account of this festival, as given by M. Millin, it seems that the ceremonies were not only ludicrous, but licentious and profane, to an extent almost incredible, when we consider that the principal actors were the professed teachers of Christianity, and that the wretched farce was deemed a *religious* ceremony. It continued to be observed with various modifications from one generation to another, and was not finally abandoned until near the end of the sixteenth century. A curious instance of superstition, which occurred in the eleventh century, may be quoted as a specimen of the state of the religious world at that time:—Anselm, bishop of Laon, in France, being informed that a great part of the gold and precious stones belonging to the church had been stolen, directed that an infant child from each parish should be thrown into a tub of *holy* water. From the parish to which belonged the child who sunk, a child out of every house was to be taken, and served in the same way. Thus the guilty family would be detected; each of whom was to be thrown into the water, and he who sunk was to be deemed the thief. The directions of the prelate were obeyed; and, what is more strange, it is said they proved successful in discovering the offender.* Fragments and scraps of the word of God, strangely mingled with idle tales, romantic fictions, and absurd legends, formed, to a great extent, the literary stores, even of those who seemingly were impressed with the dignity and responsibility of their holy calling. The time of the monks, and of others who regarded themselves as guides of the blind, was occupied in paraphrasing parts of the Scriptures, in composing imaginary lives of the saints, and in transcribing the most ridiculous fables. Theodoric, the abbot of St. Evroul, in France, a truly learned man, in order to inspire his monks with diligence in this holy work of transcribing, related the success of a certain

* Berrington, Lives of Abelard and Heloisa.

brother of their order, who, when he appeared at the gate of heaven, was refused admittance on account of his numerous sins; but on referring to his labors when on earth, it was found that the number of letters in the works which he had transcribed exceeded by one the sins with which he was charged, and on account of that *one majority*, St. Peter turned the key, and passed him in to the abodes of the blessed. Toward the close of the eleventh century, the Roman pontiff first promulgated the doctrine, ever since acted on by his successors, that it is wrong for the laity to read, or be in possession of the unadulterated word of God. Gregory VII., declared by Mosheim to be "the most audacious priest that ever sat in the apostolic chair," in reply to a request from the king of Bohemia, that his people might be favored with the Scriptures in the Slavonian language, thus speaks:—

"*It is the will of God that his word should be hidden*, lest it should be despised if read by every one; and if, in condescension to the weakness of the people, the contrary has been permitted, it is a fault which ought to be corrected. The demand of your subjects is imprudent. I shall oppose it with the authority of St. Peter: and you ought, for the glory of God, to resist it with all your power."*

As a substitute for the Bible, the lives of saints, and other similar productions, remarkable neither for their ingenuity nor the purity of their morality, were almost universally read in the temples of the Most High. Hence they received the name—Legends, or things that *might be read*, in contradistinction from the Bible, which was prohibited. Many of the professed translations, which were made during this period, were mere paraphrases in rude poetry; interspersed with silly conceits, and with frequent distortions and perversions of Scripture facts. RELIGIOUS DRAMAS had now become popular; the churches were converted into theatres; the monks and other religious teachers, dressed in appropriate costume, enacted the various characters in these farces; and the whole of God's revelation was distorted, and sacrilegiously perverted for the amusement of the people. The history of the creation; the deluge; the life of Moses, and other worthies of the

* Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise. It was not, however, until the thirteenth century, at the Council of Toulouse, justly called the infamous, that a public decree was issued, forbidding universally the Scriptures to the laity. The canon is in the words following, as given by our author from *Labbei Sacro-Sancta Concilia*:—Prohibemus etiam, ne libras Veteris Testamenti aut Laici permittantur habere: nisi forte Psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut Horas Beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libras habeant in vulgari translatas, arctissime inhibemus.

Old Testament; the annunciation, and the birth of the Saviour; together with his miracles, his passion, his death, and resurrection, formed the subjects of these dramas. In one of them a representation of *hell* was introduced, and a priest personated the rich man, calling thence to Lazarus, who was seen aloft in Abraham's bosom. The fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar was a favorite subject; and the three youths, thrown therein by the king's command, were heard praising the God of Israel in the midst of the flames. Our author says, quoting from Warton,—

"The composers of the mysteries did not think the plain and probable events of the Holy Scriptures sufficiently marvelous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more the air of romance, particularly the legends and pseudo-Gospels. They also introduced into them the most ludicrous and licentious conversations and actions. In a mystery of the massacre of the holy innocents, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to go on the adventure of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion, with much ignominy."—Vol. i, p. 332.

The same author gives an outline of the first part of one of these dramas that was enacted at Chester, in England, so late as 1327:—

"God enters, creating the world! He breathes life into Adam, leads him into paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed;* and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis*, &c.; cover themselves with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit*, hissing. They are driven from paradise by four angels, and the cherubim, with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground and Eve spinning," &c.

Some of these performances were yet more revolting; and the smile occasioned by their ludicrous associations is chased away, by an involuntary shudder at the thought that the professing teachers of Christianity should ever have sanctioned, and led the people into such horrible blasphemy. The Saviour himself, and the Father, and the Holy Ghost were personated. The tremendous scene of Calvary was mimicked, and the dread realities of the judgment were presented for the amusement and the criticism of the thoughtless rabble. The darkness of the thirteenth century

gave birth to still greater abominations. The Psalter of the blessed Virgin, supposed to be from the pen of Cardinal Bonaventure, made its appearance, and was imposed upon the credulous as an inspired work. A verse or two will give the reader an idea of its character:—

"Blessed is the man that loveth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul."

"O come let us sing unto our lady; let us make a joyful noise to Mary our queen, that brings salvation."

"The Lord said unto our lady, Sit thou, my mother, at my right hand."

A new Gospel was also ushered into being about the same time. Its author is unknown, but its absurdities were too glaring even for the benighted priesthood of that age, and it was condemned to be publicly burned. Of the ignorance, gluttony, and lewdness of the ecclesiastics generally, and which seemingly continued to increase during the darkness of the middle ages, lamentable evidence is given by our author. It must not be supposed, however, that, even during this period, God had left himself without witness. Genuine piety and zeal existed; and there were a few, in each succeeding age, who reverenced the word of God. Early in the eighth century it was translated into *Arabic* by John, archbishop of Seville; and it would be unpardonable not to mention with respect the name of the venerable BEDE, who about the same time translated the Gospel of St. John into ANGLO-SAXON. By birth an Englishman, and qualified by education for great usefulness, Bede was remarkable not less for his piety than his persevering industry. He wrote on various subjects; and translated, as he himself tells us, "the creed, and the Lord's prayer into English, for the benefit of *ignorant presbyters*." "He was called the *wise Saxon* by his contemporaries," says Dr. Henry, "and *venerable Bede* by posterity; and as long as great modesty, piety, and learning united in one character, are the objects of veneration among mankind, his memory must be revered." ALFRED, surnamed the Great, ascended the throne in 871. His name will ever be held in grateful remembrance as a wise legislator, a patriotic king, and a pious man. To him our ancestors were indebted for that safeguard of liberty, TRIAL BY JURY; and, says our author, "the sentiment expressed by him in his will, will never be forgotten: '*It is just that the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts.*'" Alfred encouraged the reading and translation of the Scriptures throughout his dominion, and formed the princely design of rendering the whole of the Old and New Testaments into English.

He did not live to accomplish his great work, but was called away while engaged upon the Psalms of David.

In the tenth century, ELFRIC, a Saxon monk, who was afterward consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, translated into the vernacular tongue those parts of the Old Testament which he deemed of most importance to his countrymen. He wrote also a number of homilies, was the author of a Saxon grammar and dictionary, and of a "Compendium of the Old and New Testaments." Many of the sentiments advanced in his writings are truly evangelical, and his homilies are, to the student who gropes amid the darkness of the age in which he lived, like an oasis in the desert. He says,—

"Whoever would be one with God, must often pray, and often read the Holy Scriptures. For when we pray, we speak to God; and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us.—As the body is nourished by natural food, so the sublimer man, that is, the soul, is nourished by the divine sayings, according to the words of the psalmist: 'How sweet are thy words unto my taste! Yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth.' —*The whole of the Scriptures* are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain knowledge of the truth."—*Homily on "Search the Scriptures."*

Want of space forbids us to enlarge on the lesser lights which successively appeared, from this time, until the immortal BACON flashed like a meteor athwart the midnight of the thirteenth century. He was born in Somersetshire, England, in the year 1214. For profound intellect, far-reaching thought, and the number of useful and surprising discoveries made by him, he has had probably no equal, certainly no superior.* Amid his multifarious engagements he found time to turn his attention to the sacred writings, and endeavored to awaken the Roman pontiff to the importance of their general circulation. He first advanced the idea, which subsequent ages have tended to confirm, that the *rudiments of all science are to be found in the sacred pages.* He declared, boldly, that all the evils existing under Christian governments arose from the universal ignorance of the word of God. He

* Among the discoveries of Bacon are enumerated: "the discovery of the exact length of the solar year, and a method of correcting all the errors in the calendar, of the art of making reading glasses, the camera obscura, microscopes, telescopes, and various other mathematical and astronomical instruments; of the composition of gunpowder, and the nature of phosphorus; the method of making elixirs, tinctures, solutions, and of performing many other chimical operations; of the art of combining and employing the mechanical powers in the construction of machines capable of producing the most extraordinary effects; and of various remedies in the science of medicine."

insisted that no one who was not acquainted with the Scriptures in the original was worthy of the priesthood; and even declared that the common people should be taught the Hebrew and Greek languages. By means of a universal grammar which he had prepared, and which is unfortunately lost, he gave it as his clear conviction, that a few days' study would suffice to make a person of ordinary capacity master of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. As a reward for the benefits conferred by him on the age in which he lived, and on all succeeding time, he was doomed to drag out many weary years in solitary imprisonment. Truly may it be said that his contemporaries loved darkness rather than light. He died A. D. 1292. In this century, also, appeared the first *Concordance* of the Bible, the result of many years of labor. Its author was HUGUES DE ST. CHER, better known by his Latinized name, *Hugo de Sancto Caro*. He was a native of France, and the author of several other Biblical works of great merit. To him has generally been attributed the division of the Bible into chapters, as we now have it. The year 1380 was rendered for ever memorable by the completion of the whole Bible in English by the celebrated JOHN DE WICLIF, who has been justly styled the *morning star of the Reformation*. With his history the reader is probably familiar, but several important particulars relative to his life and labors, which are not generally known, may be found in the pages of our author.

The art of PRINTING, which was discovered in the early part of the fifteenth century, has justly been regarded as the greatest merely temporal benefit ever conferred upon our race. It has been compared, in its beneficial effects, to the gift of tongues on the memorable day of Pentecost; and without irreverence, we may date the commencement of the flight of the apocalyptic angel from the hour when GUTTENBERG and FUST sent forth, with what was then deemed miraculous rapidity, their printed copies of the everlasting Gospel. As was to have been expected, the new art had many obstacles to contend with. *Fust*, (or Faustus,) from the rapidity with which he executed his supposed manuscripts, and especially from their accuracy, and the price at which he disposed of them, was declared to be in league with the devil; and, with difficulty, after revealing his secret, was saved from death at the stake. The transcribers,* or those who obtained a livelihood by copying manuscripts, perceiving their craft to be in danger, were

* The number of those who obtained a living in this way must have been, at this time, immense. There were upward of *ten thousand* in Paris and Orleans only.

loud in their denunciations of this "abominable discovery;" and the incumbents of the Papal chair began to feel the forebodings of that terrible blow which the press was about to inflict upon them. Bulls were issued, prohibiting certain books, among which, of course, the word of God was always in part or in whole included, and the thunders of the Vatican threatened with present and eternal damnation all who should venture to print any thing without first obtaining the sanction of the Romish hierarchy. But these anathemas, in general, were unheeded, and, in many instances, produced an effect directly opposite to the intention of their authors. That a book had been condemned and denounced was sufficient to excite the curiosity of the people, and their anxiety to obtain it. Jortin, in his Life of Erasmus, tells us, that a certain bookseller having on hand a large edition of that author's Colloquies, circulated a report that the work was prohibited by Papal authority; and thus, in a short time, disposed of *twenty-four thousand copies*. And now the fires of persecution began again to rage. Multitudes, whose only crime consisted in having or reading the Scriptures in their own language, were punished by imprisonment, and fines, and confiscation. Others were tortured in the dungeons of the inquisition, and many were burned at the stake.

In the year 1516 Erasmus published an edition of the Greek Testament, with a Latin version, and, subsequently, paraphrases of various parts of the sacred writers. He wrote also several works, attacking with great severity, and the most pungent satire, the corruptions of the priesthood. In his preface to the New Testament he says,—

"I differ exceedingly from those who object to the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular tongues, and read by the illiterate: as if Christ had taught so obscurely, that none could understand him but a few theologians; or as if the Christian religion depended on being kept secret. The mysteries of kings ought, perhaps, to be concealed, but the mystery of Christ strenuously urges publication. I would have even the meanest of women to read the Gospels, and Epistles of St. Paul; and I wish that the Scriptures might be translated into all languages, that they might be known and read, not only by the Irish and Scots, but also by Saracens and Turks. Assuredly the first step is to make them known. For this very purpose, though many might ridicule, and others might frown, I wish the husbandman might repeat them at his plough, the weaver sing them at his loom, the traveler beguile the tediousness of the way by the entertainment of their stories, and the general discourse of all Christians be concerning them, since what we are in ourselves, such we almost constantly are in our common conversation."

Of course, owing to passages like this, the writings of Erasmus were condemned; and he himself only escaped the utmost fury of the Romish clergy by the basest and most cowardly dissimulation. His works, however, prepared the way for the labors of the heroic Saxon reformer; and hence arose the saying, "Erasmus laid the egg, but LUTHER hatched it."

Aided by MELANCTHON, Luther translated the New Testament into German, which he published in 1522; to which he added, in 1534, the several books of the Old Testament. His translation is remarkable for its purity and elegance; and it soon became the standard of the German language. Speaking of the difficulties in his way, while engaged in this great work, he says,—"How laborious the task to force the Hebrew writers to speak German, which they resist like the nightingale refusing to quit its delightful melody to imitate the coarse notes of the monotonous cuckoo." Again, with feelings similar to those which all have experienced who have endeavored to transfuse the spirit of an ancient classic into their own vernacular, "We find," says he, "so much difficulty in translating Job, arising from the sublimity of his style, that he appears much more impatient of our translation than of the consolation of his friends, or he would certainly have sat for ever on the dunghill, unless, perhaps, the author meant that his book should never be translated." Luther's Bible was exceedingly popular; and, for a long time, almost every year called for a new edition. In the space of a few years it is said a hundred thousand copies were issued from the office of one printer. There is now, in one of the private libraries of Great Britain, Luther's own copy of his translation, being the volume which he used until his death. It is chiefly valuable for his manuscript notes, and those of his learned colleague Melancthon. The Romish opposition to this translation was very great, and exhibited itself in a variety of ways.* It was attacked by the grossest falsehood and calumny; was declared to be heretical, and worthy only to be burnt. To show still further its delinquencies a new version was issued at Dresden, which claimed to be correct, and to expose the glaring errors committed by Luther. When examined, however, it was found to be nothing more nor less than Luther's own version, with an alteration, here and there, calculated to render it more acceptable to the benighted

* All the vile epithets in the dictionary were culled out to defame and blacken the character of the great reformer. A singular instance of ingenious blackguardism (there is no more expressive word) is found in the following quintuple acrostic, published by Andreas Frusius—a French Jesuit, in 1582. He calls it,—

votaries of holy mother.* In addition to his labors as a translator, Luther composed several sacred melodies, one of which, "Old Hundred," has probably been sung more frequently than any other that has ever been given to the world.† He wrote also commentaries on select portions of the Bible, which were of great benefit in urging on the glorious Reformation.

Under the sanction of GUSTAVUS VASA, the Scriptures were translated into *Swedish* about the middle of the sixteenth century; and in Denmark, *Christiern Pedersen* was a bold advocate for the dissemination of the word of God in the dialect of the people. The very essence of sublimated heresy is found in a preface to the Epistles and Gospels prepared by him. Says he,—

"What doth it profit plain country people to hear the Gospels read to them in Latin, if they be not afterward repeated to them in their own tongue?—St. John and St. Luke wrote Gospels to the Greeks in Greek, in order that they might fully understand them. St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew to those who spake Hebrew.—If any of them had written Gospels to the kingdom of Denmark, they would assuredly have written them in plain Danish, that all might have understood them; for every one ought to be able to read them in his native tongue. Let not any one imagine that they are more sacred in one language than they are in another. They are just as good in Danish and German, when properly translated, as they are in Latin!"

"ELOGIUM MARTINI LUTHERI, EX IPSIUS NOMINE ET COGNOMINE.

Magni crepus	Mendax	Morosus	Morio	Monstrum
Ambitiosus	Atrox	Astutus	Apostata	Agaso
Ridiculus	Rhetor	Rabiosus	Rabula	Raptor
Tabificus	Tumidus	Tenebrosus	Transfuga	Turpis
Impius	Inconstans	Impostor	Iniquus	Ineptus
Nycticorax	Nebulo	Nugator	Noxa	Nefandus
Ventosus	Vanus	Vilis	Vulpecula	Vecors
Schismaticus	Stolidus	Seductor	Simia	Scurra
Lascivus	Leno	Larvatus	Latro	Lanista
Ventripotens	Vultur	Vinosus	Vappa	Voluptas
Tartareus	Torris	Tempestas	Turbo	Tyrannus
Hæresiarcha	Horrendus	Hypocrita	Hydra	Hermaphroditus
Erro	Execrandus	Effrons	Effronis	Erinnis
Retrogradus	Reprobus	Resupinus	Rana	Rebellis
Vesanus	Varius	Veterator	Vipera	Virus
Sacrilegus	Satanas	Sentina	Sophista	Scelestus."*

* The reader need not be reminded of a similar trick perpetrated by one of the Protestant family in our own day.—*Verbum Sat.*

† The celebrated Handel testifies to the great merit of Luther as a musical composer, by saying that he had often borrowed from him, and inserted whole passages of Luther's composition in his Oratorios.

It was, however, to the learning and zealous labors of HANS TAUSEN, who has been justly called the Danish Luther, that Denmark was mainly indebted for the dissemination of the cardinal principles of the great reformer. In a sermon, preached by him on Good Friday, 1524, he had the temerity to advance and defend the doctrine of justification by faith, which so exasperated his ecclesiastical superiors, that he was condemned to a dungeon; and after his release at the instance of powerful friends, he was sent into exile. Again and again was he imprisoned, but with undaunted energy and untiring zeal he continued to scatter the seeds of truth. Even when in prison, from the gratings of his window, he denounced the errors of Popery, and when released, finding the doors of the churches shut against him, he "mounted a gravestone in the church-yard, and proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to numerous audiences." The name of *Hans Tausen* ought to be enshrined in the heart of every lover of God's uncorrupted word. He died in 1561, and his memory is blessed.

The leaven of the Reformation continued to spread, successively, through *Iceland*, into the language of which island the New Testament was translated in 1539; *Hungary*, *Finland*, and *Switzerland*, ever memorable as the birth-place of ZUINGLE; into the dialects of each of which countries the Bible, in whole, or in part, was translated about the same time. Some of the means used by the infuriated Romanists to check the spread of truth, were in themselves ludicrous, and others present a lamentable picture of the horrible cruelties inflicted by man upon his brother, in the name of that Being whose command to all is, "Search the Scriptures." Edicts were issued forbidding the pestilent doctrines of Luther to be preached or listened to; it was made criminal to read the word of God, or to hear it read, or even to have it in possession.* At

* The following are the express words contained in the regulation of the popes to prohibit the use of the Bible. We are indebted for the translation to the "Curiosities of Literature," by J. D. Israeli, Esq.

"As it is manifest by *experience*, that if the use of the holy writers is permitted in the vulgar tongue, more evil than profit will arise, *because* of the temerity of man; it is for this reason all Bibles are prohibited (*prohibentur Biblia*) with all their *parts*, whether they be printed or written, in whatever vulgar language soever; as also are prohibited all summaries or abridgments of Bibles, or any books of the holy writings, although they should only be historical, and that in whatever vulgar tongue they be written. The reading of the Bibles of *Catholic editors* may be permitted to those by whose perusal or power the *faith* may be spread, and who will not *criticise* it. But this *permission* is not to be granted without an express *order* of the *bishop*, or the *inquisitor*, with the *advice* of the *curate* and *confessor*; and their permission

Antwerp, a zealous youth who had presumed to speak a few words from one of Christ's miracles was taken up, tied in a sack, and drowned. A law was published at Brussels, condemning to "death, without pardon or reprieve," all who had in their possession any prohibited books. Jacob à Liesveldt, a printer, was beheaded at Antwerp, "because in the annotations of one of his Bibles he had said, that the salvation of mankind proceeds from Christ alone!" A *request* for permission to read the Bible was deemed satisfactory evidence of an heretical disposition.

In England, to which country we turn with more interest than any other, the bigoted Henry VIII. obtained from the pope the title, Defender of the Faith, ever since claimed by his successors upon the throne. It was bestowed on him as a reward for publishing a book, *De septem Sacramentis*, in opposition to Luther. To no one individual, when we consider his learning, his labors, and his sufferings, are we more indebted for the triumphant spread of the Reformation, and especially for the abolition of Popery in England, than to one who has not received from any historian the attention he deserves. In contemplating the labors of Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, and others, the name of TYNDALL has been, in a great degree, forgotten. His translation of the New Testament into English was decidedly superior to any version that had previously appeared in any language. Even at the present day it is in very few passages inferior in point of perspicuity and noble simplicity to our own authorized version. Of his first edition nearly all the copies were bought up and committed to the flames by the minions of the Papacy. Assisted by *Myles Coverdale*, Tyndall translated parts of the Old Testament also; and with apostolic boldness, everywhere contended against the powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places. It was this glorious Englishman who exclaimed, in a public dispute with one of the learned doctors of the day, "*I defy the pope and all his laws; and if God spares my life, not a ploughboy in England but shall know more of God's word than he does.*" After having endured perils by land and by sea; having been imprisoned and shipwrecked; having lost all his property; having been "in perils among false brethren," betrayed by the basest treachery of a professed friend, he was at length hurried to his home by a pile of blazing fagots. At the stake his last words were, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes!"

must first be had *in writing*. He who, without permission, presumes to *read* the holy writings, or to *have them in his possession*, SHALL NOT BE DISSOLVED OF HIS SINS before he first shall have returned the Bible to his bishop."

In two years after the martyrdom of Tyndall, namely, in 1538, the Bible in the vulgar tongue was permitted, by authority, to be sold and read among his countrymen; and we cannot resist the temptation to quote a short extract, which shows the gratitude with which they received as a favor, what the God of heaven had given as a right. Says Strype,—

"It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read; and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read."—Vol. ii, p. 99.

During the reign of the fickle and inconstant Henry, a tyrant both in church and state, who sometimes appeared to favor, and at others relentlessly opposed the Reformation, no less than fourteen editions of the whole Bible and eighteen of the New Testament appeared. Between his death, which occurred in 1547, and the accession of JAMES, (the sixth, of Scotland, and the first of England,) in 1602, there were many eminent Biblical scholars, and numerous editions of the Scriptures were printed in various parts of Europe. The pages of our author are peculiarly rich in facts, anecdotes, and brief sketches of the lives of celebrated individuals during this period. The French version, commonly known as "the Sword Bible," from the representation of a sword on the title-page, was made by *Robert Olivetan*, assisted by the celebrated CALVIN, who prepared the preface. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the sentiments put forth by the Genevan reformer, in that preface, with those which he is known afterward to have held, and which are universally distinguished as—Calvinism.* His

* The following extracts from this preface, says our author, are quoted in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c., from Dr. Winchester's Dissertation on the Seventeenth Article:—

"Tandem igitur ubi adfuit plenum illud tempus ac dies a domino prœordinata, adstitit coram Messias ille tot retro sœculis exoptatissimus: atque idem ille omnia cumulate præstitit quæ erant ad OMNIUM redemptionem necessaria. Neque vero intra unum Israelem tantum illud vereficum stetit, cum potius ad UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS usque porrigendum esset: quia per unum Christum UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS reconciliandum erat deo, uti his novi foederis tabulis continetur et amplissime demonstratur."

Again,—

authorship in this matter is beyond question, and, paradoxical as it may seem, Calvin was not at that time a Calvinist. The celebrated *Stephens*, a name familiar to all who have much acquaintance with the early editions of the Bible, was also by birth a Frenchman. His editions of the Bible were numerous, and they are all remarkable for their exceeding accuracy. It is related of him, that he hung up his printed sheets in public, and offered rewards to any one who could point out a typographical error: a proceeding which would be rather hazardous even by the most correct publishers of the present day. "Greater glory," says the historian De Thou, "has redounded to Francis I., by the industry of Robert Stephens alone, than from all the illustrious, warlike, and pacific undertakings in which he was engaged."

The Council of Trent having solemnly decreed the Latin Vulgate to be the only authentic version of the Scriptures, a large edition was published in 1590. Pope Sixtus V. superintended the press, and sent it forth, under what he styles the "plenitude of our apostolic power;" at the same time anathematizing, in advance, any who should question its accuracy and infallibility. It was "enjoined to be received and accounted as a true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted copy, in all public and private disputations, lectures, sermons, or expositions." Unfortunately for "apostolic" infallibility, numerous and glaring errors were soon discovered on almost every page, and the next incumbent of the Papal chair endeavored to recall and destroy the entire edition. In this, however, he was not successful, a few copies being still extant. In 1592 another edition was issued by Clement VIII., accompanied by a similar declaration of infallibility, and a bull, forbidding any bookseller to print or sell any Bible, not exactly conformable to it in every particular. Between the two editions, both alike infallible, there have been pointed out *two thousand variations*, some of whole verses, and many decidedly contradictory.

The practice of turning parts of the Scripture into rhyme prevailed extensively during this period. In England, *Sternhold* published his "Psalmes of David in metre," and he is supposed, also, to be the author of "Certayne Chapters of the Proverbs of Solomon drawen into metre." The book of Genesis was also versified

"Ad istam Hœreditatem (regni paterni scilicet) vocamur OMNES SINE PERSONARUM ACCEPTATIONE, Masculi, Fœminæ, Summi, Infimi, Heri, Servi, Magistri, Discipuli, Doctores, Idiatœ, Judæi, Græci, Galli, Romani. NEMO HINC EXCLUDITUR, qui modo Christum, qualis affertur a Patre in salutem omnium admittat, et admissum complectatur."—See Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, vol. iii, p. 21.

under the title of a "Hive full of Honey," and a volume called a "Handful of Honeysuckles," consisted, among other things, of "Blessings out of Deuteronomie." Dr. *Pye* turned a part of the Acts of the Apostles into very respectable doggrel; and great ingenuity is evinced in the versification of the Psalms* by *Matthew Parker*, under whose superintendence that celebrated edition, known as the "BISHOP'S BIBLE," was printed at London in 1568. Parker was archbishop of Canterbury, a man of extensive learning, and a great patron of literature. His Bible continued to be the authorized version in England until superseded by the translation made under authority of King James.

Of the celebrated men engaged in the preparation of King James's Bible, while their *names* are familiar to every scholar, but little more is known, even by the most persevering antiquarian. Some facts in the history of each have been gleaned by our author;

* The following specimen of Pye's Acts of the Apostles is given by our author:—

Chap. xix, 1. "It chaunced in Iconium,
As they oft tymes did use,
Together they into did come
The sinagoge of Jeus.

2. "Where they did preache and only seke
God's grace them to atcheve;
That so they speke to Jue and Greke
That many did bileve."—Vol. ii, p. 269.

The *jingle* of Parker's Psalms has never been exceeded, whatever may be thought of its *poetic* merit. Here is a sample:—

"To feede my neede: he will me leade
To pastures greene and fat:
He forth brought me: in libertie,
To waters delicate.

"My soul and hart, he did convart
To me he shewth the path:
Of right wisness: in holiness
His name such vertue hath.

"Yea, though I go through death his wo
His vale and shadow wyde:
I fear no dart: with me thou art
With rod and staffe to guide.

"Thou shalt provyde a table wyde
For me against theyr spite.
With oyle my head thou hast bespread
My cup is fully dight."—*Ibid.*, pp. 301, 302.

and while every lover of that "most excellent of all excellent versions" cannot but regret that their biographical remains are scanty, he will be thankful for the industry and zeal evinced in this particular in the volumes before us. Of *John Reynolds* the following story is told, which, although we have often met with it, we had always supposed to be a fiction. It is said that John, at first, was a zealous Papist; and his brother William an equally zealous Protestant. In a disputation between them they argued with such earnestness and power that each converted the other! The Papist became a Protestant, and the Protestant embraced Popery. In their doctrinal peculiarities the translators seem to have been about equally divided. *Thompson*, "a Dutchman, born of English parents," and *Overall*, "a prodigious learned man," were at the head of those who favored the sentiments of Arminius; while Calvinism had advocates equally able in the learned *Chadderton*, and the persecuted *Ward*. By some, the new version was thought to lean too much toward Calvinism; and by others, that in places it favored Arminian sentiments more than the original would strictly warrant; a fact which, while it may serve as an argument for the general fidelity of the whole, would seem pretty clearly to indicate that no other translation can be made which will be at all likely to supersede it among the myriads who speak the English language. From the date of its appearance until the present time the Bible has been translated into a great multitude of languages, and copies have been multiplied by means of Bible societies and otherwise, until they have become more in number than the stars of heaven; yea, like the sands upon the sea-shore—innumerable.* Perhaps the calculation would not be extravagant, that during the last quarter of a century copies of the Bible have been issued at the rate of sixty a minute, or one for every second during that period, and the work is still onward; our own Society (the American) states in its last Report, that the number printed at their press the past year is two hundred and seventy-six thousand, and that the demands upon them are still increasing. Necessarily, the *cost* of the word of God has been very greatly reduced; and now, what was once a fortune to its possessor, and deemed of sufficient importance to require legally attested documents to pass it from one to another, is within the reach of the poorest laborer, at the price of half a day's toil. Nay, latterly the voice of the Bride has

* The first copy of the Bible ever printed *in America* was the translation made by the apostolic *Eliot*. It was in the dialect of the Mohegan Indians; was printed, in quarto, at Cambridge, Mass.; the New Testament in 1661, and the Old in 1664.

been heard, from the lips of her agents, in the cottages of the poor, and in the hovels of the destitute, saying, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life *freely*," "without money and without price."

We most cordially recommend these volumes to the reader; and although, in reviewing what we have written, we seem like the man who, having a house to sell, carried about a brick as a *sample*, yet are we satisfied that he who buys the house will be delighted with its solidity, its convenient arrangements, and its beauty; nay, that he will thank us for turning his attention to it even by so small a sample. F.

Danbury, Conn., March, 1843.

ART. II.—*History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution in* 1789 *to the Restoration of the Bourbons in* 1815. By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F. R. S. E., Advocate. In four volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THIS republication of the English edition of Mr. Alison's work has made accessible to the American reader one of the most valuable histories of which modern literature can boast. The period of the French revolution abounds in great events beyond any equal term of years in far receding history. It may, indeed, be asserted that the events of nearly three centuries, which followed upon the great eras of the discovery of the new world and the Reformation, were thrown into shade by those which here crowded upon a single generation. The history of this period involves the fates and fortunes of Europe, and of European dependencies throughout the globe. As it unfolded its ample page to the contemplation of the historian in all its variety and vastness of revolutions, wars, and national vicissitudes, it invited him to a noble and arduous task. Such a history was yet wanting in English literature. A mass of rich materials lay accumulated in the different languages of Europe, the more valuable for that much had been contributed by the actors themselves in great transactions, or by observant and not unconcerned spectators. Incited and encouraged by the study of these historic materials, Mr. Alison undertook to supply the void in his country's literature, and every chapter in his volumes bears testimony to the diligence and extent of his researches, and to the fidelity and impartiality of his record

of facts. The author's sincere admiration for the high faculties and heroic qualities called forth by great occasions, and his strong conception of the important principles of government and administration developed in this wonderful chapter of man's destinies, with the great lessons taught to rulers and to people, give a thoughtful and elevated tone to the whole strain of his History.

In the great twofold division of political reasoners and thinkers at the present day, Mr. Alison is decidedly a conservative, but neither national partialities nor political preferences have been allowed to bias his statement of facts; and to place his volumes above any such charge he is very minute in his references to authorities, and assures the reader, that "he will find almost every fact in the internal history of the revolution supported by two republican and one royalist authority, and every event in the military narrative drawn from at least two writers on the part of the French, and one on that of their opponents."

The revolution gave not only an entire new form to the government of France, but in its convulsive struggles for a long time threatened to shake the whole frame of European policy, which it had been the study of successive generations to construct for the common security of independent states. The predisposing causes of the violence of the revolution, and of the ills it wrought for surrounding nations, lay deep in the foundations of society, and were traceable to remote ages. The aspect of man's social condition in Europe is different from that of which we in this country have experience. There is to be seen a marked distinction, drawn by birth, between the privileged and inferior orders, the descendants and representatives respectively of the conquering barbarian, and the vanquished inhabitants of the Roman provinces, after the western empire was shattered into fragments by northern invasion. Noble birth not only confers an invidious superiority: few in number as the nobles are, they hold the greater portion of the land, and arrogate to themselves all higher offices and dignities. The privileges of birth extended in France to all of noble descent, whether bearing title or not, and marked them from the plebeian race, or roturiers. Very different is the frame of the aristocracy of England, where title, and estate, and privileges pass to the eldest son, while the younger branches become merged in the commons of England, who, by merit and services, continually recruit the ranks and revive the vigor of the peerage, thus maintaining a harmony and a sense of common interest throughout the different classes of society. This system, founded on distinction of race, subsists to this day in all its rigor in many of the kingdoms

of Europe, and maintained itself wonderfully in France amid all the growing and counteracting influences of great advances in civilization and intelligence, until cut down with all feudal rights and privileges amid shoutings of "Liberty and equality," the early war-cry of the revolution.

The proximate causes of the revolution were the financial embarrassments of the government, which had been growing and gaining strength ever since the later days of the splendid reign of Louis XIV., all through the profligate administrations of the regent Orleans and Louis XV. In 1774 Louis XVI. succeeded to the throne of his grandfather, and to the consequences of the errors of his predecessors. The aid given by him to the British colonies in their war for independence, not only added to the national debt, but by the triumph in which the French arms shared, infused into the breasts of young and military nobles a spirit of liberty too vain and extravagant for the interests of their own order, the security of the throne, or tranquillity of the nation. It must be granted that the successful termination of the American revolution hastened the coming of the French revolution. When, however, we consider the intelligence of the age from the general diffusion of science and literature, and from a wide-spread commerce circulating the arts and knowledge no less than the products of other lands, it does seem that some great change in the frame of social life in France could not be far distant. Look but on the inequality of numbers and disproportion of property in the privileged and inferior orders. A noblesse in number two hundred thousand, a body of clergy of eighty thousand, and these orders so inconsiderable in numbers, besides personal privileges and honors, proprietors of two-thirds of the land of the kingdom. On the other hand are seen the Tiers Etat, the millions of the inhabitants of France. Surely here was, and had been, injustice and oppression; could it be expected to be much longer endured? There is a moral element latent in large and crushed masses of humanity, that, like that element in nature which explodes under strong compression, will at some chance moment, or appointed hour, shatter in ruins all above and around it.

Louis was illy fitted to contend with the difficulties of his reign. Financial embarrassments brought more distinctly into view defects and abuses in the state, which called for some effectual remedy: but all attempts made at reform or relief by the king and his successive ministers proved unavailing; a convocation of the States-General, which had not met since 1614, became the wish of the whole nation, and the king, in August, 1788, yielding to the voice

of all classes of his subjects, appointed the convocation for May of the following year. The minds of all men, in the midst of delusive hopes, were thrown into a great ferment, and schemes for the regeneration of France were the work of every busy brain. The right of suffrage for the election of deputies of the Tiers Etat was very comprehensive; no influence was exercised by the court or noblesse, and the members came armed with cahiers, of instructions from their constituents.

"The 5th of May, 1789, was fixed for the opening of the States-General; that was the first day of the French revolution.—On the evening before, a religious ceremony preceded the installation of the states. The king, his family, his ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, walked in procession from the church of Notre-Dame to that of St. Louis to hear mass.—First marched the clergy in grand costume with violet robes; next, the noblesse in black dresses, with gold vests, lace cravats, and hats adorned with white plumes; but the Tiers Etat dressed in black, with short cloaks, muslin cravats, and hats without feathers.—On the following day the assembly was opened with extraordinary pomp. Galleries, disposed in the form of an amphitheatre, were filled with a brilliant assembly of spectators; the deputies were introduced and arranged according to the order established in the last convocation of 1614. The clergy sat on the right, the nobles on the left, and the commons in front of the throne. Loud applauses followed the entry of the popular leaders, especially of those who were known to have contributed to the convocation of the states. M. Neckar in particular was distinguished by the reception which he experienced. After the ministers and deputies had taken their places, the king appeared, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant suite. The monarch placed himself upon his throne amid the loudest applause, and the three orders at the same instant rose and covered themselves." —Chap. iii.

The king then addressed the assembly, and a speech of M. Neckar followed. The day of ancient pomp and pageantry was, however, past. The priestly vestment and the mantle of the noble inspired no awe, respect, or fear into the breasts which beat under the plain tunic of the Tiers Etat; but, instead, jealousy, imbittered with hate. Financial embarrassments were no longer uppermost in their minds. Their thoughts were directed to the vast territorial domains of the noblesse, exempted from the general burdens of the state, upon the personal privileges of their order, fenced in by the invidious distinction of blood. To them, too, they saw allotted all the higher prizes in life, dignities and office in church and state; and the exclusive enjoyment of the higher ranks in the army, whose battalions were drawn from the mass of a brave and military people. The clergy had even less favor in the eyes of the

new assembly which was soon to control the destinies of France. The minds of the higher orders had for a long time been led astray by the light of an infidel philosophy, which illuminated their saloons, and was regarded by them as a harmless meteor, whose flickerings and flashes might amuse the spirits dulled with ennui and fullness of enjoyment. Religious belief once shaken or extinguished, easily did the allurements of a court, where there was little manly or statesman-like occupation, sap the fundamental morals of men who lived but by excitement. This impiety and dissoluteness of manners had in due degree extended widely among the educated, intelligent, and inquiring of the middle classes, and with a vengeful sense of wrong did they regard their degrading exclusion from posts of dignity and honor. They were intently eager to break down the barrier which separated noble from roturier, and which confined them to a lasting and degrading inferiority. It was bitterly galling to men, who had risen to eminence in the respectable professions of peaceful life, to find themselves superciliously looked down upon by those whose sole claim to superiority was ancestral blood. This distinction between noble and base born, which pervaded the provinces and capitals of France, might be the lightest of feudal chains upon the peasant doomed to ignorance and daily toil, but was sorely chafing to high minds and generous spirits. The feelings of the peasantry likewise were represented in the assembly. Besides the burdens of unequal taxation, they could enumerate among their grievances the feudal services to be rendered to the seigniors, and the tyranny of game laws, which, in matters from a pheasant's nest to a wild boar, guarded the field sports of their superiors, by penalties extending to slavery in the galleys. It was the exasperating remembrances left by the last especially which before long brought blood and conflagration upon the chateaux. Such were the sentiments and feelings which gave impulse and direction to some of the earliest measures of the States-General, after they assumed the shape and name of the National Assembly.

In the constitution of former assemblies of the States-General, the orders met and voted apart. In the present instance, the court and higher orders, overlooking the immense growth of the Tiers Etat in intellectual and moral strength, in self-estimation and wealth, since the last meeting in 1614, when they remained uncovered, and spoke only on their knees, allowed M. Neckar to double the number of their representatives, equalling them to the united number of the other two orders; a measure which, with some others of like tendency, made the emperor Napoleon say,

"It was he [Neckar] who overturned the monarchy and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold." Confident in their own strength, they refused to constitute themselves until they should be joined by the other orders, and at length, on the 17th of June, resolved themselves into the National Assembly. After an unsuccessful attempt to suspend their sittings, in which the king was supported by the majority of the nobles and clergy, he was obliged to yield to the popular will, expressed by such men as Mirabeau, Robespierre, Sieyes, and Camus. Several of the nobles and clergy had already joined the Tiers Etat; the others, however reluctant, were, on the 24th of June, ordered by the king to take their seats in the assembly. Then were laid the broad foundations of a democratic power, which rendered utterly vain any after attempt to establish a secure and limited monarchy upon any of the ancient ground-works of the state. The disposition of the majority of the assembly tended to the destruction of the ancient institutions of the kingdom, nor were leaders wanting to plan and precipitate the work. The duke of Orleans, who had long been under the displeasure of the king, was among the foremost to join the National Assembly. He made use of his princely fortune to corrupt the fidelity of the troops in Paris, and employed bribed agents to foment discontents and plot insurrections in the capital and throughout the kingdom. Mirabeau, a noble, had been returned a deputy of the Tiers Etat. His eloquence and audacity sustained the boldness of the assembly, while the real friends of temperate reforms were borne down by numbers and higher energies. After the storming of the Bastile, the friends of order and the laws in Paris and in the provinces were too weak to contend against the armed bands of rapine and murder which anarchy had everywhere let loose and organized.

A strong indication of the evil spirit with which many had engaged in the revolution, was the meeting of the French guards on the 1st of July, seduced from duty by the bribes of the Orleans party. The rescue of the ringleaders, when arrested by a formidable mob, and their pardon at the instance of the assembly, were circumstances taken together of evil portent. The king and court had at no time confidence in Neckar or his party, and at a moment so full of alarm, resolved to trust themselves to the friends of the throne. A large body of troops was collected at Versailles, and placed under the command of Marshal De Broglie, with a design of awing both the capital and the assembly; as a preliminary step, Neckar, who disapproved of collecting the troops, was dismissed, and ordered to quit the kingdom. The dismissal of the popular

minister sprung the mine which treachery had been contriving at Paris. The multitudes of Paris were excited to alarm and frenzy by cries that they were to be sacrificed to the troops; they seized on the arms at the Hotel des Invalides, appointed a committee at the Hotel de Ville, with authority to organize an armed force, and thus made themselves masters of the city. On the 14th pretexts for fresh alarm and rage were furnished, and they directed a successful attack upon the Bastile. The intelligence of this fatal event reached Versailles, where the assembly had been two days in session, and was made known to the king at midnight by the Duc de Liancourt. "This is a revolt," said the king after a long silence. "Sire," replied he, "it is a revolution." On the next day the king appeared in the hall of the assembly, yielded every thing; sent off the troops from Versailles and Paris. On the 17th of July the monarch visited his capital, where the assembly, Bailey, the mayor, and La Fayette, at the head of the National Guards, constituted the real sovereignty. On the day of the king's entry, the Conte d'Artois, the princes of Condé, and Conti, and Marshal de Broglie started for Brussels. Neckar was recalled, and replaced.

The fall of the Bastile shook the walls of the chateaux of France, and murder and rapine rioted in their halls. These outrages met with no punishment from the magistrate or the sword, and served but to imbolden the leading spirits in the assembly to accelerate their rash measures for the regeneration of France. Some were carried away by an honest and patriotic enthusiasm, but where there was so much rashness there could have been little wisdom or virtue. All feudal rights and privileges were surrendered by acclamation, and the property of the church was torn away by one sweeping act of confiscation. The king's refusal to sanction the declaration of the rights of man had soured the temper of the assembly, and a banquet given by the Garde du corps on the 1st of October, 1789, at Versailles, at which the royal family had been received with bursts of loyal feeling, inflamed the passions of the citizens of Paris. The agents of the duke of Orleans, who by these acts of violence secretly designed to affright away the king, and make himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, chose this evil time (the 5th of October) to direct the march of the infuriated crowds of Paris, and of women clamoring for bread, upon the palace at Versailles. After a day and night of horrors, the royal family were conducted to Paris in a bloody triumph, which has been consigned to no grateful, yet a lasting memory in some of the most splendid passages of Burke's indignant eloquence. It

needed no piercing eye to discern the scaffold and royal riot which terminated this vista of the revolution, but it entered not into the heart of man to conceive the stern and unmitigable horrors which scowled down upon the path beyond. The Tuilleries were assigned for the residence of the king, and the assembly henceforward held their sittings in Paris.

The internal affairs of France could not but attract the attention of the cabinets of Europe, while the sympathies of monarchs were awakened by the fallen state of Louis. The counsels of Baron Breteuil, and the increasing dangers of the situation of the royal family, at length induced the king to attempt, in June, 1791, an escape from Paris to M. De Bouilli, at Montmedy. He was recognized on the route, and, with his family, intercepted and brought back from Varennes. On his return he was provisionally suspended from his functions, and the republicans wished to make his flight a pretence for his dethronement and death. Milder counsels prevailed, through the firmness of the assembly and of General La Fayette, who, with twelve hundred grenadiers of the National Guards, dispersed a formidable insurrectionary force, which had assembled in the Champs de Mars, under the conduct of the leaders of the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who now began to make their strength felt in revolutionary movements. The king was finally reinvested with his authority, and on the 14th of September, 1791, declared his acceptance of the constitution. La Fayette, taking advantage of the moment, obtained a general amnesty for all who had been engaged in the flight of the king, or compromised by the events of the revolution. On the 29th of September the president closed the sittings of the constituent assembly, declaring "its mission accomplished." Some sunny days of fete and of spectacle yet remained for the friends of the constitution, but the Jacobins and Girondists could at will summon storms from the caverns of the clubs to disturb the public tranquillity.

The legislative assembly, from which all members of the former were by resolution excluded, met on the 1st of October, 1791. The party divisions were the Feuillants, or friends of the constitutional monarchy, the Girondists, or republicans, with Brissot for their leader, and the more violent party, whose strength lay in the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers; Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Colloit d'Herbois, were chiefs of the first-named club; Danton, Carrier, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine of the second. The prospects for the settlement of the state under a monarch became now fairer. Louis and his queen, it is admitted

by republican writers, were now sincerely desirous to support the constitution. In the assembly, the debates upon the decrees against the emigrants, and such of the clergy as rejected the oath to the constitution, excited the angry passions of the parties, and the king refused his assent to the last. In November an election was held for the mayor of Paris, and it was a fatal step when the court, out of jealousy of La Fayette, who was a candidate, gave their influence to Petion, who, supported by the Girondists and Jacobins, gained the election.

The French decrees against the emigrants and clergy were injurious to the interests of some of the German princes, who retained their rights in Lorraine and Alsace, since the annexation of those provinces to France. These were made subjects of remonstrance with the government by the emperor. The assembly found causes of alarm and complaint at the countenance afforded to the emigrants in the German states and their military preparations there. These subjects of complaint were not long in furnishing the assembly with pretexts for hostile measures, and on the 20th of April they extorted from the king a declaration of war against the emperor, in his capacity of king of Hungary and Bohemia. This was an unfortunate event for the royal cause, as the relationship of the queen to the emperor, in the unhappy state of her family, would be apt to excite suspicion of concert and collusion with the enemy of the nation, and Louis would be equally endangered by the fears and hopes of the people, as they rose or fell with the fluctuations of war. The king had been obliged to part with the ministry, of which Bertrand de Moleville and Delessert were members, and form a new one, in which Roland was minister for the interior, and Dumourier for foreign affairs. The refusal of the king to sanction the decree against the nonjuring priests, and to admit to his presence those who had taken the oath, with the dismissal of his guards, occasioned the dissolution of this ministry on the 10th of June. Their place was supplied by the Feuillants. The remnants of the royal party, the friends of the constitution, with La Fayette, now endeavored to check the course of the republicans, but in vain. Louis secretly made known his situation to foreign courts, and pointed out the most judicious mode of interference. But the revolutionary agents were, as usual, in advance of their adversaries. An insurrection of the Fauxbourgs was organized by Petion and the Girondists, with the Jacobins; and on the 20th of June the mob penetrated the palace, bearing emblems of the most horrid kind, and singing the revolutionary song of Ça ira, and subjected the king and queen to their ruffian-

like familiarities. On this occasion the king presented himself at a window of the Tuilleries, with the *bonnet rouge*, or cap of liberty, on his head, which had been handed him by one of the intruders. At this sight a young officer, who witnessed the scene from the gardens, indignantly exclaimed to his companions, "The wretches! they should cut down the first five hundred with grape-shot, and the remainder would soon take to flight." "He lived to put his principle in practice on the same spot; his name will never be forgotten; it was Napoleon Bonaparte." "To be weak, is miserable, doing or suffering." Never was this maxim of juster application than in the case of the unhappy Louis. While it was in his choice to do or to suffer, he invariably chose the latter. He never had the resolution to stem, but always yielded to the current of affairs. The events of this day excited indignation throughout France. The duke de la Rochefoucault, commandant at Rouen, offered Louis an asylum there, and La Fayette besought him to repair to his quarters at Compeigne; the National Guard proposed to form a guard for the defense of his person: he declined all these offers. This acquiescence in the actual state of circumstances proceeded more from a dread of resolute exertion than from the expectation of deliverance from his wretched condition by the allied powers of Austria and Prussia. On the 28th of June La Fayette repaired to the capital, but his cool reception by the king and queen prevented any friendly overtures for their service; his popularity, too, was on the decline, and he returned to his army. The cause of the constitutionalists was no more. And the Girondists and republicans openly aimed at the dethronement of Louis. They lost no time in preparing for the fatal tragedy of the 10th of August, which hurled Louis from his throne, and consigned him and his family prisoners to the Temple. It commenced at midnight of the 9th, when, at the discharge of a cannon, the tocsin sounded, and the *generale* was beat in every quarter of Paris. Mr. Alison gives a vivid picture of the horrors and sufferings of that night, when the gallant gentlemen and faithful Swiss fell or were massacred in defense of a monarch unworthy of their devoted loyalty. The queen behaved as became a daughter of the empress Maria Theresa; while the king's pusillanimity is not forgotten till we see him a doomed and helpless victim in the Temple. The advance of the duke of Brunswick into the French territory on the 25th of July, at the head of an army of more than one hundred thousand Russian and Austrian troops, and his injudicious proclamation, threatening the lives of the assembly, had roused to the utmost the passions of the people, and may account for the indis-

criminate massacre of the Swiss guards after all resistance had ceased. Roland and his colleagues were restored to the ministry, and Danton made minister of justice. The governing power was no longer in the assembly, but in the municipality of Paris and the Jacobin club, of which Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were the ruling spirits. "We must strike terror into the royalists," said Danton: the barriers were closed to prevent the escape of the destined victims, and domiciliary visits were made for their discovery and arrest. The prisons were crowded with suspected royalists and nonjuring priests. The cold-blooded murders of the 2d of September and the ensuing days surpassed in atrocity the massacre of the Swiss on the 10th of August. At two in the morning of the 2d of September the signal was given, the *generale* beat and the tocsin sounded, when three hundred hired assassins commenced the work of death, and for three days the Abbaye, the prison of the Carmes, and the religious houses, vomited forth their prisoners to fall beneath the pikes, sabres, and poignards of their assassins; while the well-disposed of the inhabitants, paralyzed with fear, suffered the bloody work to go on. Can this be Paris! that Paris of which Gibbon wrote when giving an account of the administration of his favorite Julian in Gaul?

"If Julian could now revisit the capital of France, he might converse with men of science and genius, capable of understanding and instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might excuse the lively and graceful follies of a nation, whose marshal spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art, which softens, and refines, and embellishes the intercourse of social life."

The other cities of the kingdom declined the invitation of the municipality of Paris to follow their murderous example. The mind is perplexed to account for such sudden dissolution of all the ties that bind man to man in friendly intercourse. General causes hardly solve the difficulty. We see but the surface of things, and must suppose many inferior agents, and manifold jealousies, interests, and passions operating in retired cabinets of the palace and noble hotels, and in the dens of iniquity in Paris, which lie hidden from the comprehensive glance of history.

The National Convention, in which the revolutionary party had a decided ascendency, met the 20th of September, 1792, and immediately voted the abolition of royalty, and proclaimed a republic. It was divided into the Girondists, and the party of the Mountain, whose strength lay in the Jacobin club of Paris and the affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, who, by regular communication

with the capital, all acted in one spirit. The fate of Louis was now sealed. While a prisoner in the Temple he and his family were exposed to the brutal manners of his guards and the officers of the convention. In December he was arraigned at the bar, and on him were charged all the fatal occurrences of the revolution. The defense of the king was conducted by Malesherbes, Trouchet, and Deseze, and on the 15th of January he was found guilty almost unanimously. An appeal to the people was rejected by a majority, and a vote for death taken. Of seven hundred and twenty-one members, three hundred and sixty-six, including the duke of Orleans, pronounced death; a sentence which was carried into execution in the Place Louis XV., January 21, 1793.

"At the moment when the axe of the guillotine was ready to strike, the abbe Edgeworth, his confessor, addressed him in these sublime words:—'Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!'—The whole inhabitants of Paris, who viewed this foul deed with horror, were under arms. A mournful silence reigned in the city."—Chap. vi.

The emperor, Francis II., and the king of Prussia, were already in arms. The principles of the revolution were undermining the loyalty of subjects in the states adjacent to France, and the declaration of the convention of the 19th of November, 1792, that it would "grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty," was just cause of alarm to the governments of Europe. The sufferings of Louis, ending in his trial, sentence, and death, formed "tidings to wash the eyes of kings." Mingled grief and indignation filled the courts of Europe. M. Chauvelin received notice to quit the British dominions in eight days, and upon this dismissal of their agent, and other causes of dissatisfaction, was founded the declaration of war by the convention of the 3d of February, 1793.

Never did the evil instincts of humanity, freed from all the restraints of religion, morality, law, and order, display themselves in more terrific forms than during the remaining days of the convention. The leaders of the factions played a desperate game for power, and the stake was life. The month of March beheld the establishment of those instruments of murder and tyranny, the *revolutionary tribunal* and the *committee of public safety.*—Treachery wrought with treachery in the hall of the convention, and the bloodhounds without waited but the cry of havoc from their masters. The Girondists were soon struck down by their fiercer rivals, backed by the pikes of the Fauxbourgs. Many of the most distinguished of the party, as Vergniaud, Lanjuinais, Brissot, &c., nearly thirty in number, whose arrest had been demanded on

the 31st of May, were, in October, sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal. They marched together to the scaffold, singing a revolutionary song; their last exclamation was, *Vive la republique!* The revolutionary fervor did not spare the female sex. Madame Roland suffered with the courage of a Spartan matron. After her death, her husband was found dead on the road between Paris and Rouen, where he had stabbed himself, that not even his dead body might bring down danger on any asylum. Marie Antoinette, Louis's queen, perished by the guillotine on the 16th of October, three days before the execution of the Girondists, who, through treachery or weakness, had brought her husband to the scaffold. After the downfall of the Girondists, the convention adopted a constitution of the most democratic form, yet suspended its operation till the independence of the republic should be acknowledged, and intrusted the committee of public safety, in the meanwhile, with the most despotic powers. While anarchy prevailed throughout the kingdom, Paris was the seat of frenzied criminality, which trampled on humanity, and defied high Heaven. The Christian faith was abjured, the churches were desecrated by impieties, and the goddess of reason, in the person of a vile opera dancer, installed in the cathedral of Notre Dame, received the adoration of the high authorities of the nation and of a base populace. Even the tombs were not safe from violation; the sepulchres of the kings of France at St. Denis, and of the renowned dead, were broken open and profaned, and all their venerable monuments defaced. This mad example of demoniac rage against the past was followed throughout the kingdom. The fiercest actors in all the bloody scenes of the revolution yet remained for the mutual destruction of each other; they were divided into three parties. Robespierre at the head of the committee of public safety, and supported by the Jacobins, ruled with absolute power; the brutal municipality of Paris, under Hebert and Chaumette, the authors of the impieties which defied the Most High; and Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their friends, who began to express their abhorrence of further atrocities. The chiefs of the latter factions, in the months of March and April, 1794, became the victims of the superior craft of Robespierre. With the fall of the Girondists commenced the reign of terror, when France felt the stern and bloody rule of Robespierre, which combined the terrors of the most searching inquisition with a despotism more ruthless than ever desolated the plains of Asia. Every life in France lay at the mercy of the secret enemy or insidious informer. In Paris half a hundred heads fell every day under the axe of the guillotine,

and the prisons of the capital and of the provincial towns were crowded with tens of thousands of victims, objects of the hate or fear of the tyrant. Self-protection called upon many a member of the convention for his destruction, and on the 27th of July, (9th Thermidor,) 1794, he was denounced in that assembly, by Tallien, as the contriver of a plot for the general massacre of his opponents. Tumult and revolt raged among the adherents of the parties in the streets of Paris. Robespierre and his confederates in crime were at length secured, and on the 29th of July were guillotined in the Place de la Revolution, formerly of Louis XV., where Louis XVI. and his queen before suffered. More than ordinary horrors attended the deaths of Robespierre and Couthon, when, with disfigured and mangled persons, they were loaded with the execrations and imprecations of the surrounding multitudes, who exulted in their death.

"The district immortalized by the name of La Vendée" is pre-eminently the redeeming spot amidst the moral desolation of France. It is a relief to the spirit to quit the picture of crimes and of the treacheries and bloody contention of rival factions for the sight of human virtue, even in adversity and the extremes of suffering. Mr. Alison's chapters on La Vendée have the interest of romance. The character of the simple inhabitants of this sequestered and rural district set them apart from the rest of the nation. Their country seemed destined for the abode of innocence and peace; no cries of liberty and equality assaulted the chateaux, or sacred structures, but the gentle ties of kindness, fidelity, and reverence bound together seignior and peasant, people and priest. They were a hardy as well as an innocent and pious race. Their feelings were first excited by the severe decree against their ancient pastors, who, on refusal of the constitutional oath, were expelled from their parishes, while strangers and intruders more compliant filled their places. This outrage upon their religious habits was followed by the enforcement of a levy of men ordered by the convention in July, 1793, when resistance broke out in all quarters, and arms were assumed in the royal cause. The first period of the Vendean war was prolonged more than a year, by the unflinching valor and loyalty, joined with devotion to their religion, against some of the best-appointed armies and bravest generals of the republic. The Vendeans were distinguished no less for their courage and daring in battle, than after victory for their humanity toward their enemies and prisoners, and their thanksgivings to Heaven. While the names of De Lescure, La Rochejacquelin, d'Elbée, Cathelineau, and their companions in arms, live in the memory of

La Vendée, the descendants of the brave men with whom they bled will hold an inheritance above all price.

There was a great reaction in the public mind after the 9th of Thermidor: milder measures were adopted by the convention; the revolutionary tribunal was abolished; the captives of the reign of terror were liberated; numbers of emigrants, and of the clergy, returned to their native country; and the hopes of the royalists began to revive. The insurrectionary spirit, however, was far from subsiding. In October, 1795, the prevailing party in the convention framed a new constitution, resting the executive power in a Directory of five persons, to be nominated and approved by the two councils, the *five hundred*, and the ancients, who composed the legislative body. The right of suffrage was narrowed, and the power of the members of the present convention was secured by allotting to them two-thirds of the seats in the new councils. This last provision was highly displeasing to the Thermidorians, the royalists, and the sections of Paris; and notwithstanding the acceptance of the constitution by the armies and a majority of the departments, they organized an insurrection in order to awe or overpower the convention. They mustered an armed force of thirty thousand men. After the failure of General Menou to disperse them, the business was intrusted to Barras, who desired the assistance of a young artillery officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and in the maritime Alps. This was Napoleon Bonaparte. His force consisted but of six thousand men, and he immediately had a strong train of artillery brought up from the plain of Sablons, by Murat, then a lieutenant. Repeated discharges of grape-shot finally gave him a victory over the troops of the sections, who were destitute of cannon. This event signalizes the 13th of Vendemiaire, (the 5th of October,) 1795, in the revolutionary calendar, being the last day of the insurrection of the people, and the first of military despotism. The convention closed on the 26th of October, 1795, having held power more than three years, since the 21st of September, 1791. The historian says,—

"All the parties which divided France then endeavored to establish their power, and all perished in the attempt. The Girondists attempted it, and perished; the Mountain attempted it, and perished; Robespierre attempted it, and perished; the royalists attempted it, and perished."—Chap. xix.

This instability of power, in a revolution like that of France, and its rapid transmission from hand to hand, with a continual declension of character in those who obtained it, are again and again accounted for by Mr. Alison, as the results of a combination of

causes. The principal is, the utter unfitness of the masses of a people like the French at the commencement of the revolution for the exercise of the rights of freemen, in the choice of magistrates and legislators, or for the discharge of those important functions. And among such a people, invested all at once with the rights of unqualified suffrage, no slight cause exists in the inevitable tendency, from bad to worse in the character of the ruling faction, so shortly expressed by Danton, when he entered the solitary cell, which he was to quit only for the guillotine, "Enfin, Is vois que dans les revolutions, l'aulorité toujours reste aux plus scélèrats—At last I perceive that in revolutions the supreme power finally rests with the most abandoned."

When the deputies under the new constitution assembled, they chose by ballot two hundred and fifty of their number to form the council of ancients, all married men, and above the age of forty. They then proceeded to the choice of directors, which fell on five of their number, who all had voted for the death of the king. The newly elected third of the councils were of moderate tempers, and represented the sentiments of the people, but were of inconsiderable influence compared with the old members. La Fayette was at this time lying in the dungeons of Olmutz, and most of the prime movers of the revolution had perished by the work of their own hands. Their fate excites but little natural sympathy. In his estimate of their character, the historian exercises a candor beyond their deserts. His admiration of the determined will, and eloquent tongue, which give their possessor the command over his fellows, sometimes dazzles his sounder judgment. He admits, however, no compromise of principle; he calls a muster of a wicked faction, and passes a sweeping sentence of condemnation, but let him poll them, and their chiefs, the most culpable should be allowed to have the benefit of clergy. Such a one was Mirabeau, who owed not his death to the revolutionary tribunal or the guillotine, but died at an early day, (April 2, 1791,) a victim to his passions and excesses. For a time previous to his death he was disposed to retrace his steps, and exert his abilities for the protection of royalty against revolutionary excesses; but what worthy motive can be ascribed to him, when he was then the well-paid instrument of the court? His great talents, bold eloquence, and the control they gave him over the minds of men, have gained him a memorable name. Carlyle has assigned him a niche in his hero-temple, and a poet has chaunted his dirge; but closer observers of his own day considered him overrated, both for talents and for nobleness of purpose. In Mirabeau, no doubt, some generous impulses and

chivalric principle survived a long career of audacity and licence, but he is not one to be held up in any manner as an object of unmixed admiration. His behavior in his last hours and dying pangs, calling for the odors of flowers and the delights of this life, shows but the desperate wickedness of a hardened heart. Of such quality, too, was the entreaty of his compeer, the duke of Orleans, (would that his name were blotted from French memory,) who died by the guillotine in 1793, for a reprieve of twenty-four hours, that he might not take leave of a life of crime without one last indulgence in a banquet. Fearlessness of death, simply as a termination of this life, becomes a brave man, even the wicked, but no false bravery of the indulgence of a pampered appetite. Nor have these got-up deaths the grace of novelty; men less wicked, but as reckless, drank the hemlock at Athens; such were even of old time, and the wisest of men has drawn their features, "who said, reasoning within themselves, but not aright, Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy." "Our body shall turn into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air." "Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments; and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered. Let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness." And for that the voluptuous are unjust and cruel:—"Let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth. Therefore let us lay in wait for the righteous: because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings."

The Directory, when they entered on their office in October, 1795, found many of the enemies, who had combined against the early days of the revolution, discomfited and withdrawn from the field. The representations of the Conte d'Artois, of Louis himself, and of his queen, at a very early day excited the sympathies of the courts of Europe for the unhappy condition of the royal family; these, united with a regard to their own security against the aggressive temper of France, led to the adoption of measures which terminated in a general combination against the revolutionary government. The first step was the treaty signed at Mantua, May, 1791, between the emperor and the kings of Sardinia and Spain, which contemplated giving aid to the royalists of France; a second treaty was made at Vienna, July, 1791, between the emperor and king of Prussia, for the adoption of measures necessary to settle the affairs of that kingdom—to this the empress Catharine, Great

Britain, and the states of Holland were invited to accede. This was followed by the treaty of Pilnitz, August, 1791, on the representation by Louis himself of the constraint imposed upon him, by which the emperor and king of Prussia declared their intention to employ their forces to place Louis at liberty to form a limited monarchy, conformable to the common interest of France and of the adjoining states. Secret articles were alledged by the republican party to have been contained in this treaty. Russia and Sweden expressed their good disposition in the common cause. Louis was entreated by his brothers, who relied on foreign aid, not to accept the constitution. On his acceptance of it, the emperor declined any further co-operation in the internal affairs of France; but there still remained unadjusted the claims of some prelates and princes of Germany for the infringement of their rights in Alsace and Lorraine, by the decrees of the assembly. It was upon the question of these claims, and upon the countenance afforded to the emigrants in the states of Germany, that a declaration of war was, as has been already mentioned, obtained from Louis on the 20th of April, 1792. It was in contemplation of hostilities with France that Leopold concluded, in the preceding February, an alliance, defensive and offensive, with Gustavus II. of Sweden. On the 1st of March the emperor Leopold died, leaving his son, Francis II., his successor. In September, 1792, the assembly declared war against the king of Sardinia. On the 19th of November they proclaimed their famous decree of aid to all subjects disposed to revolt against their sovereigns. The navigation of the Scheldt was opened by their general before Antwerp, against the established rights of Holland. War was declared against Great Britain on the 3d of February, 1793.

On the 25th of July the king of Prussia joined the allied armies of Austria and Prussia, and the same day the duke of Brunswick issued his famous proclamation, which roused the indignation of the French people. The allied army then advanced into the French territory. Before the end of the campaign of 1795, several of the enemies of France were induced or compelled to make peace; Prussia in January, 1795, from a wish to direct her forces to other projects; Spain, by defeats, in July of the same year; Amsterdam was revolutionized in January, 1795; and an alliance, defensive and offensive, afterward made between the states and France; while the king of Sardinia was stripped of much of his Italian territories. Austria and Great Britain alone stood out. A fresh treaty was made by these powers on the 4th of May, 1795. In the preceding February an alliance, offensive and defensive, had

been concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, but there was no accession of force derived from the latter power except a reinforcement of twelve ships of the line, and some frigates to Admiral Duncan in the North Seas. Says Mr. Alison, when he arrives at the establishment of the Directory,—

"The different eras of the revolution, which have hitherto been traced, show the progress of the principles of democracy through their natural stages of public tranquillity, moneyed insecurity, financial embarrassment, arbitrary confiscation, general distress, plebeian insurrection, sanguinary oppression, civil warfare, and military despotism." —Chap. xxiv.

The first Directory consisted of Lareveilliere-Lepaux, Rewbel, Barras, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, who replaced Sieyes. After so long a period of disorder, a season of repose might have been expected under the new government; but further time was to pass before the turbulent elements of faction could be stilled in the calm of despotism. The conspiracy of Babœuf and the terrorists, in the summer of 1796, which extended to the camp at Grenelle, was extinguished by the execution of Babœuf, and the death or transportation of others. The new members of the councils, being one-third, returned in the elections of May, 1797, were royalists, and there was no longer harmony with the Directory. Barthelemi was chosen director in place of Letourneur, whose lot it was to retire, Pichegru was chosen president of the five hundred, and Barbe Marbois of the council of ancients. In the struggle of the 18th Fructidor, (September 4, 1797,) Rewbel, Lepaux, and Barras, the majority of the Directory, supported by a minority in the councils, and the troops put under the command of Augereau, sent from Italy by Bonaparte for that purpose, prevailed over their opponents. This triumph secured the ascendency of the Jacobin party in the government. Sixteen of the opposite party, among whom were Barthelemi, Pichegru, and Barbe Marbois, were, by a decree of their enemies in the councils, transported to Guiana; others were expelled from the councils. The severe decrees against the recusant priests, who had returned in great numbers, were revived, and many were transported to the same unhealthy shores. The liberty of the press was abolished, and so continued until the restoration in 1814.

The noisy tongue and popular turbulence were now supplanted by the power of the sword and obedience, and France seemed fit to take a place among the nations of Europe. The promise which the establishment of the government of the Directory and the councils, in October, 1795, so much more stable in its forms than any

that had gone before, at first held out to the nations, that the relations of peace and amity might be maintained with it, proved altogether fallacious. Excepting the short suspension of arms after the peace of Amiens, never was Europe the seat of wars more desolating, or of more fearful consequences. The great instrument under Providence in this shaking of the nations was the extraordinary man who commanded the troops of the convention against the armed sections of Paris on the 13th Vendemiaire, (5th of October,) 1795. "It is a wonderful thing, sir," wrote Gouverneur Morris from Paris, to General Washington, on the 10th of April, 1794, "that four years of convulsion, among four and twenty millions of people, have brought forth no one either in civil or military life whose head would fit the cap which fortune has woven." Mr. Morris was almost a constant resident in Paris for more than five years, commencing some months before the meeting of the States-General in May, 1789. The high reputation he had gained in the councils of his own country secured him a favorable introduction among the conspicuous actors in the successive scenes of the revolution, and his keen and intuitive sagacity made him accurate in his estimates of character, and enabled him to perceive the shadows cast by coming events. He never mistook M. Neckar for a great minister and able financier; nor did he behold in La Fayette, at the head of the National Guards, the future Washington of France; and Mirabeau he rated rather by the depravity of his public course than by the vigor of his mind or power of his eloquence. Robespierre, then in the height of his power, he regarded as the most consistent of the revolutionists, but did not venture to predict his course or anticipate his bloody end. The day, however, was at hand which would point out and elevate the man destined to wear the cap woven by fortune. It was but for a time he wore it, and disdaining the diadem which had fallen from the head of Louis into the dust and blood of the revolution, he reached out his hand to lay hold on the imperial crown. This man was Napoleon Bonaparte, who was appointed by the Directory to the command of the French army in Italy. His campaigns of 1796 and 1797 were one blaze of victory, while the arts and delights of peace were not wanting to smooth "the wrinkled front of grim-visaged war." Grace and beauty, wit and valor, held a brilliant court around Josephine, the wife of the young general, at Milan, and offered every delight that could gratify a gallant soldier after the fatigues and perils of war. On his return to Paris, the hero of Italy had a splendid reception from the Directory in the court of the Luxembourg, and laid at their feet the treaty of Campo Formio, ratified by

the emperor. On this occasion a magnificent standard was presented by the Directory to the army of Italy, inscribed with the names of their fields of victory, of the states and cities to which they had given freedom, with an enumeration of the trophies won from the enemy. Talleyrand, the ex-bishop of Autun, was the orator of the day, and exquisitely played his part in that splendid scene of the great national drama, and, in covert phrase, indicated its grand finale. This day seemed sufficient to satisfy the love of glory in the breast of his country's champion; but neither the brilliant court of Milan, nor the grand spectacle of the passing hour in which he was the chief object, had any hold upon the mind of Napoleon: his ambition was not for glory, but for power; its iron sceptre charmed his sight, and he longed to clutch it. His temper did not suffer him to loiter long in France, and when the day of tranquillity began to dawn upon the continental nations, dazzling visions of great exploits invited his steps to Egypt and the East. Nelson's great naval victory of the Nile of the 1st of August, 1798, which his countrymen made a set-off to the French triumphs over their allies on the continent, blasted his magnificent projects, as it left the French army in Egypt cut off from further reinforcements from France. The day-dreams of Napoleon then turned toward Syria, and he delighted his imagination with the thought of rousing the spirit of the subjects of the grand seignior to revolt, and, by their means, realizing schemes of conquest of Oriental splendor. Leaving a sufficient force in Egypt, he entered Syria. Foiled before the walls of St. Jean d'Acre, by the desperate valor of the pacha and the Turkish garrison, and the determined bravery of Sir Sydney Smith, and a body of British seamen and marines, he marched back to Egypt. His return was followed by the almost total destruction of a body of nine thousand Turkish troops, who had landed at Aboukir. He then returned to Alexandria, and on hearing of the disaster which had befallen the republic in Europe, determined to return to France. He visited Cairo, where Klebir was intrusted with the command of the army to be left behind. He took a last look of the Pyramids, which, in the eyes of travelers, to the most distant ages, will seem aggrandized in the greatness of Napoleon's fame. On the 22d of August, 1799, he embarked at Alexandria for Europe, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Marmont, all, afterward, marshals of the empire, and one a king of Naples, and a few other trusty followers. He touched at Ajaccio, in Corsica, and visited, for the first time since his great elevation, the house of his father, and the scenes of his

infancy and boyhood. On the 8th of October he landed in the bay of Frejus, and set off the same day for Paris.

The triumphs of England had hitherto been confined to the ocean. British soldiership and valor had won no laurels in the plains of Flanders or among the dykes of Holland. The first-fruits were to be gathered on the sands of Egypt. The author's breast glows with patriot ardor when he narrates the battle of Alexandria, where his countrymen matched themselves in fair fight against the veterans of Italy. The passage has the characteristic marks of the manner of the historian. The scene before him is united with the past by old recollections and names of ancient renown; and turning his glance upon the future, he brings to view the influence of the passing action on the future passages of the history:—

"England and France were here to contend for the empire of the East in the cradle of ancient civilization, on the spot where Pompey was delivered up to the victorious arms of Cesar, and under the walls of the city which is destined to perpetuate to the latest generation the prophetic wisdom of Alexander. Every object which met the eye was fraught with historic renown. On the right of the French line rose Pompey's pillar; on the left, Cleopatra's needle; in the distance were seen the moldering walls and eastern domes of Alexandria, while on the extreme horizon, stretching into the sea, appeared the far-famed tower of Pharos."

A description of the battle follows, in which the French lost the character of invincibles. The victory cost the English the life of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, their gallant and veteran commander. This battle, says Mr. Alison, not only delivered Egypt, but decided the fate of the civilized world. The importance of a triumph is not always to be measured by the number of troops engaged. As twenty-four thousand Romans under Cesar, at Pharsalia, changed the face of antiquity; as thirty thousand republicans, at Marengo, seated Napoleon on the consular throne, and established a power which overturned all the monarchies of Europe; so

"the contest of twelve thousand British, with an equal number of French, on the sands of Alexandria, in its remote effects, overthrew an empire greater than that of Charlemagne, and rescued mankind from a more galling tyranny than that of the Roman emperors. It first elevated the hopes and confirmed the resolution of the English soldiers; it first broke the charm by which the continental nations had so long been enthralled; it first revived the military spirit of the English people, and awakened the pleasing hope, that the descendants of the

victors at Cressy and Agincourt had not degenerated from the valor of their fathers. Nothing but the recollection of this decisive trial of strength could have supported the British nation through the arduous conflict which awaited them on the renewal of the war, and induced them to remain firm and unshaken amid the successive prostration of every continental power, till the dawn of hope began over the summit of the Pyrenees, and the eastern sky was reddened by the conflagration of Moscow."—Chap. xxxiv.

While transcribing these passages, we are reminded of the inaccuracies which sometimes escape the pen of Mr. Alison in the heat and rapidity of composition, and likewise remark his disposition to draw too large inferences. As we have always read, Pompey, when seeking an asylum after the battle of Pharsalia, was basely murdered upon the shore of Egypt. The date of Bonaparte's being created first consul was the 13th of December, 1799, and preceded the battle of Marengo, fought the 14th of June, 1800; Nelson's great victory of Aboukir, and that of the army of Abercrombie, cheered the hearts of the British nation, depressed by the accumulated disasters of the allied arms in Europe; Nelson's defeat would have struck deep at the very heart of England's glory; but it is going too far to say, that a field the less would have been won in Spain had French and English never met, or with a different result on the sands of Egypt.

The pre-eminence of Napoleon's genius, and the wonderful ascendency the whole constitution of his character gave him over all men with whom he ever acted, placed him as first consul at the head of the new government, after the overthrow of the Directory. The histories of France and of her chief are henceforward one; he lived but for her glory and the extension of her power. In the battle of Marengo, June 14, 1800, he called back victory, which had taken flight, to the standards of France. The treaties of Luneville and of Amiens gave a short repose to Europe. Causes of hostility, however, were not laid at rest, and war was declared by Great Britain in May, 1804. The first consul, after being elected for life, became now the emperor Napoleon by a vote as large as that which returned the members of the National Assembly. A coalition was formed, December, 1804, by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Napoleon inspired his own indomitable spirit into his armies, and at their head, in the successive battles of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805; of Jena, October 14, 1806; of Eylau, February 8, 1807; and of Friedland, June 14, shattered the armies and coalition of emperors and kings. The treaty of Tilsit, between Napoleon and Alexander, of the 7th of July follow-

ing, put an end to hostilities between the great continental powers. In this dark hour,—

> "When Austria bent, and Prussia broke,
> And Europe crouch'd to Francis' yoke;
> And the bold Russian's purpose brave
> Was barter'd by a tim'rous slave,"—

England stood erect and alone.

The author throws a splendor around his descriptions of battles. He must surely agree in sentiment with M. De Tocqueville, who says, "I speak no ill of war; war almost always enlarges the mind of a people, and raises its character." Not only has Mr. Alison studied the details of campaigns given by military men, but he has made himself acquainted with localities, and kindled a martial ardor in his own breast, by visits to the most celebrated of Napoleon's fields, in the passes and plains of Italy, in Germany and France, down to the Belgic field of Waterloo, where fortune at last deserted the hero of a hundred battles. His descriptions should, therefore, be accurate—they certainly are stirring and full of life. Nor is he less successful in showing war stripped of its glorious pomp and circumstance. In his account of the battle of Eylau, where Napoleon and Davoust encountered the Russian and Prussian armies under Benningsen, he gives the following picture of the field after a day of carnage, and brings home to the heart of the man of peace the amount of human suffering by which military renown is won:—

"Never was spectacle so dreadful as the field of battle presented on the following morning. Above fifty thousand men lay in the space of two leagues, weltering in blood. The wounds were, for the most part, of the severest kind, from the extraordinary quantity of cannon balls which had been discharged during the action, and the close proximity of the contending masses to the deadly batteries which spread grape or half-musket shot through their ranks. Though stretched on the cold snow, and exposed to the severity of an Arctic winter, they were burning with thirst, and piteous cries were heard on all sides for water, or assistance to extricate the wounded men from beneath the heaps of slain, or load of horses, by which they were crushed; six thousand of these noble animals encumbered the field, or, maddened with pain, were shrieking aloud amidst the stifled groans of the wounded. Subdued by loss of blood, tamed by cold, exhausted by hunger, the foemen lay side by side amid the general wreck. The Cossack was to be seen beside the Italian; the gay vine-dresser, from the smiling banks of the Garonne, lay athwart the stern peasant from the plains of the Ukraine. The intensity of suffering had extinguished alike the fiercest and the most generous passions. After his usual custom, Napoleon, in the afternoon, rode through this dreadful field,

accompanied by his generals and staff, while the still burning piles of Serpallen and Sansgarten sent volumes of black smoke over the scene of death: but the men exhibited none of their wonted enthusiasm: no cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were heard, the bloody surface echoed only with the cries of suffering, or the groans of wo."

It would be in vain to attempt an estimate of the affliction the slaughter of this day brought upon parents, wives, children, and friends. But let us take a single case, where the deadly ball has struck a high mark, one whom Napoleon loved and called his friend, and contemplate the mighty conqueror touched with a soldier's grief, which makes him more interesting than does even the greatest of his triumphs. After the battle of Bantzen in 1813, when the French were following up the retreating Russian army, they being held in check by Miliradovich, a ball struck down one of Napoleon's escort; he turned to Duroc, saying, "Duroc, fortune seems resolved to have one of us to-day." One of the suite observed in an undertone, "It is the anniversary of Lanne's death at Esling." Napoleon galloped up to another point of attack, followed by his suite, through a narrow way, and enveloped in a cloud of dust. At this moment Kirchener, general of engineers, was killed on the spot, and Duroc mortally wounded. As soon as the intelligence reached the emperor, he instantly dismounted, gazing upon the battery whence the shot had been discharged, and entered the hut where the dying marshal had been carried. "Duroc," said he, pressing his hand, "there is another world where we shall meet again." "Memorable words!" says the historian, (would that he had spared, or changed the closing words,) "wrung by anguish from the child of infidelity and the revolution." When, a few hours afterward, Napoleon was informed all was over, without uttering a word, he put into the hands of Berthier a paper, ordering the erection of a monument on the spot where Duroc fell—to be inscribed with his name and title, and the manner of his death, and that "he died in the arms of the emperor his friend."

"Napoleon pitched his tent near the cottage where Duroc lay, and seemed for a time altogether overwhelmed by his emotions. The squares of the old guard, respecting his feelings, arranged themselves at a distance, and even his most confidential attendants did not for some time venture to approach his person. Alone he sat, wrapped in his gray great coat, with his forehead resting on his hands, and his elbows on his knees, a prey to the most agonizing reflections. In vain Caulaincoart and Murat at length requested his attention to the most pressing orders. 'To-morrow, every thing,' was the only reply of the emperor, as he again resumed his attitude of meditation."

After the treaty of Tilsit opposition to Napoleon on the continent was at an end; the very mind of Europe bowed down before the genius of the conqueror. The lust of power and hate of England, as the great obstacle to his ambition, led to his final overthrow. The first induced him to outrage the dearest rights of the royal family and people of Spain, and place his brother Joseph on the vacated throne. The last produced those violent measures against the trade of England, which could not be carried out without gross invasions of the rights of independent states. The spirit of resistance first roused itself in the Spanish peninsula, where the high talents of the duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had been exercised and invigorated in the vast schemes and wide fields of the wars and politics of India, rescued Spain from the grasp of Napoleon, and roused the spirit of the nations to a last and successful opposition to the arms of France. To follow up further the operation of these two ruling passions in the breast of Napoleon, the invasion of Spain brought the duke of Wellington from the heights of Las Torres Vedras to the capital of France, and the rigor with which the emperor of the French strove to enforce his continental system, delivered over the grandest army which Europe ever saw to the killing snows and frosts of Russia, and in the end made the fair city of Paris the military head quarters of the victorious sovereigns and great captains, who, from the banks of the Volga, the Vistula, and the Danube, and from the golden Tagus, had fought their way through the armies of France to the borders of the Seine. The Bourbons were restored to the throne of France; Napoleon was relegated to the isle of Elba. From the sovereignty of his little island he was again raised by a wonderful Providence to the imperial throne, only to be more signally cast down. The once emperor of the French and master of Europe died the exile of St. Helena, a possession of the only enemy who had never quailed before his glance, and the prisoner of monarchs, more than one of whom owed their crowns to his forbearance in the day of his might.

The interests of these United States, although they were not ostensibly, yet were they deeply concerned in this portion of European history. The earlier portion of his subject, indeed, has caused the author to advert repeatedly to the American revolution, and to remark upon the operation of our republican institutions. Franklin he names with praise, and the following is his tribute to the name of Washington :—

"Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he

brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of moral life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances, rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs, and the perseverance of his character, than any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific councils when the independence of his country was secured, and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame without vanity; independent and dignified without either asperity or pride."—Chap. xxi.

These volumes comprise a body of instruction, the result of researches which few in this country could make for themselves. They combine with more than ordinary felicity the general instruction of history with the particular interest of biography. The vivid descriptions of the author encircle the reader with a panorama of countries dotted with fields of glory, where the eye glances from the far-off plains of Bengal to the shores of Syria and the rock of Gibraltar, and from the sands of Egypt to the snow-clad plains of Russia. In biography, this work is a gallery of portraits of princes, of statesmen, and of great captains—"quorum nomina tantum instar triumphi." Full of his subject, whenever high principle or noble passion is concerned, the narrative becomes impassioned, and the reader is borne onward as by the long swell of the ocean wave. Mr. Alison's philosophy is of higher origin than that which gave tone to the great histories of the last century, of Hume and of Gibbon, or even of Robertson. He unrolls a moral code to the family of nations, and with line upon line, and precept upon precept, he enforces the doctrine of retributive justice. His attachment to conservative principles as held in his own land, and his political predilections, almost disqualify him for a fair estimate of the operation of principles differing from his own, in countries where they have been long working under institutions unlike those under which he lives. Hence many reasoners on this side of the Atlantic will be disposed to controvert some of the conclusions he draws from the operation of our republican institutions. Some inaccuracies of substance, as well as of expression, have escaped from the pen of the author, which his revision for a new edition will probably correct.

The Messrs. Harper are issuing an edition of this great work in numbers, in very good taste, and so low as to accommodate all.

New-York, March, 1843.

ART. III.—*Fifth Article* of the Methodist Quarterly Review for July, 1842.

WE do not notice the paper referred to in the above heading, for the purpose of protracting a controversy on what some may perhaps consider a mere speculative point of theology. Our object is rather to throw some light on a subject with which we are not alone in believing the best interests of the Christian world are connected, and incidentally to disabuse the public mind in regard to the real character of the *theory of temptation*, which has by a single writer been made a subject of so severe animadversion.*

And who is the propounder of this *theory of temptation?* that we may know whether there were any special reasons for its being received with suspicion. He is "one," says the reviewer of that theory, "holding a responsible trust in the church;" and we may add, without offense, one who held responsible trusts in the church, even before the reviewer took his first lessons in Methodist theology; and still further, one who has never stood otherwise than high in the confidence of the church. And yet the charge of heresy is very fully and explicitly preferred against the theory, while it is construed as denying most of the peculiar fundamental doctrines of our church—doctrines, too, so familiar as to be "scattered through the writings of Wesley from the beginning to the end," to constitute "the common phraseology of all our standard writers," and to have become "the familiar dialect" of the best members of the church. But charges of heresy are not *proofs*, any more than the charges of sophistry and "contradiction," so freely brought against our former article, are *arguments*. For this reason alone shall we pass them by; and without even an allusion, at this point, to the *manner* of the reviewer, shall come at once to the *matter* of his article. In the execution of our plan, we shall explain wherein we consider the theory to be misstated by the reviewer—shall endeavor to find the precise point in controversy—and shall then bring his system with

* Those who wish to become acquainted with the subject discussed in this paper are referred to the October number of this work for 1841, for the original theory; and also to the next number, of January, 1842, for a partial exposition of it, and a defense of its principles against some strictures which, soon after its publication, appeared in Zion's Herald. The delay which has occurred in the publication of this article, as well as the brief space assigned to the further discussion of the subject on our part, renders such a reference necessary.

our own to the test of our standard writers, for whose able expositions of sacred truth he can entertain no more profound respect than we do.

I. We will introduce this part of our discussion by remarking, that the theory is very correctly charged with asserting that excitement is essential to temptation. This is the language in which the doctrine is there set forth:—

"Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act. Each internal power in our constitution has its corresponding external object which God has appointed as its natural excitant, and which has power to excite it *independent of our will.* The excitable functions, or powers in our constitution, may be divided into two classes: the appetites, which have their origin in the flesh; and the passions, which originate in the mind itself. These appetites and passions, which are essential parts of every sound and healthy person, are, in themselves, *simply considered as powers existing*, neither vicious nor virtuous. When, under proper conditions, the external exciting object is presented, its corresponding appetite or passion is *necessarily excited*, and *tends* to seek gratification; and this involuntary and necessary excitement, when it tends to unlawful or excessive gratification, is called lust,* and properly constitutes temptation."

In our exposition, this general doctrine is stated with equal distinctness—reference being had, of course, to the kind of temptation mentioned in the theory.

We shall now proceed to point out in what respects we consider the theory to be misstated by the reviewer.

First. An elaborate argument is introduced, to show that the theory teaches that this excitement, which is essential to temptation, extends, or may extend, to "the *whole* class of sensibilities, (that is, emotions and desires,) the instincts, appetites, propensities, and affections."—With how little logical fairness this is done, the reader can judge after a very simple statement. The propounder of the theory, following the example of many ethical writers, for the sake of brevity, comprehends the sensibilities, as we have seen, under "two classes: the *appetites*, which have their origin in the flesh; and the *passions*, which originate in the mind itself;"

* We do not much admire the principle which could have led the reviewer of this theory, in commenting on this word as here used, to give preference to the definition of Webster over that of St. James, which is most obviously the sense of the theory. Nor do we any more admire the want of care which allowed him to select from the definitions of Webster the very *strongest* sense in which the word is ever used, when the lexicographer himself just below cites the passage from St. James as an example of its use in a *milder* sense.

and he nowhere gives any other classification of them. Notwithstanding these terms are thus defined and used in the theory, the reviewer, as we conceive in opposition to all the principles of fair argumentation, attempts to force upon them another meaning, by introducing other definitions from foreign sources. The propounder of the theory doubtless had a right to define his own terms; and, as here defined, it is perfectly obvious that each appetite and passion must be considered as embracing both the *motive* stage and the *desire*, while the theory contains not one remark which authorizes the conclusion, that the necessary excitement of temptation ever extends beyond the former. It makes no suggestion on that subject. In this respect, then, the theory is misstated.

Secondly. The theory is charged with allowing the necessary excitement of temptation not only to attack "the whole class of sensibilities," but to rage among them without control.—The reviewer has not formally stated his charges, nor always clearly distinguished them from each other. This charge is closely connected with the former; and after an effort to substantiate that, by substituting the definitions of Lord Kames and others for those of the theory, he over and over again repeats the present charge, and at one time briefly sums it up thus:—"The first article allows *any* excitement short of the will—that there '*is no sin but in consent.*'"

"Consent" to what? we ask. Why need the reviewer, as he has done in more instances than one, give us partial quotations, if truth is his object? These half sentences, in this case, seem to teach, that the excitement of temptation, however characterized, is all independent of the will; and that *there is no sin*, unless we consent—to the evil to which we are tempted. But what is indeed the language of the theory on this subject?—

"The final and unerring test of sin, is, not the existence of the temptation, but the consent of the will. Whenever this consent is given *in any degree*, then sin commences; and the extent of the consent is the measure of the degree of sin. When we feel the temptation, if we consent *to prolong the excitement*, or *if it be in our power to allay it*, or *to escape from it*, and *we refuse to do it*, then we begin to sin."

It appears, then, distinctly, from the theory itself, that some of the forms of excitement which precede the final action of the will in regard to the tempting object, are *voluntary;* and are therefore not included in the "excitement essential to temptation," or which can exist "without sin." We cannot avoid the conclusion, that the theory is in this respect most grossly misrepresented; and

misconstruction here seems the less excusable, that the reviewer has himself used the term "consent" in regard to one of the preliminary stages of temptation. Of the first transgression he says, the woman "consented to hear the seducer, and fell." And here he has not only used this word in the same general manner as the theory, but also applies it in the same way, making the consent of the will essential to the transgression.

In regard to both these last charges, the theory prescribes no other limit, either as to the sensibilities which may be reached by the excitement essential to constitute temptation, or as to the *extent* of such excitement, than that it is "involuntary and necessary." In our exposition of the theory, however, we attempted what that did not attempt—*to fix the limits* of the excitement which could properly be thus designated. This the reviewer seems not to have perceived; and thus appears utterly unable to reconcile the two articles. In perfect harmony, as we suppose, with the principles of the theory, we alledged that "temptation can never become properly such, only so far as it *excites*, or *tends to excite* the DESIRES;" but, at the same time, we affirmed, that in cases where the temptation is successfully repelled, as, for example, by the perfect Christian, the desire does not become fully formed; or, in other words, only the incipient or nascent desire is felt—such as is produced by the action of the emotions, in their spontaneous effort to create it. This sentiment was thus expressed:—"The peculiar character of the temptations of the sanctified person, is then doubtless this: that while they *tend*, in common with the temptations of feebler Christians and of all other men, *to the excitement of the desires*, he does not allow them to take hold on these desires. He has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them." "At this point," meaning, as had been just before explained, *at the point* where the incipient desire comes in conflict with the feelings of obligation. This, then, is the point, at which, according to the exposition of the theory, the excitement of temptation becomes a subject of voluntary control. As, however, the reviewer has been able to perceive in our treatment of this part of the subject only "contradictions," and several instances of "abandonment of the ground of our argument," we shall refer to the matter again; though to us it seems, that these forms of expression must be sufficiently intelligible to any man free from the peculiar modes of thinking arising from the study of a favorite author.

Thirdly. It is alledged, that this theory denies the doctrine of natural depravity.—This charge seems to be based on the following

propositions of the theory; to wit:—that "the existence of the involuntary and necessary excitement of temptation, and the consciousness of its tendency to seek to be gratified, is not sin, nor of the nature of sin;" and again,—in regard to the "violent excitement," which has its origin in "Satanic suggestion," and is accompanied with "reflections and imaginings horrible, offensive, and impure,"—that "unless we consent either to prolong the excitement, or to indulge it, we are 'without sin.'" These propositions obviously refer to two matters entirely distinct from each other. In the first, it is implied simply, that as *temptation* is not sin, so the "involuntary and necessary excitement" *essential to its existence*, is not sin; and so far as *temptation* is "not of the nature of sin," just so far is *this kind* of excitement "not of the nature of sin," but may be felt by any nature, however holy, which is subject to temptation. This excitement, which the theory considers as having its origin in the very nature of the human mind, and as being essential to the moral constitution of man, the reviewer uniformly confounds with the "violent excitement," subsequently referred to—predicating the same kind of innocence of the one as of the other, making them *equally* "essential to temptation," and equally independent of natural depravity. For this there is not a shadow of authority in the theory itself. The former was all that had been mentioned, when the theory was applied to explain the temptations of our first parents, and of our Saviour; and when the latter is subsequently introduced, the reader is left to judge for himself whether or not this can ever be felt at all by the sanctified man; and, if so, whether it can ever be in his case "involuntary and necessary." If it ever is, then, and not otherwise, the theory pronounces it not even "of the nature of sin." The subjects of depravity or of Christian perfection not being then under discussion, the theory makes no allusion to these questions.

But this charge of denying the doctrine of natural depravity is made in the very face of the theory itself; which so far from denying this doctrine, actually affirms it, though incidentally, more strongly than ought to have been expected in a mere outline of a theory of *temptation*. With this remark, we commend to the reader this striking passage:—"The difference between them [our first parents] and us is, they were *naturally able* to stand against any possible temptation; we are wholly unable by nature, and cannot become able except by grace." If this does not explicitly *teach* the doctrine of natural depravity, we cannot appreciate the meaning of words.

Finally. The reviewer charges the theory with "virtually denying the doctrine of Christian perfection."—This charge rests on misconstructions already noticed, as to the nature and extent of the excitement allowed by the theory as innocent; which the reviewer makes to be "violent excitement of the appetites and passions—accompanied by imaginings, horrible, offensive, impure, and raging thus in the appetites and passions, in the instincts, propensities, and affections, including not only the emotions but desires." Such a representation is too palpably absurd to merit a refutation. And yet the reviewer is careful to inform his readers "that the sense of the author is plain" in the statement of these doctrines—so plain that "no acknowledgment of an irregular or unfortunate use of words by the theory can evade it." He adds,—"Prove that the author does not mean what we attribute to him, and you prove that he means nothing, you set at defiance every principle of interpretation." But though its errors are so "plain" to the far-reaching ken of the reviewer, the theory was doubtless put forth by its propounder "unwittingly, and with the impression that its views were fully Wesleyan;" and was defended by us as at variance with our standards, "unintentionally!"

The reviewer is very kind, to be sure, to charge our errors to our ignorance and stupidity, rather than to any bad "intent;" but a recollection of the maxim of Coleridge—"Until you understand a writer's ignorance, presume yourself ignorant of his understanding," would have served him, both here and elsewhere in his article, a good purpose. An appreciation of his kindness, however, shall not allow us to speak at all in our own defense; but he must excuse us, if, on the part of the propounder of the theory, we enter our solemn protest, in the name of truth, of honesty, and of the principles of honorable controversy, against so forced and unauthorized a construction of the sentiments of any Christian writer; and especially of any one who has never been accused of insidious designs upon the established doctrines or institutions of the church. In making this, our protest, we shall probably be again charged by the reviewer with "standing up for our friend,"* instead of allowing us the only credit which we claim in these articles, that of writing for the discovery of the truth, and in its support. When the reader shall be induced to believe that we have laid aside the office of an *investigator* for that of an *advocate*, we shall expect him to consider our pages as unworthy of his perusal.

II. We have endeavored to show that the doctrines of the original theory are not what they are set forth to be by the reviewer.

* Zion's Herald for January 19, 1842.

As a preliminary step in ascertaining the precise ground of controversy, we shall now present to the reader a brief statement of what we deem these doctrines to be. The theory, then, teaches,—

1. That there is excitement of some of the *natural sensibilities* in all cases of proper temptation; and that this excitement constitutes one of the essential elements of such temptation.

2. That temptation consequently implies an impulse *toward* the tempting object.—This is opposed to the sentiment of the reviewer, that the excitement of innocent temptation can only be an "excitement of horror *against* it." The theory admits this feeling of "horror," in view of the seducing object, after the *moral feelings* have had time to rally, and the temptation is wholly, or even partially, overcome.

3. That the indulgence to which we are tempted, must be either *unlawful* or *excessive*.—As this proposition is made a subject of frequent remark by the reviewer, we beg the reader to try to fancy to himself a temptation the opposite of this, which should be to indulgence in an object which is *lawful*, and only to an *authorized extent*. We know of no *such* temptation.

4. That *Satanic suggestion* is one of the secondary sources of temptation; and that under its influence the excitement of temptation may become "violent," may be "prolonged," and may even be accompanied with "reflections and imaginings, horrible, offensive, and impure." And,

5. That the excitement of temptation which is "involuntary and necessary," is not of itself "sin, nor of the nature of sin;" and even if, under the "dreadful power" of Satanic suggestion, "violent excitement" is felt, still, "if we neither consent to prolong the excitement, nor to indulge it, we are 'without sin.'"

The reviewer might have raised a question as to the *extent* of the excitement allowed by this theory. But he has chosen to deny ALL *excitement of the natural sensibilities* in all innocent temptations; and admits it only in regard to such as are at least "of the nature of sin." Thus this kind of excitement is denied of all the temptations of our first parents, prior to the fall; of those of our Saviour, and of the sanctified Christian; and of the innocent temptations of the young Christian, and of all other men—innocency being predicated only of the intellectual perception which precedes the emotion to which it naturally gives rise. The leading proposition of this theory is then positively denied; to wit, that excitement of the natural sensibilities—even of the emotions—is an essential element of temptation, (the term temptation being used by both writers in its common acceptation;)

while it is asserted, on the contrary, that this excitement in view of a tempting object always either originates or results in sin.

Though it is on this question mainly that the reviewer has raised an issue with the theory; yet, for the cause of truth, we have chosen to go further, and to show what is the kind and extent of the excitement which the theory recognizes as essential to temptation, and declares innocent. And we have seen, that it was there characterized as "natural;" and from the constitution of the mind in its relation to the external world, as "involuntary and necessary;" and also that it was expressly taught, that all excitement is not of this character. Our exposition of this theory attempts to show what precise forms of excitement are here included; and, as we have already seen, limits them to the emotions and the incipient stage of desire; thus while distinctly asserting the doctrine of the theory, that the involuntary excitement is *innocent*, at the same time fixing the limits of the excitement, which, according to the usage of philosophical writers, can with propriety be called *involuntary*. And it is with reference to such usage, as we propose presently more distinctly to show, that the desires, after having passed their incipient stage, are represented as falling under the control of the will; and thus, when their objects are improper, as *not* being included by the theory among the forms of innocent excitement. For the want of perceiving this distinction drawn by us between the nascent desire, called by Professor Upham its *instinctive* stage, and the subsequent stage designated by him the *voluntary*,* the whole matter becomes a labyrinth to the reviewer; our "logic and theology" are both at fault, and thus, as usual, he has resolved our whole argument into "contradiction" and nonsense.

Here, however, the reader has the two theories before him; and having them thus, cannot but perceive the eminently practical character of the question we are endeavoring to settle. If the original theory is true, then he who adopts that of the reviewer, on examining his own heart, and feeling occasionally these involuntary and instinctive impulses of his nature, it matters not how rarely, or from what source they arise, or how quickly they are subdued—will often unnecessarily cast away his confidence—his confidence which hath great recompense of reward. And, on the other hand,

* As the reviewer, in support of his peculiar doctrines, has referred to a paragraph in an anonymous article, which he ascribes to the pen of Professor Upham, the reader is earnestly requested to recur to vol. ii. of his Mental Philosophy, where he will find a full and lucid development of this entire subject. See particularly sections 99, 110, 113, 116, 124, 128, 130, 155, 174.

if the system of the reviewer is the true one, he who limits his faith by the standard held up in the former, can never reach the perfection of the Christian character. How great is the responsibility of him who writes on such a subject! and who, in such a case, but would tremble at the thought of gaining a conquest in argument at the expense of the truth!

That the moral bearings of our theory may be still more distinctly before the mind of the reader, we will, before leaving this part of our subject, make an additional remark. In regard to the temptations of the Christian in general, it may be observed, that religion requires a change of life—a change of habits, both of body and of mind—a change of thoughts and of associations; a sufficient change, one might think, to occasion a vast diminution in the frequency of his temptations, who prosecutes a religious life, to say nothing of their violence, or of the offensiveness and impurity of their character. Thus indirectly, by avoiding occasions of temptation, by withdrawing attention from them when present, and by fixing the mind on whatever is excellent—all of which our holy Christianity enjoins—even the young Christian may greatly weaken the force of temptation, and may acquire a wonderful victory over the evils of his nature. In this simple statement alone, the reviewer will find an answer to his rhetorical interrogatory: "How does advancement in grace take away the susceptibility of this excitement?" and a solution of the "contradiction" charged upon us in the same paragraph. But this is not all that our theory allows. From the very nature of the work of grace wrought in the heart of the sanctified man, as set forth in our former article, he must be free from all wavering of the principle of supreme love to God, which is the very element of the perfection he has attained. Thus, in a moral point of view, is he recovered from his natural depravity, and, of course, is freed from all the temptations which have their origin in this source, and to which even the young Christian may be subject. We do not then say that his temptations are many, nor do we say that they are long continued, or necessarily doubtful in their issue. What we have maintained, and still maintain, is simply this: that when he is tempted, his temptation does not differ in its *nature* as we have defined it, from that of other men, however it may differ in its origin, or in its power of enthralling the will.

And now, that the entire ground of the controversy may be still further placed before the reader, and its limits be properly fixed, we will on this point premise, that we may recognize the existence of all the mental states suggested by those who oppose our theory;

and yet, if it shall appear either that these are not temptations, or, that being temptations, they are not *all* that the perfect man is subject to, our theory may still be true. For example, we have unhesitatingly allowed the existence of such a state of mind as consists only of a pure intellection, accompanied with an emotion of horror; but in regard to this, as well as other kindred states of mind, we believe that they cannot, without doing violence to the English language, be called *temptations*. Though the English word temptation is ambiguous, we know of no such latitude of definition as will embrace this state of mind. Clarke says, this word "is now generally used to imply a solicitation to evil."* Wesley says,—"The English word temptation is now usually understood of solicitation to sin."† So the original theory says,—"Temptation is a sensible impulse or solicitation to do some evil act." And the reviewer, notwithstanding his objection to this definition, so often insinuated in the course of his article, must admit that our Saviour was subject to *such* temptations, and that they fall also to the lot of good men. We need not discuss the *name* then—here we have the thing. These are the temptations whose nature we are endeavoring to define; and in regard to such as these, lies the issue between the theory and the system of the reviewer.

III. Now that our theory is divested of the rubbish thrown about it by the reviewer, and is distinctly before the reader, with those who admit the *existence* of excitement in temptation, we are willing to leave the question, whether this excitement is not *such* as the theory recognizes, and such as we have defined it. It remains, then, only to place the leading proposition of our theory side by side with the system of the reviewer, and to bring them *together* to the test of our standard doctrines. One or the other must be true. We can see no middle ground. Temptation—such as those to which we have just referred—either involves excitement of some of the natural sensibilities, or it does not; and the good man really possesses the power to prevent such excitement in temptation, or he does not. The result, therefore, must be the same, whether we establish our system by direct proof, or proceed indirectly, and overthrow that which is opposed to it. Either of these, we believe, might be done; but at the same time we believe the strength of our position will be rendered more apparent, if, while we incidentally confirm our former arguments in support of our theory by a reference especially to our standard authors, we

* Notes on Genesis xxii, 1.

† Sixth Discourse upon the Sermon on the Mount.

present some objections to the system which is arrayed against it. This system differs from ours, both in its leading *doctrine*, and in the *theory* by which this doctrine is supported; and in both these respects, after the most mature examination, we believe it to be at variance as well with our practical as with our speculative theology.

1. We propose further to examine the reviewer's *doctrine* of a mere intellectual temptation, as modified and more specifically set forth by him since our former article on this subject was published. Of this sort of temptation we have already said, that it falls not within any definition of temptation we have ever met with. It consists only of such perceptions, and of such action of the sensibilities as call for no resistance, but may with the most perfect innocence be entertained and cherished. This defect in the doctrinal part of this system we believe will become strongly apparent as we proceed.

The *first* objection we shall here present to this doctrine is, that it is opposed to all our commonly received metaphysical theology. After an attempt sufficiently elaborate (how successful the reader must judge) to show some affinity between the law of mental action adopted by us in our last article and Edwards' philosophical doctrine of necessity, the reviewer volunteers the remark, that "motives are the conditions of volitions." Though we shall not be turned aside to discuss any subject foreign to the one in hand, we are willing to make a momentary use of this allusion to the doctrine of *motives*. Even the metaphysicians whom the reviewer seems most inclined to favor, so far as we can discover, recognize no pure intellections as "motives." On the contrary, Dr. Schmucker traces the motive influence of all entities, or objects, directly to the "feelings" which they excite;* and this is the common view of philosophical writers. It is recognized by Dr. Fisk throughout his "Calvinistic Controversy," and it most clearly implies that there can be no *motives* which do not reach the sensibilities. Now, then, we ask, What are *temptations*, as defined by our theological writers, but "motives?" "To resist a powerful temptation," says Watson, "is to resist a powerful motive."† Indeed, what kind of a temptation would that be which does not "incite to action?" and whatever does this, is a *motive*. Yet the reviewer gives us a temptation which is a pure intellection. "'When the woman *saw*'—here is the innocent stage of the temptation;" and from the argument it appears

* See his Mental Philosophy, pp. 113, 114, 179, 180.

† Institutes, part ii, chap. 28.

that this is all the temptation, or at least the strongest, of which her unfallen nature was susceptible. Again he says,—"The temptation was 'involuntary,' the excitement was not; when the woman '*saw*,' she knew her duty, and could have escaped, but she consented to hear the seducer, and fell." There was, then, here a "consent" of the will—a *volition, without any motive*, as that term is usually understood—without any thing but a bare intellection as the "condition" of such volition.

Elsewhere the reviewer has admitted in regard to the sanctified Christian, that this intellection may be accompanied with the *moral* emotion of "horror" and "abhorrence." If this admission be extended to the original transgression, instead of mending the matter, it but makes it worse; for that which before did not amount to a temptation, now actually becomes a powerful impulse in the contrary direction; for he says explicitly of this excitement, "Instead of its tending to 'unlawful indulgence,' &c., it has precisely the opposite tendency." This temptation, which takes the direction of the *moral sensibilities*, is such, we feel assured, as no metaphysical writer ever yet suggested to the world. Thus the "innocent temptation" of this system, in neither of its phases, presents a philosophical character. This, however, is an age of discovery; and the objection we have presented, we are aware, will have no weight with the reviewer. Why should he not give a *new* metaphysical system to the world, since he feels himself qualified to condemn all others?*

Our *second* objection to this doctrine of the reviewer is, that it does not furnish a satisfactory explanation of the fall of our first parents, or of the danger of the sanctified Christian. Our first parents actually fell: this is no matter of speculation; and the temptation by which they fell—that which

"Brought death into the world, and all our wo,"

on the system presented—was but a mere intellectual perception, unattended by any natural emotion whatever. It was the *sight of the forbidden tree*, unaccompanied by the perception "that it was good for food," or "that it was to be desired to make one wise." These latter perceptions involving *emotion*, are expressly denied of the "innocent stage" of this temptation. Nor is this all. When it is said,—"The woman saw the tree that it was pleasant to the eyes," this is so explained, that the *seeing of the tree* was innocent, while the accompanying perception, that *it was pleasant to the eyes*, was sinful, and proved that she had already fallen. The

* See the reviewer's note on page 450.

temptation then by which Eden was lost, commenced and ended with *the sight of the forbidden tree*—all that followed being but the consequence and the evidence of the apostasy. The mere statement of the system, as applicable to the first transgression, we deem a complete refutation of it. Wesley, in his essay on Original Sin, has spoken of the temptation by which our first parents fell, as "strong temptation—how strong we know not." With how little propriety would he thus have characterized the reviewer's temptation—*the sight of the tree!*

And this is the kind of temptation, too, by which the perfect man is in danger of falling; for it is conceded, on both hands, that he may "become a castaway." We inquired in our last, if the sanctified Christian has no conflicts? The reviewer answers, "Yes; abundance of them." And here, lest we should be thought to misstate his system, we must let him speak for himself. We had objected to the idea, that mere "thoughts," unaccompanied with the excitement of any natural emotion or desire, could properly be called temptation; and remarked by way of illustration:—"One man tells us, he *was never tempted* to steal; another, that he *was never tempted* to take the name of God in vain; and others, in every stage of Christian experience, that they *have never been tempted* to give up their faith in Christ, or to abandon the hopes of religion; while the very fact of their making the statements shows, that these are even at the time matters of *intellectual perception;* or, in the language of the objector, that they 'exist in the thoughts,' and 'are perceived and thought of.' When men have no theory to sustain, it is clear they do not call these *temptations*. The element that is wanting is excitement."*

The reviewer says, in reply to this,—

"The above 'thoughts' may be accidental, momentary, whereas, we admit their suggestion by Satan. He may reiterate them for hours or days to the mind, in defiance of all its resistance, until they become haunting spectres; he may accompany them with heaviness and depression, and even with an agony of excitement—an excitement not 'tending to' the evil suggested, as admitted by the theory, but of horror *against* it."

And in further illustrating the nature of this excitement, produced by the perception of unlawful excitants, he characterizes it at one time as "excitement which would be horror instead of desire—a horror which, for the time, would suppress all desire, even that which is lawful;" and again, as "intense excitement of ab-

* This passage, as quoted by the reviewer, is singularly inaccurate.

horrence *against* the unlawful indulgence—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy."

Here, then, we see what must be the nature of the "conflicts" of the sanctified man. Notwithstanding the admission of excitement on the part of the reviewer, there can be no conflict of *feeling*, since the feeling is all on one side. On the one hand, is the bare "thought," suggested it may be by Satan, and reiterated by his power; still, according to the reviewer's system, it is only a "thought," and a thought with which no natural emotion mingles —a thought, too, it must be recollected, which is *holy*, since "the very thoughts are holy in a perfect Christian." To us there seems here little cause of "conflict." But yet we find, on the other hand, a somewhat formidable array—an array of "excitement," and "intense excitement"—even "an agony of excitement" of "horror and of abhorrence against"—something we scarcely know what. Can the reader tell us what? The reviewer, it is true, tells us it is against "the unlawful object"—"the sin suggested." But who can see, in the state of mind which has preceded this, any occasion for all this commotion? And then, we are puzzled more than ever, when we learn, as we do from the above quotations, that this excitement, which is "not to be resisted, but consented to as altogether holy," is produced by the agency of the tempter himself! To us, Satan would thus seem to be divided against himself; and of course the perfect man, in that case, need have but little dread of his power. But perhaps this is one of the reviewer's "occult positions," which he thinks "the human mind cannot grasp!"

We forbear all further comment at this point, lest we should fall below the dignity of our subject; and simply remark, that even aside from any "holy horror" against sin, produced in the mind of the good man by Satanic agency, we cannot conceive that his virtue would be in danger of being overcome by any temptations which this system allows. We shall hereafter show, and from our standard theological works, that the Christian is liable to other temptations than these, in every stage of his experience.

Our *third* objection to this doctrine is, that it furnishes no adequate means either of testing the obedience or strengthening the faith of the perfect Christian. We cannot perceive in the temptations recognized by this system any valid test of the Christian's obedience—especially in view of the strong expression, that "the excitement produced by any unlawful excitant" (which cannot but include all temptations to disobedience) "would be horror instead of desire—a horror which, for the time, would suppress all desire,

even that which is lawful." Not to obey, under such a state of things, would require an effort.

But temptations are not permitted for the simple purpose of testing the Christian character, or of proving the existence of a spirit of obedience; but mainly for purifying and confirming the faith. Wesley says,—

"The first and great end of God's permitting the temptations which bring heaviness on his children, is the trial of their faith, which is tried by these, even as gold by the fire. Now we know, gold tried in the fire is purified thereby; is separated from its dross. And so is faith in the fire of temptation; the more it is tried, the more it is purified; yea, and not only purified, but also strengthened, confirmed, increased abundantly, by so many more proofs of the wisdom and power, the love and faithfulness of God. This, then—to increase our faith—is one gracious end of God's permitting those manifold temptations."*

Who can see, in the temptations of this system, any "fiery trial," any "purifying" influence like that here referred to? In direct opposition, as we conceive, to this system, our Saviour teaches us, that the Christian is to be tempted to the full extent of his ability to resist. He pledges himself only, "that he will not suffer us to be tempted *beyond* what we are able to bear."† Besides this, we are taught in Scripture to pray and to watch only that we be not *led*, or that we do not *fall*, into temptation. Nor does the meaning of these expressions seem to be doubtful. "*Entering into temptation*," says Dr. Clarke, "implies giving way, closing in with, and embracing it." *To be led into temptation*, Watson construes, "to be OVERCOME by it;" and Wesley,—"to be overcome, or to suffer loss thereby."‡ Strange, indeed, that the watchfulness and the prayers of the Christian should be thus limited, if, as the reviewer contends, he need not even feel the first instinctive impulses of the emotions or desires!

In exact accordance with these representations of Scripture, Clarke also says,—"Our spiritual interests shall be always advanced in proportion to our trials and faithful resistance."§ The trials, then, by which our spiritual interests are to be advanced, must be such as to call forth *resistance;* and as these interests are to be advanced *in proportion* to the resistance thus called forth, who shall say to what temptations the perfect—the *strong* Christian may be called? Why should he not, in the nervous

* Sermon on Heaviness through Temptations.

† On this subject, see Wesley's Sermon on Temptation.

‡ See Clarke's, Watson's, and Wesley's notes on Matt. vi, 13.

§ Notes on Matt. iv.

language of the apostle, adopted by Fletcher to illustrate this very subject,* be called—"to resist," even "unto blood, striving against sin?" But why talk of "resisting" at all, or of "striving *against* sin," when the mind, from the spontaneous action of the "purified moral sense," feels only "an excitement of abhorrence *against* the tempting object—not an excitement which must be resisted, but *consented* to as altogether holy!" This passage, even to the italicising, is the reviewer's; and for ourselves, we can find no means of reconciling it with the idea, that the perfect man can ever be called *to resist unto blood*, STRIVING AGAINST SIN. And released from the necessity of this resistance—this effort which is the condition of all moral improvement—what would the Christian be, in any stage of his progress, but a sort of moral petrifaction, simply preserving the form of what he once was!

2. We object also to the *theory* by which the reviewer attempts to support his doctrine of a mere intellectual temptation, and which he arrays against the philosophical objection stated in our former article. It is this, that the moral perception, when purified by grace, has the power of acting coetaneously with the intellectual perception; and thus the moral character of the thought, or object, or whatever else can become the medium of temptation, being perceived, the moral emotion takes precedence of the natural emotion in point of time, and actually annuls its action. This theory is expressed in the following words:—

"We contend that the sensibilities in a sanctified man are so pervaded, prepossessed by a prior influence, by the love of God, that all unlawful influences can be kept out—that the purified moral sense acts coetaneously with the intellect in perceiving the character of the excitant, and need allow it no admittance, if wrong, or, when the excitant is proper, and its excitement exists, can, not only *suspend*, but *prevent* any wrong direction of the natural excitement."

It is an essential element in this system, that the "purified moral sense" should not only possess this wonderful *quickness of perception*, but also a *power* adequate instantly to execute its sentence of exclusion on every unlawful excitant. Nor is this all; for men are as often solicited to an excessive indulgence in what is lawful, as to indulgence in what is unlawful. This purified moral sense, to answer the purposes of the reviewer, must then also be able to determine, in any and every case, the precise boundary between proper and excessive indulgence; and with so much promptness as effectually to intercept any natural emotion which might arise

* Fletcher's Christian Perfection, 32mo., p. 115.

in the mind in view of an excitant prompting to excess. For the sake of brevity, a single illustration must suffice; and we take the appetite of hunger—the same which the reviewer has himself used. The sanctified man, if his appetite is in a proper state to be excited by food, cannot, on this system, have it thus excited by the sight of any thing of which it would be unlawful to partake, however suddenly presented, or however doubtful any one but himself might be whether it is lawful or not. For his "purified moral sense acts coetaneously with the intellect in perceiving the character of the excitant;" that is, the moral character of the object is by him perceived coetaneously with the perception of the object itself. Nor, if gratifying his excited appetite by the use of lawful food, can he feel one emotion in view of any of the luxuries of the banquet before him, after he has arrived at the proper point of indulgence—which point must be dictated to him by the same sort of unerring inspiration as that which in the other case tells him "the [moral] character of the excitant." And this power must extend to every thing which may be made a medium of temptation by Satanic suggestion, as well as to the more natural excitants. Such is evidently the *theoretical* part of the reviewer's system. Such it appears from his own statement of it which we have just given; and such it must be, else he requires of the perfect Christian what it furnishes him no adequate means of securing.

We waive several popular objections to this part of the system, for the purpose of saying, that in our judgment it so far divests the perfect Christian of some of the essential elements of humanity, as naturally, if not necessarily, to lead to the conclusion, that such a state will never be actually attained by Christians in this life. In this view, we are confirmed by the fact, that the degree of perfection it sets forth is precisely that usually contended for by those who admit "the metaphysical truth that perfection in holiness is attainable," while they deny that it ever has been attained. Whoever is familiar with the controversy which has recently been going on between the Oberlin divines and the leaders of the Calvinistic theology in New-England,* cannot but have noticed, that the latter contend for the same perfection in degree, with the objector to our theory. We believe the fundamental error of all their reasonings to be, that they fix the standard of Christian perfection too high—higher than is recognized by the Scriptures of the New Testament, as it is confessedly higher than Wesley fixed it in his later writings. While, on the other hand, the perfection advocated by several of the most intelligent Calvinists who profess

* See Biblical Repository, new series, vols. i, ii, iv, and v.

to have attained this state of grace,* is the same with that which we set forth, believing it to be the true Wesleyan standard of Christian perfection. We believe this will have great weight with the thoughtful reader. The one is a practical doctrine, the other speculative; the state recognized by the one is attainable, while the attainment of the other is opposed to all our philosophical opinions, and men of logical minds cannot believe in it.

For the general reader, we shall barely state a *second* objection to this part of the reviewer's system, without argument; which is, that it implies in the sanctified man a perfection of the moral judgment not recognized by our psychology. The theory of all our psychological writers, so far as we have had the opportunity of examination on this particular subject, is, that the natural emotions are at all times liable to arise instantaneously and necessarily on the presentation of their appropriate stimulant; and that they often do thus arise, producing a coetaneous impulse on some of the desires; while the moral emotions are aroused, only after the moral character of the object begins to be developed, which, in the absence of all prior experience in regard to it, can often be done only by the feelings which it is found to excite; "the desire itself [that is, the nascent desire] being," as Brown says, "the only test, as it is the only proof, of tendency in objects to excite desire."† Without making long quotations in support of this view, we will suggest, that the writers of this class, who seem most in favor with the reviewer, so far as they refer to this precise point, appear to us clearly to support it. Dr. Schmucker lays down as one of the laws of "feeling"—in which term he includes the emotions and desires:—"*Feeling is, in a great measure, involuntary at the time.*" And he adds:—"We cannot, when acted upon by an entity, and when our attention is directed to it, determine whether feeling shall or shall not, in the first instance, be excited in us."‡ He subsequently represents the moral powers as coming up to the man's aid thus:—"Oftentimes we decide against the solicitations of the present desire, in consequence of our recollection of other and more influential considerations to the contrary."§ And in another place he says,—"In some cases the moral character of the action may not be clear; and then continued attention and investigation are requisite, either to ascertain, by an induction of facts,

* See Mahan's Christian Perfection, Discourse i, pp. 14–16. See, also, Guide to Christian Perfection, for July, 1842, p. 2.

† Philosophy of the Human Mind, Lecture lxv.

‡ New System of Mental Philosophy, part ii, chap. 3.

§ Ibid., part iii, chap. ii, sec. 1.

the real tendency of the actions in question, or by continued exegetical investigations, conducted according to the laws of impartial hermeneutics, to ascertain the true sense of Scripture, to determine whether the disputed action is or is not interdicted in the sacred volume."* The same views are most unequivocally set forth by Professor Upham, in his philosophical Works.† Indeed, what the reviewer seems to think would be a great defect in the moral constitution of man, this distinguished writer hesitates not to call "the glory of the moral nature." And this we believe to be the common view of metaphysical and ethical writers.

But the reviewer answers all this by saying,—

"Divine grace is a part of the system under which man is placed, his full liberty depends upon its power in the soul, and, by it, what would otherwise be the inevitable course of his nature, may be modified."

And this statement appears to be based on some remarks of Wesley, in which occurs the following passage:—"The mind has an intrinsic power of cutting off the connection between the judgment and the will." This power we most expressly conceded to the sanctified man, in our former article, and have already reaffirmed it in the same language. And we now as explicitly deny, that in the essay from which this remark is taken, there is a single expression in favor of the reviewer's notion—that the mind has any such power, intrinsic, or to be obtained by grace, as is implied in the ability to cut off what we have seen to be the natural connection between the intellection and the emotion; and this is the only question now at issue. But if not found in his metaphysical or speculative writings, is it not, in his Sermons or more practical productions, or in our other standard works? We think not. To our practical theology, then, we turn; and here we find our *third* objection to this part of the reviewer's system.

In the first place, in Wesley's Sermon on Christian Perfection, where he formally proposes and answers the question,—"In what sense are Christians perfect?" we find no such perfection of the moral judgment set forth as is claimed for the sanctified man by the reviewer. If he had had knowledge of any such "purified moral sense" as the reviewer speaks of, the omission here would seem quite inexcusable. But again, in his Sermon on Patience, he proposes the question,—"How does this work [referring to sanctification] differ from that gracious work which is wrought in every

* New System of Mental Philosophy, part iii, chap. i, sec. 1.

† See Treatise on the Will, sec. 26; also Ment. Phil., vol. ii, sec. 155.

believer when he first finds redemption in the blood of Jesus, even the remission of his sins?" And how does he answer it?

"It does not imply any new *kind* of holiness: let no man imagine this. From the moment we are justified till we give up our spirits to God, love is the fulfilling of the law; of the whole evangelical law, which took place of the Adamic law, when the first promise of 'the seed of the woman' was made. Love is the sum of Christian sanctification; it is the one *kind* of holiness, which is found only in various *degrees*, in the believers who are distinguished by St. John, into 'little children, young men, and fathers.' The difference between one and the other properly lies in the degree of love."

Neither do we here find any thing of this "purified moral sense." Strange that it should be overlooked in such a comparison! Still again, Wesley says, and the passage is quoted with approbation by Fletcher:—

"The heaven of heavens is love. There is nothing higher in religion; there is, in effect, nothing else. If you look for any thing but more love, you are looking wide of the mark, you are getting out of the royal way. And when you are asking others, 'Have you received this or that blessing?' if you mean any thing but more love, you mean wrong; you are leading them out of the way, and putting them upon a false scent. Settle it then in your heart, that, from the moment God has saved you from all sin, you are to aim at nothing but more of that love described in the thirteenth of the Corinthians. You can go no higher than this, till you are carried into Abraham's bosom."*

Our mental perceptions are as obtuse as even the reviewer considers them, if his theory of a "purified moral sense" does not here find a cutting rebuke! But still again, so far is Wesley from inculcating the doctrine in question, that repeatedly in his sermons he in the most express terms denies it. He says,—

"Notwithstanding all our care we shall still be liable to judge wrong in many instances. And a mistake in judgment will very frequently occasion a mistake in practice. Nay, a wrong judgment may occasion something in the temper or passions which is not strictly right. It may occasion needless fear, or ill-grounded hope; unreasonable love, or unreasonable aversion. But all this is in no way inconsistent with the perfection above described."†

And again, he asserts:—"They [perfect Christians] may believe either past or present actions, which were or are evil, to be good; and such as were or are good, to be evil."‡ Than this nothing could be more explicit. So far, then, from having this intuitive, and we may say supernatural, knowledge of the moral

* Fletcher's Christian Perfection, 32mo., pp. 112, 113.

† Sermon on Perfection. ‡ Sermon on Christian Perfection.

character of every thought or perception which may be made the medium of temptation, according to Wesley's most express declaration, they may not always know the character of the acts themselves, even after they are performed. Were it necessary, further quotations might be made to the same effect, as well from Wesley as from our other standard writers.

But we have a still stronger view of this subject to present. The reviewer claims for our first parents the possession of this same "purified moral sense;" and even speaks of Adamic perfection as a "higher state" than Christian perfection. Now in regard to this "higher state," Wesley not only admits, in accordance with the declaration of the apostle, (1 Tim. xi, 14,) that the woman was "deceived" prior to the transgression; but seems to adopt the suggestion, that this was probably the only way in which she could have fallen. "It has been doubted," says he, "whether man could then [before the fall] choose evil, knowing it to be such." To this sentiment he adds what is precisely to our purpose:—"But it cannot be doubted, he might mistake evil for good. He was not infallible; therefore, not impeccable."* Now, most obviously, these views of Wesley have no more agreement with the doctrine of the reviewer, as belonging even to the state of Adamic perfection, than light has with darkness; and yet this same doctrine, as applicable to the lower state of Christian perfection, is the *vital element* of his system.

We close our argument under this head, by remarking, that Wesley himself claimed such a perfection in some of his early writings. In the preface to a volume of hymns, published in 1741, he affirms of perfect believers,—

> [1.] "They have no fear or doubt, either as to their state in general, or *as to any particular action.* [2.] The 'unction from the Holy One' teacheth them every hour *what they shall do,* and what they shall speak; [3.] *nor therefore have they any need to reason concerning it.*"

Between this claim—at least so far as we have italicised it—and that of the reviewer, there is most clearly no difference; the "purified moral sense" of the latter being but the "unction from the Holy One" recognized in this quotation. The spontaneous action of this "purified moral sense" cannot but remove all "doubt" as to the nature of "any particular action;" and it not only thus cuts off all "need to reason concerning it," but cuts off even the possibility to reason, since its action is represented as intuitive—coetaneous with the intellectual perception, while the

* Sermon on the End of Christ's Coming.

latter, from the very nature of the case, precedes all reasoning. Thirty-six years after their first publication, Wesley appends to these propositions the following notes, viz., to the *first*,—"Frequently this is the case, but only for a time;" to the *second*,—"For a time it may be so, but not always;" and to the *third*,—"Sometimes they have no need, at other times they have."* This we cannot but consider a formal relinquishment, on the part of the founder of Methodism, of the ground assumed by the reviewer; and after such an example, he will not consider the suggestion as wanting in respect, that *thirty-six years* of Christian experience may work some change in his views on this subject.†

3. We shall close our entire discussion by a brief examination of the quotations from Wesley and Fletcher, made by the reviewer in support of the system, to which we have now presented our twofold objection. And in regard to most of these, we may at the outset say, they are irrelevant to the question—not meeting the precise point in discussion. It would have been strange indeed had it been otherwise, since, as we have already seen, the theory against which the reviewer had arrayed himself was entirely misapprehended by him. A large part of these quotations *aim* at nothing, but to prove that pure love should be the controlling principle in the heart of the perfect man, and that all evil, worldly, and sensual desires are excluded. These are excluded by the theory originally propounded, since it allows nothing but what is "involuntary;" and these are on all hands admitted to be under the control of the will. In our exposition of the theory, which the reviewer had before him, they are expressly excluded, by the remark, that the sanctified man "does not allow temptations to take hold on the desires: he has attained the power of constantly arresting them *at this point*, and of successfully repelling them." And when Wesley uses the term "*tempers*," in the extracts made by the reviewer, these are but *desires*, in the language of more modern writers, for he applies this term to "pride," "self-will," and "anger."‡ So also of "*inward sins*," since among these he enumerates "pride," "anger," "foolish desire," and "any vain or inordinate affection."§ "*Sinful thoughts*," too, become such, only by voluntary indulgence—by being allowed to "wander from God

* Plain Account of Christian Perfection.

† Since writing this article, we have read Dr. Peck's "Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection;" and in that work we find no attempt to establish or defend either of the positions of the reviewer. The reader will, however, find the subject we have had under discussion distinctly referred to on pp. 439–441.

‡ Sermon on Christian Perfection. § Sermon on the Wilderness State.

till they leave him no room in our minds," or "to produce or feed some sinful temper;" and, if injected by Satan, only "when we give place to them, and thereby make them our own."* So also Clarke:—"Evil thoughts, though they pass through the mind of the sanctified man, never fix in his passions."† *The giving place to them*, then, the allowing them *to fix in the passions*—this is what makes evil thoughts *sinful;* and this view is in perfect harmony with our theory.

But the objector will say, that we allow an *involuntary* impulse of the desires, which we hold to be innocent; while Wesley says, the sanctified man, on being tempted to pride, "feels no pride," on being tempted to anger, "feels no anger at all," and on being tempted to lust, "feels no desire at all;" and in another place defends Paul against even "the inward stirrings of pride, anger, or lust." And Fletcher says, that "sin may arise from the momentary perversion of our tempers." These are the only quotations made by the reviewer which can without great effort be construed as at variance with the doctrines of the original theory. These, then, for a moment we will examine.

Before the days of Wesley, we believe ethical writers had never so clearly distinguished between the voluntary and involuntary stages of desire, as to make the use of the term "desires" ambiguous. When he speaks of "anger," or "pride," or "lust," or of the desires in general, we believe he *always* refers to what we now call their *voluntary* stage; and this because he always calls them "sins;" while in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, he expressly tells us, that he does not call the *involuntary* transgressions of a divine law *sins*, but says,—"I believe a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions."‡ By the "*inward stirrings*," or "*motions*" of anger, pride, &c., we believe he means the *inward feeling*, as distinguished only from the *outward expression* of the feeling. Our reasons for this conclusion are, first, that he himself uses these terms in this antithetic relation to each other;§ and, second, that he calls these "inward stirrings of pride, anger, and lust," "*inward sins*," which, as we have just seen, is the precise designation he gives to "pride, anger, and lust," unqualified.‖ To us this is conclusive as to the sense in which he uses this expression.

* Sermon on Wandering Thoughts. † Note on Eph. vi, 16.
‡ Works, vol. vi, p. 501. § Sermon on Christian Perfection.
‖ Compare Sermons on the Wilderness State and on Christian Perfection.

If a doubt remains, whether Wesley includes among his "involuntary transgressions" our "involuntary excitement of the sensibilities," that doubt may be removed by referring to a tract published by him in the year 1772, entitled, *An Extract from the Journal of Elizabeth Harper.* Of this person he says, "I have no doubt but God had all her heart. But yet how many were her infirmities!" He goes on to enumerate several of these; and adds, "Perhaps one might mention, likewise, under this head, such vehement temptations to anger, to impatience, to fretfulness, to immoderate sorrow, and to follow her own will, that at divers times she escaped with the skin of her teeth, and scarcely knew whether she escaped or not."* Without the use of the more definite terms which have been introduced into our mental philosophy since Wesley's day, we can scarcely conceive how our idea of an involuntary excitement of the sensibilities could be more strongly or more accurately expressed than in this passage. We have never supposed, that the perfect Christian is subject to more violent temptations than we understand to be here described; and there is nothing in the theory to indicate, that in the more advanced stages of his experience even such temptations may not be "few and far between."

As regards the reviewer's reference to Fletcher, we need only say, that the views of the latter on the subject under discussion appear most clearly to be in all respects accordant with those of Wesley.† To the entire passage to which allusion is made, the reader's attention is specially invited. This is supposed to be found in the sixteenth section of the Last Check;‡ and taken as a whole, it most unequivocally affirms the general doctrine of our theory. The term—"momentary perversion of our tempers"—of itself may perhaps be considered ambiguous. By the author himself, however, it is not even intimated that this momentary perversion of temper *is* sin; but only that sin may "spring from" it, as one of the parts of our *moral* frame, as an infirmity may grow out of our *animal* frame. A test is however furnished, by which to try its moral character, in the assertion of the same paragraph—that "*sin* flows from the avoidable and perverse choice of our own will," which assertion, it should be remarked, is made while formally defining those sins "which are inconsistent with an evangelically sinless perfection." If *avoidable* and *voluntary*, then, according to this lucid writer, *any* perversion of temper in the perfect man is sinful; otherwise, not. So says our theory; so, as

* Works, vol. vii, p. 552. † In proof of this, see Last Check, sec. 1.
‡ Book Room edition, 1833, pp. 605, 606.

we understand them, say *all* our standard writers. If free from all his moral depravity, and filled with the love of God, his temptations cannot rise from within; but still he will be tempted, as Eve was tempted, unless "the devil should die or fall asleep, or, at least, should no more go about as a roaring lion." Good men, indeed, are often tempted; but however "vehement" the temptation, and even though they should be for the time "deceived" by their arch foe, still we say with Fletcher, that "so long as their will is bent upon doing God's will, they do not sin according to the gospel;"* and with Watson, that "unless they parley with the tempter, or their will consents to the evil, 'he touches them not,' so as to leave any stain."†

The discussion, on our part, is now closed. Though we have, both in this and in our former article, taken up our pen only in defense of what we deem to be important practical truth, we have no disposition to complain, that we have been "challenged," or "compelled to this controversy;" and we must disclaim all knowledge of what the reviewer means when he uses this language in regard to himself.‡ We would not readily be "challenged" into the support of error; and the defense of Christian truth, it seems to us, needs no such apology. We might perhaps wish, for the sake of a portion of our readers, that some parts of our defense could have been less abstruse; but in the employment of terms or distinctions purely metaphysical, we have only used the weapons selected by the reviewer with which to commence or carry on the attack. They have, however, been very naturally suggested by the nature of the controversy, nor could they well have been entirely avoided. He who objects to thus calling in the aid of metaphysical investigations in the adjustment of important questions, has yet to learn the power of this kind of reasoning; and he who objects to the statement even of religious truth in the language of philosophy, need but be reminded of the advantages of stating such truths as are presented for universal acceptance in a language which shall be universally understood, rather than in the conventional terms and phrases of a sect. If the principles involved in this controversy be but once distinctly settled and practically understood, the Christian, or the teacher of Christianity, will find no difficulty in giving them utterance in the common dialect of plain Christian men.

C.

Dickinson College, October 4, 1842.

* Last Check, sec. 1. † Sermon on the Temptation of Christ.

‡ Zion's Herald, July 20, 1842.

ART. IV.—*The Traveler's Directory for Illinois.* By J. M. PECK. New-York: J. H. Colton. 1840.

IN every portion of the civilized world the "big west" is attracting attention. Indeed, for the last fifty years every thing that pertains to the Valley of the Mississippi has been eagerly sought for: the extent of the country, the length and magnificence of its rivers, the beauty of its scenery, the fertility of its soil, its mineral wealth, its rich and boundless prairies, and its magnificent lakes, have all entered largely into considerations connected with this remarkable and growing portion of our land. Early in its history, the most exaggerated accounts of portions of the west were written, and read in Spain and France, as well as in other countries of Europe, representing it in the most enthusiastic terms; by which thousands of individuals were induced to emigrate hither, among whom were many of the artisans of Paris and other cities, who sold their shops, and started for a country as wild as beautiful, to exchange a life of comparative ease and enjoyment for the hardships, sufferings, and privations of a new country, inhabited only by wild men and wild beasts. Thus we see the Frenchmen exchange their familiar tools—the mason his trowel, the shoemaker his "awls and ends," the weaver his shuttle, and the silversmith his delicate implements—for axes, hoes, and mattocks, and, pushing their way up the Mississippi and the Ohio, commence their conquest—the conquest of the wilds of nature, in which thousands fell: the sufferings of many, who had been led hither by a strange love of adventure, have never been told. What did a Parisian artist, whose life and labors had from his infancy been confined within the walls of a city, know about a new country? How could he clear up the forest and seed the ground? Whence was to come his bread and his clothing? Among the anecdotes related of some of the early French settlers of Ohio is their manner of felling a tree, which was by sending one of the company into its top with a rope, which was fastened to a limb, and then while several men pulled at the rope, one cut away at the root. What would one of our Vermont yankees say to this? But laughable as this may appear, it is not more so than some notions exhibited by some enterprising youths from the city of New-York. During the prevalence of the speculating mania, almost every publication contained high-wrought descriptions of the west, and especially of the prairies. And then might be seen individuals, from the great commercial emporium, with a glowing description of a western prairie

in one hand, and a "Cultivator" in the other, studying *agricul ture*, and the business of farming *scientifically*. With a few hundred dollars, they had come to the west, purchased farms, ploughs, wagons, and oxen, and entered joyously upon their new vocation. The writer recollects an instance of three or four young men, similarly educated, who, after the purchase of a "claim" of near a thousand acres of land, with a prairie team, consisting of six yoke of oxen, hired a man for a few days to show them how to yoke and drive, when one of the number took lessons from his instructor with becoming attention, by patiently walking alongside, with the names of the oxen all properly written down on a piece of paper which he had up before him, and calling them over and over, with a *haw* and *gee*, until he could appropriate the right name to each.

But it was not by the hands of the polite but pusillanimous Frenchman, or the lazy and arbitrary Spaniard, or yet by the fancy-taught and imbecile of Atlantic cities, that the west was to thrive. We see a tide of hardy and industrious emigration crossing the Alleghanies, gradually moving down the Ohio, settling in the Valleys of Muskingum, the Miamis, and the Scioto—one branch spreading over Kentucky and Tennessee, and another stretching up to the north, meeting another tide putting into the north part of Ohio and Michigan, and the whole gradually moving westward in a solid column, reaching far up into Wisconsin and Iowa, spreading over Indiana and the magnificent prairies of Illinois and Missouri, and now still moving on toward the Rocky Mountains.

Let us take a map of North America and spread it out before us. Let us calculate the number of acres of land lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, and south of the lakes; take into consideration the qualities of the soil, the varieties of climate, its adaptation to the production of wheat, corn, cotton, sugar, and all kinds of stock, and, in fact, every article that enters largely into the consumption of the human family, except coffee and tea. Then notice its rivers: see the great "father of waters" taking its rise among the "wild rice lakes of the far frozen north," sweeping onward to the Gulf of Mexico through the centre of the "great valley;" the Missouri, coming from the west, a distance of three thousand miles, to pour its turbid waters into the same channel; the Ohio coming down from the Alleghanies, gathering up rivulets and rivers until it becomes a mighty river of itself, and is lost in the bosom of its great "father;" and in fact, see all the waters of nearly a million and a half of square miles gathered into one

tremendous river, which bears them off to the ocean. Yea, more, we will notice the situation of the northern lakes, and their contiguity to the western states and territories. And when we consider the fact that they are well adapted to navigation by large steam and sailing vessels, and that the western rivers are all navigated by steamboats, we may form some estimate of the facilities of the west for the purposes of navigation and commerce. Really it would seem that nature had left but little for man to do by way of internal improvements. A canal through the heart of Ohio already connects the Ohio River with the lakes, and one partly constructed is designed to connect the Illinois River with Lake Michigan, which, when done, will be the most magnificent canal in the Union, and through it will flow not only the products of the fertile prairies of Illinois, but Iowa and Missouri will seek this channel of communication to send their wheat and tobacco to New-York. What has already been done in the west has astonished the world; its advancement has distanced all previous calculation. While England and France, as well as other enlightened nations, have to trace back their origin, from their present eminent positions, through bloody wars and revolutions, pointing to their millions of slain, ours has been, under the protection and benign influences of a good government, a peaceful conquest—the conquest over the wilds of nature, subjugating them to the wants of man, and amply are they paying him for his toil. "Action, persevering action," seems to be the motto of our American people; and while improvement has been added to invention; while mechanism has made new applications of its principles to the propelling of machinery and for all manufacturing purposes; and while agriculture has improved in all its various departments, the west has opened to business and business men its boundless resources. In the recent message of the governor of Vermont to the legislature he brings before that body the subject of the growing of wool, almost a staple article of that state, which has already suffered considerable depreciation, in which he says, "that the rich and almost boundless prairies of the west are becoming covered with flocks of sheep," which seems to occasion not only "present inconvenience, but uneasiness as to the future." But it is not only the growing of wool that is to be affected in time to come by the competition arising from the cheapness of the cultivation of the prairies and their fertility, but there is now a change going on in other departments of business that will astonish the eastern farmer. From almost any point on Lake Michigan, flour can be shipped to New-York at a cost of about fifty cents a barrel;

and in Chicago alone it is estimated that from four thousand to ten thousand bushels of wheat per day have been bought for purposes of shipment, from the 15th of August to the 15th of October, at prices ranging from forty to fifty-five cents per bushel, a greater part of which was carried a distance over the prairies of from fifty to one hundred and fifty miles, and there is no doubt that the farmers are annually improving their condition and adding to their wealth and facilities. And if it be a fact, that the tillage of the prairies is still in its incipiency, what may we expect when the present farms shall be enlarged, and new ones added all over the rich plains of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, toward which result we are rapidly advancing? Not only will all kinds of produce be furnished at an astonishingly low rate, but the price of lands all over the eastern states will greatly depreciate as a natural consequence, when the income therefrom will have depreciated, owing to western competition.

If, then, the west is so important and interesting a portion of our country in all that pertains to trade and business; if from its geographical position, extent, and great facilities and boundless resources, it is destined to be the threatre of great events, where political power in the broad extent of our government will poise, then should we study well the disposition and character of its people, and all that tends to advance the temporal and spiritual good of man.

The policy of the general government in reserving one section of land, or six hundred and forty acres in each township of the whole public domain, for educational purposes, and placing it under the control of the respective states, has left the people in possession of a patrimony of immense value. But notwithstanding the people have thus been put in possession of the means of education, yet owing to defective systems of common schools, sparse settlements, and negligence, many of the early settlers of the west and south-west have received little or no advantage from common or any other schools. Recently, however, more attention has been bestowed upon this important subject, and where poor systems existed they have been revised and improved. The system of common schools in Ohio is thought to be equal to any in the United States. That of Michigan is also good. In Illinois, during the prevalence of the speculating mania, the school fund was loaned to the internal improvement fund, and was foolishly expended; and hence this creditor of the state, as well as her creditors abroad, must wait her ability to pay.

Seminaries and colleges in the west are usually much inferior to

similar institutions in the east. Science is more neglected. "A report of a geological survey" of a western state is a rare article to be met with, and if Ohio and Michigan are excepted, perhaps it might be said that there has been none of any particular value, which fact of itself would show that science has been greatly neglected. If some of the western states had spent a portion of their money for geological instead of "rail-road surveys," which have been of no earthly value, how much better would it have been!

The literature of the west is mostly political and religious. Politics always run high. The practice of "stump speaking" obtains generally. When candidates "come out" for office, they traverse their district. Sometimes opposing candidates travel together, and by arrangement speak and answer each other before the same audience. The doctrines thus discussed are rediscussed by the people, who are political partisans not only in theory, but in fact; and in nearly all the western states voting is done *viva voce*—the voter usually reading the names of the candidates to the judges from a printed or written ticket. These speeches often contain much that is interesting, and as often much that is queer and laughable. The political campaign of 1840 called forth some most powerful and spirited speeches from both political creeds, abounding in bold and stirring eloquence. What can be said of political aspirants for office is equally applicable to the bar; for politics, with some, is no less a profession than the law. The useless custom of associate judges, which is attached to the judiciary of some of the eastern states, does not obtain in the west; the "court" here consisting of one man, usually a lawyer. An individual accustomed to associating the idea of a venerable and dignified personage with that of a judge, would not be so well pleased with the young whiskered judges of the west, such as are often put upon the bench through the trickery of political management. The eloquence of the bar is usually verbose and overstrained, but little attention being paid to chasteness and correctness of speech. In early times courts were held in school-houses, log cabins, and sometimes on the open prairie, or in the groves. This is now seldom the case. It has been thought, and perhaps wisely too, that the western bench lacked dignity and self-respect. In times past it was doubtless the case that in many instances *law* meant *might*, which was to be enforced or resisted by the Bowie knife or pistol—when judges deemed it necessary "to flog the lawyers into a conviction of the justness of their decisions." But of late, the western bench has greatly improved, and, in many

instances, both judges and lawyers will compare well with any of the profession in the United States.

The mass of the people are active and stirring—fond of "the largest liberty"—"go in," as they say, for religious toleration, and contend earnestly for the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The tone of the higher order of newspapers is bold, racy, and witty. The political literature of the west is that of the newspaper press, and the speeches of public men. That of the former is greatly superior to the latter.

Among the more important works which pertain to the west, is the learned work of John Delafield, on the Antiquities of America. Quite recently a large work has been published by George Catlin, entitled, North American Indians, which, with the work of Mr. Delafield, is worthy of a particular and extended notice. By these two works we learn that the subjects of the antiquities and aborigines of the west have received some attention at least. But where shall we find a history of the "west?" It is true Mr. Butler has written a history of Kentucky, and Michigan and Ohio have their historians, but they all greatly fall short of what is wanted. Mr. Lanman wrote his history of Michigan in 1839, while the wild schemes of internal improvement which pervaded the whole country were being prosecuted in that state, and hence his history is behind the times. The work at the head of this article contains a synopsis of about all the history that has ever been written of Illinois. It is written by J. M. Peck, a Baptist preacher of some note, an old pioneer of Illinois, and contains much minute information of interest. But we have now fallen upon peculiar times, when the ordinary current of human affairs is turned out of its accustomed course, when the history of magnificent schemes of internal improvement is equivalent to that of abandoned ditches, and piles of dirt and stones, which have been made at the cost of American credit and honor. And now that there is a pause in the affairs of men, and time given to write a history, which, when done, will not be *old*, who will furnish the world with a faithful history of the "Valley of the Mississippi?"

From the following statistics we have a statement of the comparative strength of religious societies in Illinois, as found in the Traveler's Directory:—

"The *Methodist Episcopal Church* is the most numerous. The Illinois Conference, which embraces this state, (Illinois,) Wisconsin, and Iowa Territories, in 1838 had eleven 'districts,' under as many presiding elders, besides their Indian missions. They have one hundred and forty-eight preachers in the traveling con-

nection, and four hundred and twenty-two local preachers. Number of members in the society, twenty-three thousand three hundred and seventy-five, of which about twenty thousand are in the state of Illinois."

In 1840 the General Conference divided the Illinois Conference, putting the north part of the state with Wisconsin and Iowa, called the Rock River Conference, which numbers now of itself nearly as many traveling preachers as the whole Illinois Conference did in 1838, and it will doubtless be found necessary at the next General Conference to divide this.

"The *Baptist denomination* have one state convention, twelve associations, including one hundred and twenty-six churches, one hundred and twenty-four ministers, and four thousand four hundred and thirty-nine communicants." That part of this denomination which does not co-operate with the former in educational and missionary purposes, is stated to be "thirteen associations, one hundred and sixty churches, eighty ministers, and four thousand three hundred communicants." Whether this includes the Free Will Baptists or not is not stated; if not, it may be proper to state that there are many members of that faith in the state.

"The Presbyterians are divided into *old* and *new* school," but the author has only documents showing their numbers in 1836 when they were united, which was, "One synod, eight presbyteries, eighty churches, sixty ministers, and two thousand five hundred communicants."

"The *Methodist Protestants* have one conference, thirteen circuits, twenty-eight unstationed ministers, and six hundred and seventy members.

"The *Reformers*, as they term themselves, or 'Campbellites,' as others call them, have several large and a number of small societies, a number of preachers, and several hundred members, including the *Christian* body, with whom they are in union." This item is not very definite, to be sure, but it is thought that this denomination has not increased.

"The *Cumberland Presbyterians* have two synods, six presbyteries, seventy churches, fifty preachers, and two thousand communicants.

"The *Protestant Episcopal Church* has an organized diocese, under the supervision of Bishop Chase. The documents promised by the worthy bishop not having arrived, I must estimate the congregations at twelve, the clergy at seven, and the communicants at two hundred."

This estimate is doubtless too small, as the three churches of

Chicago, Galena, and Alton must have at least that number of communicants.

"There are probably half a dozen *Unitarian* congregations in the state, and three or four ministers.

"A *Universalist Convention* has been organized in the north part of the state, which appears to indicate that there are several congregations and preachers of that sect."

"In M'Lean county is a society of *United Brethren*, or, as some call them, *Dutch Methodists*.

"The *Dunkards* have five or six societies, and some preachers in the state." Quite a number of this denomination have recently settled in the vicinity of Mount Morris, Ogle county, from Maryland.

"There are small societies of *Friends* or *Quakers* in Tazewell and Crawford counties, and a few *Mormons* scattered throughout the state. They are becoming numerous in Adams and Hancock counties."

Since the above was written, this singular sect have received large accessions at their city of Nauvoo, in Hancock county, from England, and from different parts of the United States,* and it is estimated that they now number in that county alone about ten thousand.

"The *Roman Catholics* are not numerous. They have a dozen congregations, half a dozen priests, and a population of five or six thousand, including old and young. The Roman Catholics are mostly about the old French villages, and the laborers along the line of canal and railroads."

After what has been written and said of late relative to the great danger to be apprehended from the accumulating strength and influence of the Roman Catholics in the west, the above estimate of their numbers in Illinois may appear surprising. But the fact is, their strength has been greatly overrated. It is true they are more numerous in Ohio, Missouri, and Louisiana; but independent of the cities of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New-Orleans, their numbers would not greatly differ in these states from those of Illinois. But be this as it may, there is not that danger to be apprehended from their influence that some of the people of the United States have supposed. The genius of our government is not well adapted to the growth of Roman Catholicism. It can exist in Italy or Spain, but it will not suffer transplanting to our American shores. There it has existed almost from time immemorial, coming down with legends and superstitious traditions, connecting religion

* For a sufficiently full account of this group of fanatics, see "Mormonism and the Mormons," by Rev. D. P. Kidder, published at the Book Concern.

with every subject and every object, until every hill-side and mountain is associated with some imaginary deity or some religious dread. Hence Roman Catholicism has entwined itself into the very mental constitution of the people, and is perpetuated and enforced by an ever-active and vigilant priesthood. But when Catholics emigrate to this country, become scattered throughout the land, identify themselves with Protestants from almost every country and of every creed, they are like balls of fire falling on mountains of ice. Out from under the eye of the priest, and in all the business of life mixing with those of other religious belief, or of none, they lose their zeal in their isolated condition. At least, this is the case in the country. In cities, however, it may be different. There, greater opportunity is afforded for discipline and combination.

And while we may hope that our fears of encroachment upon our political and religious rights from that source may be groundless, on the other hand, may we not also hope, that the aggressive power and influence of true Christianity may prove to the posterity of transplanted Catholics "*a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory?*"

"There is considerable expression of good feeling among the different religious denominations, and the members frequently hear the preachers of each other, as there are but few congregations supplied every sabbath. The qualifications of the clergymen are various. A number of them are men of talents, learning, influence, and unblemished piety. Others have had but few advantages in acquiring either literary or theological information, and yet are good speakers and useful men."

"The number of preachers of all denominations will range between nine hundred and eighty and one thousand. It will be understood that a very large majority, say about two-thirds, follow some secular calling, but devote a portion of the sabbaths, and occasionally secular days, to preaching the gospel. The amount of voluntary and gratuitous labors thus bestowed by preaching the gospel in the western states, is incalculable. A vast amount of good has been done by a class of self-taught preachers, possessing vigorous minds, and a reasonable share of common sense, with exemplary piety."

The general impression abroad is, that the people of the west, as a body, are a law-resisting, heaven-daring people, advocates of Lynch law, and the free use of the Bowie knife. And to prove the charges, we are pointed to riots, mobs, and murders. To the charges in part we plead "guilty," and "throw ourselves upon the mercy of the court." On the other hand, it must be remembered, that a long line of western frontier of near three thousand miles

has given the greatest possible opportunity for the congregation and combination of pick-pockets, gamblers, horse thieves, and all sorts of scoundrels, where the settlements have been sparse and officers of the law powerless. Take the case of Ogle county, Illinois, where the Driscols were shot in 1841. The circumstances were these:—A gang of counterfeiters and horse thieves had been broken into, and some of them were arrested; but just before trial, the court-house was burned down, with the expectation, it is believed, of the escape of the prisoners, who were confined in a small building close to it. This led to an organization of the citizens into a company, who proposed summary trial and punishment of such as they knew to be guilty. The principal ground of justification urged for this procedure is, that owing to the existence of such a gang of depredators, who were stealing horses and destroying the property of the citizens, when there was little or no hope of their being confined until the session of court for a regular trial by law, that self-preservation and the protection of their property made it necessary for the citizens to take the law into their own hands. Among the first-fruits of the organization was the death of Mr. Campbell, a respectable citizen, the leader of the organized party, who was shot in his own door by one of the Driscols—the others aiding and being privy to his murder. Hence the Driscols were apprehended and taken by the organized party. A jury was selected and counsel furnished them, and after going through all the forms of a trial, they were judged guilty, and were shot.

Far be it from our purpose to justify mob law in any instance: it is wrong; and although there may appear causes of justification for its use in some particular circumstances, yet the supremacy of law should be always and invariably maintained, and that people who depart from this rule will do so to their regret and sorrow. But while the people of the west are arraigned as disorganizers, regardless alike of religion and law, let a proper comparison be instituted between their outbreaks and the riots of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other places in the eastern states; and while we are compelled to take shame to ourselves, we ask, Where is the great difference between them and us?

The people of the west, generally, are as great lovers of good order and law as any in our land. They are a busy, moving people, of strong impulses, and highly patriotic. As they are powerfully moved in masses by political orations and stump speeches, so it is in matters of religion. The same love of public performances is apparent in both. The indifference of the people

on matters of religion is not owing so much to avowed infidelity as to a want of *feeling* on the subject. The western man is active, full of business and schemes of money-making, so that he seems to want time to devote to religion. But address his highest passions, appeal to his noblest nature, enlist the strong impulses of his heart by high and holy considerations, and then he listens, then he feels, and when he feels he acts, and acts promptly; and so it is with communities. Hence, it will be perceived, that dry, systematic, metaphysical pulpit performances, such as would be popular in the east, would not be suited to the west. Hence, too, the mortification and disappointment of some preachers who had hoped to find a people in the west who would more gratefully appreciate their small talents and smaller stock of information than their ungrateful brethren of the east. But if a man is conscious that his caliber is too small for an eastern audience, let him pause before he goes west, where he will find big prairies, cold rides, and a colder reception.

Thus it may be perceived that the chief instrument by which the people of the west are to be brought to a knowledge of the truth, is the pulpit. But let us speak more particularly of the church of our choice, and inquire to what extent it may or may not be interested in this matter. The time has been when preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, of ordinary talents and limited attainments, but ardent piety, were of great service to the church and the world. Among such are many who are still active in the field, and some who are superannuated, who are still useful; and far be it from us to underrate the value of their services. But is it not a fact, that at this moment the body of the laity of the church is in advance of the ministry in literary and scientific attainments? Is not the standard of education among the membership much higher than it is among the ministry? and, if so, how can ministers of the gospel maintain that influence and high respect due their ministerial calling? While members of the church, of limited circumstances, in thousands of instances, are giving their children a good academical education, and not unfrequently "sending them to college," designing thus to qualify them merely for the ordinary pursuits of life—the annual conferences, who are our peers in spiritual things, are receiving men as preachers into the traveling connection grossly ignorant of the English language. Is it not so? We appeal to the knowledge of our ministers on this subject. The idea that piety is the chief and only qualification in a candidate for the ministry is certainly a very mistaken one. Piety is wanted in a leader as well as in a private

member; and if this is the standard, then if the church were all pious, as it should be, we would all be suitable candidates for the ministry. Our Discipline requires "gifts" as well as "grace," and if a man is foolish enough to believe that he is called to the ministry, when he is ignorant of his own language and many of the plain doctrines of the Bible, it is no reason why the conference should receive him on his own *ipse dixit*, and send him forth to teach the church and the world things of which he is profoundly ignorant. In this age of the world, when the means of a good common school education, at least, are within the reach of every enterprising boy of our land, is it not strange that there should be found any individual who is too ignorant to appreciate these advantages, and yet who desires to be a public teacher? This subject is of deep interest to the church at this time; and it is to be hoped that the suggestions of President Durbin connected therewith, contained in his recent letters from Europe, will receive that attention due their great importance. And upon the action of the church on this subject will greatly depend its future prosperity and success in the "Valley of the Mississippi."

"PRAIRIES.—A large part, probably two-thirds of the surface of the state, consists of prairies. A common error has prevailed abroad that our prairie land is wet. Much of it is undulating and entirely dry. *Prairie* is a French word signifying *meadow*, and is applied to any description of surface that is destitute of timber and brushwood, and clothed with grass. In the southern part, that is, south of the National road leading from Terre Haute to the Mississippi, the prairies are comparatively small, varying in size from those of several miles in width to those containing only a few acres. As we go northward they widen and extend on the more elevated ground between the water courses to a vast distance, and are frequently from six to twelve miles in width. These borders are by no means uniform. Long points of timber project into the prairies and line the banks of the streams, and points of prairie project into the timber between these streams. In many instances are copses and greens of timber of one hundred to two thousand acres in the midst of prairies, like islands in the ocean. This is a common feature of the country between the Sangamon River and Lake Michigan and the northern parts of the state. The lead mine region, both in this state and Wisconsin Territory, abounds with these groves."

On seeing these beautiful prairies, the inquiry forces itself upon the mind: Whence or how had they their origin? A more satisfactory answer may be given to this question when a thorough examination shall be made of the geological structure of the Valley of the Mississippi. Here is a wide field for geological inquiry. Until the world shall be furnished with more particular and correct

information by means of geological surveys of this important part of the earth's surface, we must be content with suppositions and uncertain theories. There is one fact that strikes the attention of almost every observer with peculiar force, which is, the evidences everywhere to be seen indicating that the country has been overflowed with water at a period not very remote. These are found in the appearance of the rocks on and near the banks of rivers, which indicate a much higher stage of water than the present level of these rivers. On the Illinois River and Rock River may be seen rocks composed principally of limestone, with which are mixed innumerable fossil shells, and the rocks are rounded in the shape of cones, and present all the other appearances of the most powerful action of water upon them, situated from fifty to one hundred feet above the present level of the rivers. Another evidence is found in the fact, that quantities of wood are often found imbedded in the soil far beneath the surface of the earth. This is common in the south part of the state of Illinois and in Kentucky. Besides these is still another, the existence of bowlders or primitive rocks, scattered all over the prairies, and which, from their rounded surface, indicate that they have been rolled along by floods of ice. And then the question comes, How can we account for these facts?

In attempting to account for the existence of men and animals on the continent of America previous to its discovery by Europeans, Clavigero advances the following views:—

"The Americans of the south are of a character too different from those in the north to be regarded as having a common origin.

"Their passage to this continent is necessarily connected with that of several animals which cannot have traversed the frozen zones; nor can it for a moment be admitted that these animals swam across the ocean; and still less, that those that are ferocious can have been brought in ships by man: the migration can therefore be explained only on the supposition of a connection between the two hemispheres, either on the side of Africa or Asia."

The theory of Colcott is similar to that of Clavigero. He says,—

"That from what has been offered we may conclude, that Africa and America were once joined, or, at least, separated from each other only by a narrow gulf, and that some time after the flood the earth was divided or parted asunder, probably by an earthquake, and then this middle land sunk beneath the bottom of the ocean."

Mr. Lyell, an author of considerable note on the subject of geology, speaks of the Pacific Ocean in the following language:—

"That it is also well known that the Pacific is a great theatre of volcanic action, and every island yet examined in the wide region termed Eastern Oceanica consists either of volcanic rocks or coral limestone."

These quotations are made merely for the purpose of showing that men who have bestowed labored attention on the subjects therein discussed, agree in the conclusion, that there have been some tremendous changes in the structure of the earth's surface on the American continent since the Noician flood. And to support these views the learned Dr. Adam Clarke is made to speak, whose profound erudition and extensive information seem to have extended to almost every subject within the wide range of human investigation.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis, and twenty-fifth verse, we read as follows:—"And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's name was Joktan." On this passage Dr. Clarke remarks:—"Peleg, from *palag*, to divide, because in his days, which is supposed to be about one hundred years after the flood, the earth was divided among the sons of Noah. Though some are of opinion that a physical division and not a political one is what is intended here, viz., a separation of continents and islands from the main land, the earthy parts having been united into one great continent previous to the days of Peleg. This opinion appears to be the most likely."

Leaving these extracts without further comment, we will proceed on the supposition that the Valley of the Mississippi has been actually covered with water since the Noician flood; and if Clavigero and Colcott are permitted to call into existence a continent from the bottom of the ocean for the migration of men and animals to this country, surely we shall not be deemed unpardonably presumptuous if we suppose the existence of a vast lake, when we have so many evidences of the fact before us.

By reference to the map of North America, it will be seen that a range of highlands, of which the Cumberland Mountains form a part on the east side of the Mississippi, and the Ozark Mountains forming a part on the west side of the Mississippi, present a line of elevated lands running nearly from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains. It will require no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that these once presented a continuous chain, and that these rugged hills and barren mountains are but the broken remains of a great barrier which dammed back all the waters which now flow into the Gulf of Mexico, and that Lake Mississippi (if we may

be permitted to name it) was once connected with Lake Michigan, as Lake Michigan is now connected with Lake Huron. It is evident that Lake Michigan once had an outlet to the west, from the fact of the existence of a broad channel which runs from near the lake shore to where the Kankakee empties into the Illinois River, a distance of several miles, which is sufficiently deep and broad to indicate the passage of a large stream of water. It is said that when the waters are high, an easy passage can be made with a canoe from the Chicago River, which empties into the lake, into the Kankakee, one of the tributaries of the Illinois River, which shows that a slight depression in the shore would now give an outlet to that great sheet of water on its west side. This fact was noticed by Professor Silliman in his Journal of Science several years ago, who gave it as his opinion, that this lake once had a higher level, and that this dry channel was its outlet to the west.

But perhaps it would be well to see if the evidences and facts which would indicate the existence of a lake may not be reconciled with the Scripture account of Noah's flood, before we indulge in any new hypothesis. Let us see. In the account of the flood, in the eighth chapter of Genesis, we read:—"The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually; and after the end of the *one hundred and fifty days* the waters were abated." So it seems that the waters of the flood abated after *one hundred and fifty days*. Now is *one hundred and fifty days* a sufficient length of time to account for the wearing of the rocks before alluded to? Does any one suppose that the mural ledges of rocks, which are to be seen on the west side of the Mississippi River, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio, could have been thus worn in *one hundred and fifty days?* This would seem to be impossible. These rocks look as though they had been surged for ages, and if we could imagine that the world had been turned upon its apex, and that all the waters of "old ocean" had swept along these precipices, we could hardly believe that these deep grooves could have been worn into the solid rocks in the space of "one hundred and fifty days."

But suppose that the appearances of the rocks, as well as the composition of some previously noticed, the existence of wood, logs, &c., deeply imbedded in the earth in large quantities, can all be satisfactorily accounted for as the effects of the Noician flood, how can we account for the existence of the bowlders or primitive rocks which are scattered all over the Valley of the Mississippi?

Now it is utterly impossible for these to have been wrested from their solid beds by the action of water alone, and swept onward thousands of miles, wearing them as round as a man's head, some of which are as large as a "log cabin," and weighing more than a hundred tons, in the short space of *one hundred and fifty days*. Actual observation has proved beyond a doubt that these rocks came from the north, where there now exist extensive ridges of the same kinds from north of St. Anthony's Falls to Lake Superior, and the further we go north the larger these rocks are, and in shape the less globular, until they are found in their solid beds. It is said that the northern shore of Lake Superior is composed of the same granite rocks, where they stand up in bold precipices. In winter the rain and snow, falling into the fissures and crevices of the rocks, freeze, and burst off the outer layers, which fall down upon the ice on the lake, and when the lake breaks up in the spring the wind from the north blows the ice across the lake, and deposits these rocks on the southern shore. On the supposition, then, of a vast lake covering the Valley of the Mississippi, this fact furnishes us with an idea of the manner in which the same kind of rocks have been conveyed to where they now lie all over the prairies, and indeed the whole western country. Hence, too, the deposits of wood, which, as we approach the south, become more abundant; and hence the immense collections of fresh water shells, which are found on the north side of the Cumberland Mountains. Mr. Priest says,—

"In 1826, in a depth of more than eighty feet under the surface of the ground, was found on the banks of the Ohio the stump of a tree, three feet in diameter and ten feet high, which had been cut down with an axe. The blows of the axe were yet visible. It was nearly of the color and apparent character of coal, but had not the friable and fusible quality of that substance."

"The reflections on this discovery are these:—First. That the tree was undoubtedly antediluvian. Second. That the river now called the Ohio did not exist anterior to the deluge, inasmuch as the remains of the tree were found firmly rooted in its original position several feet below the bed of that river. Third. That America was peopled before the flood, as appears by the action of the axe in cutting down the tree. Fourth. That the antediluvian Americans were acquainted with the use and properties of iron, as the rust of the axe was on the top of the stump when discovered."

It is supposed by geologists that the Wyoming Valley, of celebrated beauty and fertility, was once the body of a lake. The deep gorge in the mountains at the Nanticoke Falls, the rich alluvial soil at the lower end of the valley, and the white gravel

and sand at the upper end of the same, would indicate the probability of the supposition. It is stated that when the North Branch Canal was excavated along the bank of the Susquehannah River, below these falls, a number of fire-places were found, which were made of the same kind of stone as that found on the adjoining mountains, and that with them were found ashes and charcoal from ten to twenty feet beneath the surface of the earth. If we were to adopt the views of Mr. Priest in accounting for his "stump," we must conclude that these fire-places, &c., were of antediluvian origin; when, in fact, it is probable that a beautiful lake existed on the fertile plains of Wyoming long since the settlement of the country by the aborigines, on the banks of which the Indian shot "the bounding roe," and glided his canoe over its silvery waters. The beautiful Susquehannah, as if it had grown weary in its long journey, seems to have paused for a moment to eddy around those towering hills, and then leaped over the barrier that restrained its course, and rolled on to the Chesapeake. But finally this barrier gave way, and inundated the valley below. Hence the covered fire-places.

Is it not very probable that Mr. Priest's "stump" was inundated in a similar way, only on a small scale? Doubtless, when the barriers which held up the western waters first gave way, there were left innumerable small lakes, such as are now found in Michigan and Wisconsin, and where their boundaries were not sufficiently strong to resist the pressure of the water, they gave way, and the waters found their way into other streams and rivers. There is a very pretty lake in Wisconsin called the Geneva Lake, which is about nine miles long and from one to three miles wide. At its outlet it precipitates into a deep ravine, and runs into the Fox River. By making an excavation of perhaps twenty feet deep and ten rods long, it would entirely drain the lake, and if its shores were not sufficiently strong it would have long since burst its bounds, leaving perhaps a small prairie with a few springs, and a creek running through it. Doubtless the present inhabitants have occasion to cut down some of the trees in this ravine below the level of Lake Geneva, and if at some future day its shore should be pressed asunder, more antediluvian "stumps" could be found in that vicinity. Most likely this "stump" of Mr. Priest's was situated in a ravine, below a small body of water, and was covered in some similar manner. The fact of its being "ten feet high" shows that it must have been situated in a low place, around which some eight feet of soil must have washed before it was cut, as "ten feet" is a little too high for a man to reach to cut off a tree "three feet through."

One of the grand features of the west is its prairies. To see a country fresh from the hand of nature, of the richest soil, covered with grass and wild flowers, where there is not a tree, nor shrub, nor stone to impede the progress of the plough, is truly a beautiful and interesting sight; though we may not be able with certainty to account for their origin. Observation shows the following facts, a statement of which may aid us in coming to a probable opinion on the subject. First, that the groves and other timber in a prairie country grow on three different kinds of soil. Second, that these three kinds of soil are different from the soil of the prairies. The soil of the timber lands are as follows: The first is composed of an underlayer of clay, with a mixture of good soil on the top. This is the quality of land on which the groves and "oak openings" are situated. Second, a sandy or barren soil, which produces poor and scrubby timber; and, third, a loose alluvial soil on river or creek bottoms or islands, which produces the tallest and best timber. The soil of the prairies is a rich, deep, vegetable mold, where the prairie grass mats into a thick, tough sward, and which naturally does not seem to be adapted to the production of timber; while, on the other hand, the soil peculiar to the growth of timber does not produce the prairie grass. You will see a kind of grass in the groves and openings, but it is of a different kind and growth from that on the prairies. So it seems, that when the face of the country was first exposed to the influence of the sun's rays, the grass took the ascendency on one species of soil, while the timber grew and took the ascendency on other kinds, and that they have kept up those lines of distinction ever since. In many places, it is evident, that the fire which has annually swept over the prairies has caused some changes, and from indications it is very probable that whole groves have been burnt off; but wherever we see these indications of the previous existence of timber, we will find that the soil there is the same as it is where the timber is now growing. From these facts may we not conclude that the western prairies had their origin in the same causes which convulsed the south-western part of our continent, and poured out the collected waters of the Valley of the Mississippi?

In accounting for the wearing away of the Falls of Niagara, and the existence of bowlders in the vicinity of Lake Ontario, a writer in Silliman's Journal advances the following views, which, coming through so respectable a channel, are worthy of consideration. He attributes the effects spoken of to the following causes, viz.:—

"The action of that mighty flow of waters from the north, which has swept with indescribable power over our country, and borne on its

wave, or by its momentum, the sand and gravel, and bowlders of primitive rocks, so abundant, and heaped up in such quantity.

"The whole southern shore of Lake Ontario seems to have been greatly convulsed by this vast current of waters, and the strata turn up where they crop out, and their fragments, and the bowlders from the northern regions swept on to the south, where they are scattered for many miles. In the beds of gravel and sand in the vicinity of Rochester, we find fragments of the sand-stone of the lake shore mingled with the fragments of other rocks operating against the outcropping edges: such a current must produce tremendous results."

Most writers who have written on the subject of the Niagara Falls and the lakes, agree as to the probability of these falls having been many feet higher than they now are; and, consequently, that the northern lakes had a higher level than they now have. Is it not probable, then, that the northern lakes and the waters which covered the Valley of the Mississippi, mingled together, and that the same causes which convulsed the southern part of the American continent also shook the solid bed of Niagara, and emptied this tremendous sheet of water on the east and on the south at the same time?

But whatever may or may not have been the grand causes which have left things as we now see them, one thing is beyond a question, and that is, that this great valley is at once the most peculiar, the most varied, fertile, and extensive valley on our globe; and while its vast resources are developing, and while it is becoming the receptacle of the good, bad, and indifferent of our own country, as well as of the oppressed and adventurous millions beyond the ocean, let the wise and the good see that the pure principles of education and undefiled religion be deeply implanted in the same soil. This will be a guaranty for the perpetuity of our present form of government, and if it shall stand unshaken upon its present foundations for one century more, then will future generations behold the sublime spectacle of a "nation's flag," and the "banner of the cross" planted on the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains, floating over a happy and prosperous people, in the free enjoyment of civil privileges and religious virtues.

Dixon, Illinois, Dec. 14, 1842.

ART. V.—*Dissertations on the Prophecies relative to the Second Coming of Christ.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD.

DR. DUFFIELD appears as the first conspicuous champion on this side of the Atlantic, so far as we know, of that modified form of Chiliasm which does not possess in its own absurdities the seeds of its own dissolution, and which, therefore, promises to become a part of the permanent belief of a portion of the American church. Rejecting the fanaticism which presumes to fix the precise period of the second advent, agreeing with the church in the belief of her final triumph and spread through the earth, he still maintains that such triumph will be gained only by the *visible and corporeal presence of Christ on earth.* This doctrine he advocates in three general parts of his book: first, by laying down the basis of what he considers the only literal and sound view of interpretation—next, by maintaining that the purest traditions of the church, both Jewish and Christian, sustain both his basis and the theory he erects upon it—and, finally, that his theory, according with both the laws of a sound interpretation and the unanimous voice of antiquity, is the only possible doctrine of Scripture.

The traditionary argument in favor of Chiliasm forms so large and so boastful a part of Dr. Duffield's book, and is so often a subject of triumphant appeal, that, dismissing for the present the other parts of his work, we shall subject this point alone to a rigid analysis. We wish to bring to a test the assertions, that the modern doctrine of the millennium is but one or two centuries old, and that Dr. Whitby was its author. Before we proceed to the direct analysis, however, it may be well to state how far we agree with Dr. Duffield on the three main topics, namely, the millennium, the final dissolution, and the advent.

I. *The millennium.*—Dr. Duffield maintains that it will be the closing thousand years of the world, antecedent to the final judgment; that the generations of the living and dying nations will still continue in the flesh; and that all will be converted to Christ. Dr. Duffield, therefore, believes in the true millennium.

II. *The dissolution and renovation of the earth.*—Dr. Duffield believes that the millennium will be preceded by great judgments, "by means of volcanic and other fires;" that Christ will "change the geological structure of Jerusalem and its vicinity by a terrible earthquake." During the millennium, the earth will have "undergone such a remarkable transformation, by great geological and atmospheric changes, as to be denominated a new heaven and a

new earth." Without presuming to confirm all the minutiæ which Dr. Duffield affirms on these points, we are inclined to believe the truth of his general summary, contained in the last-quoted sentence. But these partial and superficial changes before the millennium by no means amount to that total abolition of the old and substitution of a new sphere which precede the judgment day. Both Peter and John, and indeed the whole New Testament, present a heaven, not as a refitting of the old earth, but as a new state and sphere, substituted for that which has passed away.

III. *The second advent.*—Dr. Duffield's great error, involving in itself all his other errors, is, that he places the second advent at the resurrection of the just, and the glorified kingdom at least one thousand years too early. By inserting the second advent and final dissolution before the conversion of the world, he cuts off the millennium from the present order of things, and renders it a separate dispensation. By prefixing the resurrection of the righteous, he pours into the millennium of pure mortals the myriads of glorified and immortal saints, thus producing a confused commingling in the same sphere of beings of a different character. By placing over all these the visible and corporeal reign of Christ, miraculously producing the conversion of the mortal nations, he violates the true nature of God's moral government, representing him as irresistibly securing conversion and salvation without any real probation.

Such is, we believe, a fair, though brief, view of Dr. Duffield's theory. And at one glance the reader perceives, that if you strike out from his picture of the millennium all the elements properly included in the second advent, it leaves the purely terrene millennium of Dr. Whitby and the church of the present day. Place the advent (including, of course, the resurrection of the righteous) at the end, and not at the beginning of Dr. Duffield's millennium, and you have just the theory of Whitby. The difference between the two doctors, Whitby and Duffield, is not in regard, then, to the true nature of the millennium, but in regard to the true position of the second advent. Scripture must ultimately decide where doctors disagree; but our present appeal is to tradition.

Dr. Duffield professes to present us, first, the testimonies furnished by the uninspired Jewish writers anterior to Christ; and, second, the Christian writers of the purest antiquity. And these he produces, not as in themselves authority, but as proof of the mode in which the immediate cotemporaries and successors of the inspired writers interpreted those sacred documents. With regard to the traditions of the Jews, Dr. Duffield boldly claims to

"carry tradition back to the very days of Daniel and the prophets of the captivity," and to "trace the stream of tradition through two channels:—1. The Jewish, flowing in the testimony of their Targums, their apocryphal historians, &c., down to Christ. 2. The profane, flowing down through the Gentile nations, in the writings of Zoroaster." To this we have also two propositions in reply: 1. Dr. Duffield cannot produce any Jewish tradition reaching with any certainty within centuries of Daniel. 2. It would be the destruction of his theory if he could.

Of Dr. Duffield's many very remarkable peculiarities of quoting, we must animadvert now upon two. The first is, that where the *antiquity* of the author quoted is the very decisive point, he lets the question of *date* pass in a very slovenly and cursory manner. The second is, that so self-assured is he that all authorities must be in his own favor, that he spreads out quotations before his own eyes without any apparent perception that they contradict him to the face, and without a word of comment to turn away the point of their contradiction. His first quotation, from Esdras, is a fine exemplification of both these qualities.

"The writer of the apocryphal book of 2 Esdras, *who was captive in the land of the Medes in the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia*—." Where does Dr. Duffield find authority for assigning such antiquity to this very suspicious book? He does not, and we presume he cannot, assign any thing better than the words of the forgery itself. Just as if the oath of an impeached witness, swearing himself honest, should settle the point of his own veracity. Now if Dr. Duffield really believes this book to be thus ancient, he ought to place it on a level with the chief of the prophets; for more than one fact is predicted, with more precision and minuteness, by this than by any other prophetic author. Where have the name of Jesus, his date, or his death been so specifically and numerically predicted as in the following passage?—"For my son Jesus shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice, within four hundred years. And after these years shall my son Christ die; and all men that have life." Chap. vii, 28, 29. And yet Dr. Duffield must also hold that this illustrious prophet is an arrant impostor. If we may believe Dr. Horne, "he pretends to visions and revelations, but they are so fanciful, indigested, ridiculous, and absurd, that it is clear the Holy Spirit could have no concern in dictating them. He believed that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the souls of good and wicked men would all be delivered out of hell after the day of judgment. Numerous rabbinical fables occur in this book, par-

ticularly the account of the six days' creation, and the story of behemoth and leviathan, two monstrous creatures, that are designed as a feast for the elect after the day of resurrection," &c.

Milman (*History of Christianity*, p. 227) says, "Many of these forged prophetic writings belong to the age of the Antonines, and could not emanate from any quarter but that of the more injudicious and fanatical Christians. The second (apocryphal) book of Esdras is of this character, the work of a Judaizing Christian; it refers distinctly to the reign of the twelve Cesars, and obscurely intimates in many parts the approaching dissolution of the existing order of things." He adds, in a note, "The general character of the work, the nationality of the perpetual allusions to the history and fortunes of the race of Israel betray the Jew; the passages, chap. ii, 42, 48; v, 5; vii, 26, 29, are avowed Christianity."

While Moldenhawer, with other critics, believes, as Milman also agrees, that the author is a Christian Jew of the second century, and Archbishop Lawrence admits that it has been largely interpolated, but that the remnant, after these have been subtracted, may be attributed to some unknown Jew before Christ, Dr. Horne decides, that "the author of the book is unknown. Although he personates Ezra, it is manifest that he lived long after that celebrated Jewish reformer." Such, therefore, is the author who heads Dr. Duffield's cotemporaries with Daniel!

We, however, give it up. In deference to Esdras and Dr. Duffield, we will now concede that the former was about cotemporary with Daniel. We are, then, not certain that any consistent view can be made from his irregular patchwork; but we will venture to maintain that Esdras' doctrine is,—1. That there are two advents; in the first of which Christ will die, and at the second, he will, there having been a universal resurrection, judge mankind. 2. His kingdom will be established, the Gentiles gathered, the Jews restored, and all the elements of a millennium transpire during the dispensation of his first advent.

First advent.—"For my son *Jesus shall be revealed*, &c. After these years shall my son Christ die; and all men that have life. And the world shall be *turned into the old silence seven days, like as the first beginning:* so that *no man shall remain.* And after seven days, the world that yet awaketh not, *shall be raised* up, and that shall die that is corrupt. And the earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them." Chap. vii. 28–32.

Second advent.—"And the Most High shall appear upon the seat of judgment, and misery shall pass away, and the long-suffering shall have an end, but judgment only shall remain," &c. Chap. vii, 33, 34.

We pretend not to know whether, in the first paragraph of the above extract, the author means that the whole world shall die with Christ after he shall have lived the usual age of man; or whether he should live through the whole long period of his dispensation, and mankind then die with him; or whether it only means that the whole world, as well as Christ, shall finally die, though not at the same time. Certain it is, however, that this passage affirms that the resolution of the world into its original elements, the death of the whole human race for a given interval, and the universal judgment, are all circumstances immediately preceding the second advent.

We are now prepared to present the passage which Dr. Duffield quotes; and we beseech our readers to remark how clearly it proves that the restoration of the Jews is to be one of the events included in the present or first-advent dispensation:—

"This is the meaning of the vision: Whereas thou sawest a man coming up from the midst of the sea: the same is he whom God the highest hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creature: *and he shall order them that are left behind.* And whereas thou sawest that out of his mouth there came as a blast of wind, and fire, and storm, and that he held neither sword nor any instrument of war, but that the rushing in of him destroyed the whole multitude that came to subdue him; this is the interpretation:

"Behold, the days come, when the Most High will begin to deliver them that are upon the earth. And he shall come to the astonishment of them that dwell on the earth. And one shall undertake to fight against another, one city against another, one place against another, one people against another, and one realm against another. And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I showed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man *ascending.* And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their own land leave the battle they have one against another. And an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as thou sawest them, willing to come and to overcome him by fighting. But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion. And Sion shall come, and shall be showed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands. And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest; and shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame: and

he shall destroy them without labor *by the law* which is like unto fire.

"And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanaser the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called Arsareth.

"Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and NOW *when they shall begin to come*, the Highest shall *stay the springs of the stream again*, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace. But those that be left behind of thy people, are they that are found within my borders. Now when he destroyed the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he shall defend his people that remain. And then he shall show them great wonders." 2 Esdras xiii, 25–50.

That the events above described are the concomitants of the first advent, is plain from the following, among other considerations:—1. First, it was the unanimous doctrine of the whole Jewish body that all the circumstances of the millennium should take place at Christ's first coming. At his first coming should he establish his kingdom, gather the scattered Israelites, and extend the sway of righteousness over the whole earth, for the sacred period of a thousand years. When Dr. Duffield quotes this as affirming that these events shall succeed his second, and not his first coming, he acts not only without, but against, all probability. 2. This description of the coming of Christ is evidently a fuller development of the appearance of the Lion of the eleventh and twelfth chapters, who is expressly explained to be Christ, appearing during the fullest power of the Roman eagle; just as in Daniel, the mountain stone *strikes*, while the metallic image is still standing in strength. It must, therefore, designate his first advent. 3. By the extract which we have above made from the seventh chapter of 2 Esdras, it will be seen that the death "of all men that have life," and a period of silent chaos, precede the judgment advent. But it is plain that no such events precede the advent here described. On the contrary, his dominion should be over the still living men;

"he shall order them *that are left behind*," that is, the living survivors, in contradistinction to those who are dead.* And, accordingly, it is the still living generations of the ten tribes who are, like the Israelites from Egypt, led over every obstacle to the Holy Land.

Equally clear is it, that the call of the Gentiles, described in the second chapter, (we omit the passage from necessary brevity,) taking place in that kingdom, which was to be established at the "end" of the Jewish *αιων* "world," belongs to the present dispensation in which we live, in which the millennium, according to the Jews, was to be included, the dispensation, namely, of the first advent. We may therefore conclude that, so far as Esdras is concerned, Dr. Duffield has not traced the traditionary stream quite up to Daniel; and if Esdras be a cotemporary of the prophets, his is precisely the millennium of Dr. Whitby and of the general church of our day.

"The book of TOBIT," says Dr. Duffield, "according to Dr. Gray and other critics, was written in Chaldaic, during, or soon after, the captivity." And this is the whole of his dissertation to authenticate the antiquity of his second authority, which is to carry us back to the times of Daniel! In reply, we may merely say, that Horne declares that, "concerning the author of the book of Tobit, or the time when he flourished, we have *no authentic information*. Moldenhawer is disposed to refer it to *the end of the first century;* but Jahn, and other critics and commentators, think it was written about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour," which would bring it about three hundred years after the time of Daniel.

Be Tobit, however, cotemporary with Daniel, his authority is all the more fatal to Dr. Duffield.

"Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown, and that, for a time, peace shall rather be in Media; and that our brethren shall lie scattered in the earth from that good land; and Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time. And that again, God will have mercy on them and bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple,

* That the phrase, "them that are left behind," designates those generations that are still living, in distinction from those who have died, is proved by many passages in 2 Esdras. Chap. xiii, 18, "Now understand I the things that are laid up in the latter days, which shall happen unto them; and to those that are left behind." Verse 24, "They which be left behind are more blessed than they that be dead."

but not like to the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously; and the house of God shall be built in it for ever with a glorious building, as the prophets have spoken thereof. And ALL NATIONS *shall* TURN *and fear the Lord God truly;* and shall *bury their idols!* So shall ALL NATIONS *praise the Lord;* and his people shall confess God. And all those which love the Lord in truth and justice shall rejoice, *showing* MERCY *to our brethren.*"

Here are a first and a second temple, then a final restoration, and a glorious building of the house of God in the latter days. And this is attended with a millennial conversion of the world! "All nations" "turn and fear the Lord truly," and "show mercy" to the Israelites. And all this in the natural train of providential events, preceded by no dissolution of the world or resurrection of the dead. If "all nations" turn from their idols, then all nations are still in the flesh. Were there no other document, this passage alone would prove, that so far from having Dr. Whitby for its author, the modern doctrine of the millennium, if Dr. Duffield date Tobit correctly, *is far older than the Christian era!*

For the antiquity of the book of WISDOM, Dr. Duffield quotes only the opinion of Grotius, a commentator, for the soundness of whose opinions, as such, we believe Dr. Duffield has little confidence, and whose opinion on this subject, poorly as it sustains Dr. Duffield's high pretensions, stands, perhaps, alone. Grotius places the author of Wisdom somewhere between Ezra and Simon the Just; which, at best, is rather too vague, and rather too late for a cotemporary of Daniel. Critics have, however, decisively shown from the use of such words as στεφανηφορειν, πομπευειν, αγων, αθλον, that the book is of Greek origin. Jerome, and many of the early Christian writers, attributed it to Philo Judæus, a part of whose life was cotemporary with that of our Saviour. Modern critics, such as Lowth, Horne, and Milman, agree that its Platonic tinge clearly proves it a production of the school of Alexandrian Jews. From this modern and Hellenistic writer, Dr. Duffield quotes only the following sentence, in which he understands the author as speaking of the righteous dead:—"In the time of their visitation, they shall shine and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people," Wisdom iii, 7, 8. Now although the first four verses speak of the souls and the deaths of the righteous, the best commentators do not so understand the subsequent verses. The heading of the chapter, for instance, in our quarto Bibles is as follows:—"1. The godly are happy in their death, 5. and in their

troubles." Milman quotes this very passage as an instance in which this book contains the doctrines of Philo, (which we shall soon explain,) in regard to the future ascendency of the living righteous over the nations of this world. This is confirmed by a subsequent passage, where the author, personating the man who has married Wisdom, says,—"I shall set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me; horrible tyrants shall be afraid when they hear my name," &c.

Dr. Duffield's quotations from the Targums (which were written but thirty years before Christ) are confessedly "general statements," making more against than for his own views. "Christ shall come, whose is the kingdom, and him shall the nations serve.—The King, Christ, shall come, whose is the kingdom, and all the nations shall be subject unto him." These quotations complete the demonstration, under the very eye of Dr. Duffield, that it was the unanimous doctrine of the whole Jewish church, that *the kingdom of Christ, which should take in all the nations, should be established, and triumphant at his first coming.* These great events, therefore, are a part of the present dispensation, and must be completed before his second coming.

We have thus gone through with all the quotations from Jewish writers, for which our author claims any high antiquity, and trust we have redeemed our pledge to prove that, 1. Dr. Duffield cannot trace the stream of Jewish antiquity to any point near the times of Daniel and the captivity. 2. His authorities, if thus ancient, are fatal to his own theory. According to those authorities, Christ's kingdom is to be established, mankind are to be morally regenerated, the Jews are to be restored, and the nations gathered into the kingdom of Christ, and all these are to be included *within the dispensation of his* FIRST *coming.*

But our readers may ask if this be not our "private interpretation" merely. Is it possible that Dr. Duffield can produce, almost without a comment, extracts like the above, as if they were, *of course,* the very *fac simile* of his own views? Must he not be conscious of being sustained by the unanimous opinion of the learned, in giving a *sense* so contradictory to the *letter* of his quotations? In reply we shall give an extract from Milman, and if the passage from Tobit (a writer, as Dr. Duffield will have it, of the time, and using the language of the captivity) proves that not all, even of the Eastern Jews, held to a dissolution and resurrection previous to the millennium, Milman may give us a view of the doctrines upon these points of the Western Jews, who had never been completely imbued with Oriental influences:—

"We pass from the rich impersonations, the fantastic, but expressive symbolic forms of the East, to the colder and clearer light of Grecian philosophy, with which the Western Jews, especially in Alexandria, had endeavored to associate their own religious truths.—The Alexandrian notions of the days of the Messiah are faintly shadowed out in the book 'of the Wisdom of Solomon,' in terms which occasionally remind us of some which occur in the New Testament. The righteous Jews, on account of their acknowledged moral and religious superiority, were to 'judge all nations,' and 'have dominion over all people.' But the more perfect development of these views is to be found in the works of Philo. This writer, who, however inclined to soar into the cloudy realms of mysticism, often rests in the middle regions of the moral sublime, and abounds in passages which would scarcely do discredit to his Athenian master, had arrayed a splendid vision of the perfectibility of human nature, in which his own nation was to take the most distinguished part. *From them, knowledge and virtue were to emanate through the universal race of man.* THE WHOLE WORLD, convinced at length of the moral superiority of the Mosaic institutes, interpreted, it is true, upon the allegorical system, and so harmonized with the sublimest Platonism of the Greeks, *was to submit in voluntary homage, and render their allegiance to the great religious teachers and examples of mankind.* The Jews themselves, thus suddenly regenerated to more than the primitive purity and loftiness of their law, (in which the divine reason, the Logos, was, as it were, imbodied,) were to gather together from all quarters, and under the guidance of a more than human being, unseen to all eyes but those of the favored nation, (such was the only vestige of the Messiah,) to reassemble in their native land. There the great era of virtue, and peace, and abundance, productiveness of the soil, prolificness in the people, in short, of all the blessings pronounced in the book of Deuteronomy, was to commence and endure for ever."—*Hist. of Christianity*, chap. ii.

We may conclude this part of our subject by remarking, that to the Græco-Judaic school of Jews are attributed most of the books of the Apocrypha, those indeed from which Dr. Duffield has made his quotations; that by them was the Septuagint, the version commonly used by our Lord and his apostles, translated; and that the intercommunity between both classes of Jews in the time of early Christianity was abundant. The doctrine of the final moral regeneration of the world was therefore by no means, anciently, an unknown tenet, at least to the Western Jews *

* Plentiful specimens of the coincidences between Philo and St. John are produced by Dr. Clarke on John i. These are certainly too striking to admit a doubt of some sort of community between the minds of the two writers. If we may suppose that St. John appropriated the term Logos, as well known to his cotemporaries, to a Christian use, if he spent his latter days at the Greek city of Ephesus, and wrote his Apocalypse upon the Greek isle of Patmos,

Dr. Duffield "having" (in his own estimation) "traced the chain of tradition from the days of Daniel down through the Jewish church," proceeds next to trace the same chain, from the same point, through a Gentile medium. First, he considers it a settled point, that the Persian Zoroaster was a "servant of the prophet Daniel;" he next adduces from "*his* Zend Avesta" certain extracts, which he has found quoted in the Christology of Dr. Hengstenberg.

Into the very obscure question, how far the Jewish dogmas, and even the sacred writings themselves, have been tinged with colorings borrowed from Oriental sources, had we the limits, we should not have the boldness to enter. The idea, however, that any part of the Zoroastrian system was borrowed from the prophets, especially so late as the prophet Daniel, has many formidable difficulties in point of fact, and able opponents in point of learning, to overcome. Notwithstanding the support of Dr. Prideaux, and the unhesitating assumption of Dr. Duffield, it is opposed by such authorities as Moyle, Gibbon, Heeren, Dr. Hales, Milman, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg. Gibbon, whom perhaps we, as well as Dr. Duffield, may be allowed to quote, says,—"Hyde and Prideaux, working up the Persian legends and their own conjectures into a very agreeable story, represent Zoroaster as a cotemporary of Darius Hystaspes. But it is sufficient to observe, that the Greek writers who lived almost in the age of Darius, agree in placing the era of Zoroaster many hundred or even thousand years before their own time." Milman remarks,—"In fact, there is such an originality and completeness in the Zoroastrian system; and in its leading principles it departs so widely from the ancient and simple theism of the Jews, as clearly to indicate *an independent and peculiar source*, at least in its more perfect development."

It is most unfortunate, therefore, at first start, that the Jewish origin of Dr. Duffield's quotations from Zoroaster's Zend Avesta (if it be his) is more than questionable.

But admitting, for the present moment, their Jewish origin, these

we cannot doubt that he was acquainted both with the phraseology and doctrines of the Græco-Judaic school. He could not, therefore, be ignorant of their view of the ultimate moral regeneration of the world. Nor can we persuade ourselves to suppress the suggestion, that in Rev. xx he takes the Judaic round period of a thousand years, places it before the resurrection, and uses the word *souls* of the martyrs to indicate their spiritual reign. It would be equivalent to saying,—You Jews hold the millennium to occupy the entire Messianic dispensation, that it is *after* the resurrection, and of the *body*. I tell you it closes that dispensation, is before the resurrection, and is the reign of glorified martyred *souls* over the yet living nations of the world.

extracts, not as Dr. Duffield, but as Hengstenberg quotes them, afford but slight support to our author's theory. In Dr. Hengstenberg's first extract (which Dr. Duffield does not give) is described the coming, in the latter days, of two illustrious persons, by whom is effected the conversion of the world. If we suppose the latter of these two persons to be our Saviour, and the former his illustrious harbinger, the Elias of prophecy, the Baptist of the Gospels, the coincidence indeed seems almost prophetic:—"Zoroaster relates, in the book of Zend Avesta, that in the last time a man shall appear, named Oschanderbega, that is, Man of the world. He will adorn the world with religion and righteousness. During his time, Peetiarch also will appear, and greatly injure the interests of his kingdom for twenty years. Afterward Osiderbega will manifest himself to the inhabitants of the world, promote righteousness, destroy iniquity, and restore the ancient order of things. Kings shall obey him, and all his undertakings shall prosper. He will give the victory to true religion. In his times, rest and peace shall prevail, all dissensions cease, and all grievances be done away." It will be seen that this extract sustains the view that the millennium will belong to the first advent of the Redeemer.

Two other extracts there are from the Zend Avesta, which mention three great deliverers. The first extract reads thus:—

"Oschederbami and Oschedermah first appear with great and supernatural powers, and effect the conversion of a large portion of mankind. At last Sosiosch, the greatest of the three, makes his appearance. Under him follows *the* resurrection. He will judge the quick and dead, give new glory to the earth, and remove from a world of sorrows the germ of evil."—*Zendav. Vendidad*, 19, ii, 375.

It is not here said that a reformation of mankind succeeds the advent of Sosiosch; on the contrary, whatever of conversion there is, is the result of the previous advents. Under Sosiosch take place the resurrection, geological renovation, and judgment; of which a more explicit account is given in the second extract:—

"All the dead, as they had died, great or small, shall drink thereof, (of Sosiosch's liquor,) and *live again*. And, finally, at the command of the righteous Judge, Ormuzd, Sosiosch will, from an elevated place, render all men what their deeds deserve. The dwelling place of the pure will be the splendid Gorottman. Ormuzd himself will take their bodies to his presence on high."

We will not positively affirm that our understanding of these two extracts is absolutely certain; nor have we at hand the means either of verifying or correcting it; nor indeed does the fact either

way ultimately much affect our argument; but our construction seems at least as plausible as Dr. Duffield's. In the first of the two, *the* resurrection, renovation of the earth, and final judgment, are said to take place at the advent of Sosiosch; in the second, it is said, that at *that* resurrection and judgment of the whole human race, they will be translated to a region of exalted bliss; but in neither do we very clearly find any millennial personal reign of Sosiosch mentioned, intervening upon the renewed earth between the advent, and the final judgment and reward. Until such a mention is found, Zoroaster is rather an opponent than an advocate of Dr. Duffield.

Most unfortunate, perhaps, of all Dr. Duffield's efforts at quotation, is that in which he represents Dr. Hengstenberg as maintaining the derivation of Zoroastrianism from the Jewish prophets. Hengstenberg *says* that the above extracts, and some others, indicate a superhuman origin; and Dr. Duffield affirms that he *means* that they were stolen from the Jews. Says Hengstenberg,—"If we leave out of view the division among three persons of that which belongs only to one, analogous to which is the notion of two Messiahs among the later Jews and Samaritans, we shall not fail to perceive the coincidence of this expectation with the prophecies of the Old Testament and the fulfillment, and shall not be disposed to *ascribe it to any mere human origin.*" To this Dr. Duffield subjoins, in language rather bluff,—"He *means* that it is the truths of revelation which Zoroaster, that successful impostor, *stole* from the Jewish prophets, adulterated and worked up in his own splendid and artful imposition of a false religion." Now, if Hengstenberg meant this, it is a pity that in the very pages from which the above extracts were made, he should have said precisely the reverse; and if Dr. Duffield really supposed such to be his *meaning*, it is a pity that he could not find a quotation where such was his *language*.

Hengstenberg, in the introduction to his Christology, after having reviewed God's preparation, by revelation and prophecy, of the Jewish nation for the coming of the Messiah, next proceeds to give a view of the expectations of such a redemption among the heathen nations. With regard to the Persians and Greeks, he maintains that those expectations found to exist among them were produced by "*original revelation*," whereas, on the contrary, among the Romans, the similar ideas were derived *from the Jews*. After stating, (p. 13,) that immediately after the fall, "God was pleased to make known that great salvation from the consequences of the first transgression, which should be accomplished in future times,"

he adds, (p. 14,) "The knowledge of this *original revelation* is not entirely lost, even among heathen nations." After admitting that this idea was pushed by many to extremes, he still claims that "much, however, remains of so definite a character, that in all probability it was derived from an *ancient revelation*," &c. "This is particularly the case with the doctrines of the Persians on this subject," &c. Hengstenberg then proceeds to spread over several pages (14–16) the proofs, that the great oracle of the Persians, Zoroaster, and his followers, abounded with anticipations of a future redemption. Among these are the passages which Dr. Duffield extracts; and finally comes that sentence, which terminates with a repetition of the idea, that these expectations probably originated from the aforesaid divine source. When Hengstenberg arrives, however, at the Romans, he decides (pp. 17, 18) that, "upon a close examination, it becomes exceedingly doubtful whether *they were derived from an* ORIGINAL *revelation;*" and he adds, "*The* JEWISH ORIGIN *of these ideas is obvious.*" So clear is it that Hengstenberg does not style Zoroaster a "successful impostor," nor "mean" that he "*stole* from the Jewish prophets." We may safely conclude, therefore, that even admitting that Zoroastrianism taught the doctrines of the Chiliasts, it cannot be regarded as a cotemporary commentary upon the Jewish prophets, but must be considered as a dim and distorted refraction of a ray of revelation glimmering through the darkness of ages.

Having traced the doctrines, as presented in the passages from the Apocrypha, more particularly of the Western Jews, and shown how decisive is their testimony in favor of a terrene millennium, we are now prepared to discuss the dogmas of those Jews of the captivity, who were more exposed to the influence of Oriental religious views. And here we find at once revealed to our view both the full Jewish belief of those notions which lie at the foundation of Dr. Duffield's pre-millennial advent, and the full proof that, so far from having been exported from Judaism into Orientalism, those dogmas are of Persian, and not of Jewish or prophetic origin. Their view may be briefly stated of the events which should attend the Messiah's first coming and dispensation. The Christian dispensation, (that in which we are now living,) according to the Eastern Jews, would be the last thousand years of the world, the sabbath of the great mundane week; it would be preceded by the renovation and righteous resurrection, attended with the extermination of the Gentile nations, and closed with the final consummation and eternal state. Such being the Perso-Judaic theory of notions, we may justly and seriously ask of Dr. Duffield,

and of any other Chiliast, What are such palpable "fables of Jewish dotage," so fundamentally contradicted by the whole structure of facts which make up the Christian history and system, worth, either for or against any Christian doctrine or interpretation? The very first and fundamental fact, that the kingdom of Christ is to be established at his first coming, Dr. Duffield is obliged to contradict; the Messiah's dispensation was to be but one thousand years, being filled with the millennium proper, and this he must contradict; the resurrection of all the just was to have taken place at Christ's first coming, and this he must contradict; the dissolution of the world was to take place, not in 1843, but just 1843 years ago, and this he must contradict; and thus, after Dr. Duffield has impeached his own witness until he is fairly riddled and rent to very tatters, with what conscience can he patch up the remnant of rags, and present that effigy as a witness worthy a moment's notice?

But it is truly remarkable, that the very remnant which speaks most favorably for Dr. Duffield's pre-millennial advent, is just that part which is most clearly traceable to a Gentile source. The notion that *the final thousand years of the world are to be preceded by the renovation and righteous resurrection*, wrenched from its associate accompaniments, is the supposed stronghold in tradition of Chiliasm. And this doctrine is one of the most palpable plagiarisms of Rabbinism from Zoroastrianism. To prove this, we shall select an authority unquestionable in point of erudition, namely, Dr. Hales' celebrated Analysis of Chronology, and still more unexceptionable in point of candor, for Dr. Hales is himself a thorough-going Chiliast. His dissertation upon Persian Mythology may be found in his fourth volume, (pp. 29–33,) from which we make the following extract:—

"The fabulous ages of Asiatic mythology stretch far beyond the creation of man. The world is supposed to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation; who were successively annihilated, or banished for disobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eastern romance, entitled Caherman Name, or 'Caherman's History,' introduces that hero in conversation with the monstrous bird or griffin, Simurgh, who tells him that she had already lived to see the earth seven times filled with creatures, and seven times reduced to a perfect void. That *the age of Adam would last seven thousand years;* when the present race of men would be extinguished, and their place supplied by creatures of another form and more perfect nature, with whom the world would end. She declared she had seen twelve periods, *each of seven thousand years;* but was denied the knowledge of the term of her own existence. And Sadi, a Persian moralist of the first

class, praises Providence for providing so bountifully for all his creatures, that even the Simurgh, notwithstanding her immense size, finds on the mountains of Kaf sufficient for her subsistence."

"*In this Persian tale we trace the Jewish legend of the seven millennary ages of the world;** the Babylonian and Cumean Sybils' ages of the world and restoration of the golden age, recorded in Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid; and the several Hindoo Avatars, or successive transformations of Vishnou, in the Asiatic researches."

After giving an account of their stupendous system of romantic beings, Dr. Hales adds,—

"These peris and dives, the friends and foes of mankind, and all the machinery of their conflicts, seem to have furnished the groundwork of the prevalent notion of good and bad demons, of gods and giants, that pervade the whole of Eastern and Western romance. We find them in Jewish, Indian, Grecian, and Roman mythology. The apocryphal book of Tobit, written during or after the Babylonish captivity, introduces Raphael, the guardian of Tobias, the wicked spirit, Asmodeus, who was fond of Sarah, and destroyed her seven husbands on the wedding nights," &c.

From the Sadder, another work attributed, though, of course, with little certainty, to Zoroaster himself, Dr. Hales makes the following extract:—

"In our (Magian) religion it is held for certain that God spake thus to Zoroaster: 'I created thee in the middle of the world's course; namely, from the age of Keiomaras to thine age are three thousand years; *and from thine to the resurrection, three thousand years more.*'"

Now when we consider the primitive character of this legend of the great week of seven millennial ages; when we find it deeply

* Midrash Tillin on Psa. xc, 15,—"How many are the days of the Messiah? Rab. Eliezer, the son of R. Jose, of Galilee, said, The days of the Messiah are a thousand years." Sanhedrin, fol. 92, 1, edited by Aruch, says,—"There is a tradition of the house of Elias, that the righteous, whom the blessed God shall raise, shall not return to the dust again but for the space of *a thousand years*, in which the blessed God shall renew the world," &c.—*Dr. Clarke on Rev. xx.*

Said Rabbi KETINA,—"Six thousand years stands the world, and for one thousand years it shall be desolated; concerning which it is said, 'And the Lord shall be exalted in that day.'"—*Mede.*

"It was a commonly received notion that the world was to last in its present state six thousand years, and in the seventh should be renewed."—*Dr. Duffield.*

To prove the foreign origin of this idea, it is only necessary to mention that it is a perfectly isolated notion, of which the Old Testament writers and the inspired age are perfectly clear, no way interlaced with their system, but floating in the later *post captivitatem* traditions.

imbedded in this stupendous and original fountain of mythical tradition, from which nearly all nations have drawn; when we find it wholly unrecognized, *as if unknown by the inspired Old Testament writers,* and only floating among the reveries of rabbinical dreamers; and when we find it wholly a stranger to the literature and theology of the Western Græco-Judaic school, we cannot but feel that Rabbi Ketina's great mundane week was really appropriated from the big bird Simurgh.*

We have now done with Dr. Duffield's traditionary testimony, drawn from both Jews and Gentiles anterior to our Saviour. All that is genuinely Jewish sustains the doctrine that mankind in the latter generations of the world will be converted to the truth; all that asserts that the resurrection and dissolution of the world will precede that state of things, is traceable to a foreign, a spurious, a fabulous source. The naked testimony of pure Judaism, so far as it can be ascertained, is in favor of the modern doctrine of the millennium antecedent to the judgment advent.

We now make the transition from the uninspired writers of the old dispensation to those of the new; and here, at first sight, it may seem that the state of the argument is very materially changed. Orientalism, imbibed from the system of Zoroaster and the Magians, imported by the return from the captivity, and imbodied in the popular Judaism of the day, is naturally bequeathed as a traditional inheritance to Christianity, and the consequence is, that we do find Chiliasm of the most unequivocal character displayed in the uninspired Christian writers of the earliest antiquity. It is in this fact that Chiliasm and Dr. Duffield rejoice. Our purpose is to prove, 1. That the importance attributed by Dr. Duffield to these passages is factitious and self-contradictory; 2. That the sentiments they contain is traceable to a spurious source; and, 3. That they are the doctrinal result of THE *great blunder,* demonstrably, of primitive Christianity, and were never of universal prevalence in the church.

Passages from the early fathers are to be quoted only as cotemporary expositions of the inspired New Testament writers. Such

* Learned as Dr. Hales is, he has no objection now and then to avail himself of a subtil fancy to sustain a theory; and millennarian as he is, he would doubtless have been glad to avail himself of the legend of the great week in favor of Chiliasm. Two obstacles prevented: the legend was found buried in such a mass of fable that its imaginative character could not be denied; and his whole system of chronology falsified the legend. Unluckily for the followers of the rabbi and his bird, Dr. Hales makes the world already more than seven thousand years old.

is the limitation which Dr. Duffield theoretically lays down for his use of these writers; and yet the broad principle upon which he actually uses them far exceeds this good Protestant rule. To these writers does Dr. Duffield apply the maxim of Tertullian, whether upon a point of doctrine or of prophecy,—"*Whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*" Truth, then, is to be indubitably sought and found in the Christian fathers; and the only test is ANTIQUITY. If this is not adopting an extra-scriptural rule of faith, we know not how such a charge can be sustained against the Papacy itself. It matters not to Dr. Duffield how perfectly unknown to Scripture the tenet may be; he cannot permit us to pause one moment to show whence the adulterate dogma may have been derived; it is of no consequence to show that even in the apostolic days the times and the church were rife with floating errors, pouring in upon the church from every point of the compass, requiring every effort of apostolic pens and tongues to repel them, and liable to creep into any uninspired documents; the rule is peremptory and absolute,—"*whatever in tradition is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*"

Granting, however, the applicability of the rule to *doctrines*, the reverse rule is applicable to *prophecy*. Were *antiquity the true test of doctrines*, it is equally true, at least, that TIME IS THE GREAT EXPOSITOR OF PROPHECY. Dr. Duffield himself in effect admits the truth of this distinction, although at so great a distance in his volume, that he seems scarcely to have brought the two principles into their modifying bearings upon each other. He does explain the direction to Daniel to "seal up the book to the time of the end," as referring "to the obscurity which should hang around the page of prophecy, like that of a seal or unopened book. It should not be removed till the time of the end—the season of its accomplishment, but that many would investigate the truth, and knowledge would be increased."—P. 373. And yet Dr. Duffield roundly reproves Faber because he neglected to "apply to the important themes of prophecy," as well as doctrines, the rule that "*whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.*" But how will these different views of Dr. Duffield accord with each other? Or rather, how will he extricate himself from a direct self-contradiction? Which side of the contradiction is true in regard to the increasing evidence of prophecy, let those who know how prophetic interpretation has enlarged within the last two centuries decide.

The very first century had its peculiar liabilities to error as strongly as any subsequent age. If the Christianity of the second

century was exposed to the contagion of Platonism, that of the first was all but wholly impregnated with Judaism in its impurest form —rabbinism. The very first schism, among the apostles themselves, was a contest between Judaism and Christianity. And where, as in the case before us, perhaps, a rabbinical element is detected, historically traceable to a foreign and spurious source, the antiquity of the man is rather a proof against than in favor of his authority, as it shows him belonging to the very period, and surrounded by the very atmosphere of that very error. In process of time the unscriptural error would grow obsolete, especially as men were habituated to expurgate from their beliefs every thing not found in the Scriptures.

Our line of argument, next, therefore, is to show that early Chiliasm is but rabbinical, or, rather, Babylonian Judaism, transferred into the Christian church. If we compare together the great week of the Persian Simurgh, the Zoroastrian six thousand years, terminating with the resurrection, of the Sadder, (and perhaps the final renovation under Sosiosch of the Zend Avesta,) with the great week of Rabbi Ketina and other Jewish doctors, and with the prevalent Judaic idea that the Messianic dispensation was to be the closing thousand years of this world's history, preceded by the resurrection and renovation, no reasonable doubt can exist of their historical affinity, or rather, identity. And this was the prevalent form of Judaism in the time of our Saviour. The New Testament abounds with proofs, that the doctrine which required that the Messiah, having appeared in the clouds, should establish his glorified kingdom, and rule for the last great mundane period over the renovated world, cleared of the slaughtered nations, was the prevalent doctrine of Pálestine. When the humble appearance and death of Christ had disappointed that expectation in the breasts of thousands predisposed to be his followers, the next demand would be, that his speedy second advent should, even in their own day, (for prophecy and public expectation had designated that as the destined period,) establish the true Messianic dispensation and kingdom—the glorified resurrection millennium. Thousands would enter the Christian church with such expectations palpitating in their hearts; and thus the Judaism of the day, imported in its great outlines from the East, transferred into Christianity, became Chiliasm.

A striking exemplification of this fact is presented in the very first Christian document adduced by Dr. Duffield, which passes under the name of Barnabas, though many writers (like Richard Watson) dissent; "that it is not the production of the companion

of Paul may be safely concluded from internal evidence, though it may have been written by some other person of the same name." In the extract from this document, the reader will at once behold the artificial process by which a foreign notion is first superimposed upon the Old Testament system, and then imported, without a pretence of New Testament authority, into the Christian circle of tenets:—"Consider, my children, what that signifies: 'He finished them in six days.' The meaning is this: that in six thousand years the Lord will bring all things to an end; for with him one day is a thousand years, as himself testifieth, saying, 'Behold this day shall be as a thousand years;' therefore, children, in six days (that is, six thousand years) shall all things be accomplished. And what is that he saith, 'He rested the seventh day?' He meaneth, that when his Son shall come and abolish the wicked one, and judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and moon, and stars, then he shall gloriously rest on the seventh day. Behold, he will then truly sanctify it with blessed rest, when we have received *the righteous promise*—when iniquity shall be no more, *all things being renewed* by the Lord."

Irenæus also says, "The Lord will come from heaven with clouds, * * * he will introduce the times of his righteous reign, that is, *the rest*, the *seventh day sanctified*."

Surely no stronger testimony than these extracts furnish can be needed to prove the identity of Christian Chiliasm with the Magian and rabbinical great mundane week. And but a very few words are necessary to identify both these notions with that great blunder, we may say THE GREAT BLUNDER of the primitive church, the dogma that the second advent was to take place in their own day.

The *great blunder*, then, we repeat, which prevailed but too extensively in the church of the second century, and which, without their excuse, Dr. Duffield is, in effect, attempting to revive, was this,—that *the coming of Christ to dissolve the world was to take place in their own day.* We do not think that Gibbon is correct in considering this error as in any way founded upon the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, nor upon any other part of the New Testament. It took its origin, as the extract from Barnabas shows, from the Judaic notion, that the commencement of the great closing sabbatic thousand years, to be ushered in with a renovation of the world and the resurrection, and forming the Messianic dispensation, was prophetically and chronologically at hand. And how stupendous, in point of fact, was this error! What a blank did it make of future prophecy! It annihilated about the whole Christian dispensation. The Apocalypse, which is now viewed as

a map of events, of, at any rate, near two thousand years of terrene Christian history, was to them a scribble of senseless reveries. Placing the second advent in their own day did, in the same act, prove their utter ignorance of the great page of prophetic events before them, and cut off the millennium from the train of terrene things, and drift it off into the regions of spiritual romance. It proved, at once, that on whatever other point of prophecy or doctrine their antiquity proved them infallibly "*right*," in regard to the real great final, mundane events they were "adulterate." If arbiters of all other truths, upon these points—the very points upon which Dr. Duffield lucklessly quotes them—they are, by demonstration, as worthless as the sheerest self-convicted ignorance can make them.

And this same placing the second advent in their own day, which theoretically annihilated the present Christian dispensation, so reacted upon the prophecies of the Old Testament as to confirm the Chiliastic traditional error. Although in an age when copies of the Old Testament were necessarily scarce, and Christians were more engaged in practical action than in rounding out complete doctrinal or exegetical systems, many would not bring their doctrine of an immediate advent to bear upon the prophetic promises of a regenerated earth, yet, in most cases, where this was done, Chiliasm would be the result. The belief in an immediate advent did not necessarily imply a belief in Chiliasm, but the latter would frequently be produced by the former. The rich pictures of an evangelized world yet future, glowing upon the pages of Isaiah in all the hue and exuberance of raptured poetry, when severed by the advent from the terrene course of events, would be located by the imagination in the celestial state. The very passage of the great prophet which Philo quotes to describe the happy state of the converted nations, is appropriated by Justin Martyr to depict the realm of the resurrection. By consequence, that glorious realm was conceptually filled with animal and physical images of husbandry, procreation, sin, and death. It is useless to say, that these were not the universal results; they were the logical and strictly necessary results. Their millennium, filled with these images, yet placed in the heavenly state, was necessarily, while in a celestial locality, grossly terrene in its whole substance and nature. And as the expansion of centuries, by gradually removing the second advent to an unknown distance, took away the chasm which cleft that glorious future from the present world; so the gross imageries, with which Chiliasm filled the heavenly state, so revolted the spiritual taste of the church, that both causes combined, with the

absence of any support in Scripture, to mark out this offspring of spurious tradition, even in an age governed by tradition, for abscission from the faith of the Christian church. And it may be added, that in an age like the present, when doctrinal tradition is fast shriveling into scribbled parchment, and leaving the Bible in unrivaled authority, and when all the developments of Providence are pointing to a new era in human history of universal civilization and Christianity, the faith of the church is little likely to return to the great week of Zoroaster, the great sabbath of Barnabas, or the great blunder of early Christianity.

And it is remarkable, that while several of the fathers whom Dr. Duffield quotes were evident Chiliasts, yet a majority of his quotations either say nothing to the point, or merely avow a belief in an immediate advent. Clement of Rome, the "fellow-laborer" of Paul, did "hourly expect the kingdom of God;" Ignatius, successor of Peter at Antioch, bids his brethren "*expect* Him who is above time;" the very relatives of our Saviour had such an expectation of the immediate kingdom of heaven, that the emperor Domitian summoned them to an account, no later than the very persecution in which the apostle John, with whom the mother of Christ was intrusted, was martyred. Now if these were the sure expositors of the apostles' doctrine, then never did an apostle prophesy the events of the last thousand years; then are all our expositions of the Apocalypse, of the twelve hundred and sixty days of the man of sin, and the twenty-three hundred days of Daniel, anti-apostolic and worthless. If we have the authority of the pseudo-Barnabas, the weak-minded Papias, and the philosophic Justin for the Chiliad, on the other hand we have the authority of the "fellow-laborer" of Paul, that he expected the destruction of the man of sin and the advent as "at hand;" we have the authority of the successor of Peter, that the "scoffers" of "the last times," and the burning world, should be in his own age; we have it on the authority of the relatives of Christ and fellow-sufferers of John, that he never dreamed of depicting in his Apocalypse the train of two or three thousand years of earthly events. The traditional authority of these fathers on these points prove all this, or nothing. If they are good cotemporary exposition to establish Chiliasm, they are, at least, quite as good an authority to sweep all modern prophecy with the besom of destruction.

Having traced, we would trust with satisfactory clearness, the origin of the Chiliastic doctrine, the mode of its insinuation into Christian antiquity, and the value of its traditional authority, our next question concerns the extent of its prevalence. Chillingworth

founds an argument against Papal tradition on the fact, that this confessedly false doctrine was for a time maintained by several of the eminent doctors of the Christian church, and attacked by none; Gibbon decides that "though it might not be *universally* received, it appears to have been the *reigning* sentiment of orthodox believers;" Neander, the greatest master of early ecclesiastical history, seems to deny its general prevalence, and assign it a local rise and local extension.* Candor compels us to say that we think that he understates the fact, and that the truth of the case could not be more accurately compressed than in the above clause of Gibbon.

The declaration of Eusebius, that "most of the ecclesiastical writers," induced by the antiquity of Papias, believed this doctrine, being the concession of an adversary, must be taken in its full extent; and it settles the point, that a clear majority of the registered opinions of the doctors of the church, from the first half of the second century until the time of Eusebius, were Chiliastic. On the other hand, the declarations of Irenæus and Justin Martyr, being the concessions of ardent Chiliasts, must also be interpreted in their full extent. "I am not ignorant," says Irenæus, "that some among us who believe in divers nations and by various works, and who, believing, do consent with the just, do yet endeavor to (transferre) turn these things. But," he adds, "if some have attempted to allegorize these things, they have not been found in all things consistent, and may be convinced from the words themselves." Justin Martyr confesses that "many of a pure and pious judgment do not acknowledge this," namely, the Chiliad. The attempt made by Dr. Duffield and others to make out that the true reading in the above acknowledgment of Justin should have a negative, is scarce reconcilable with the original construction of the sentence; and the fact that he distinguishes his own party as ορθογνωμονες κατα παντα χριστιανοι "Christians *in every particular* orthodox," shows that he meant to represent the opposite party,

* "If we find that millennarianism [Chiliasmus] was then extensively propagated, and are able to explain this by the circumstances of that period; yet we are not to understand by this, that it ever belonged to the universal doctrines of the church. We have too scanty documents from different parts of the church in those times, to be able to speak with certainty and distinctness on that point. When we find Chiliasm in Papias, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, all this indicates that it arose from *one source, and was propagated from one spot.* The case is somewhat different with those churches, as, for instance, the Romish Church, which had an anti-Jewish origin. We find afterward an anti-millennarian feeling in Rome," &c.—*Rose's Neander*, vol. ii, p. 324.

not as heretics, but as good Christians, imperfectly orthodox. This is very much as one evangelical Christian denomination, at the present day, might speak of another. We may add, that the Oxford edition of Tertullian, published in 1842, gives the sense of Justin as we have rendered it. The testimony of both these Chiliastic fathers proves, therefore, that in the palmiest days of Chiliasm, its opponents were a "respectable minority," numerous in amount, and pure in character. Origen, who was its first great known opponent, speaks of the Chiliasts in his day as being τινες *some*, and simpliciores quidam, *certain rather simple ones*. It may, therefore, be believed that it had much declined long before any recorded attack upon it; that it never was an absolute test of orthodoxy, and that its opposers were always more numerous than the disbelievers in an immediate advent of the Son of man.

The assertion that Dr. Whitby is the author of the doctrine of the *millennium* as distinguished from *Chiliasm*, needs no other refutation than Dr. Duffield himself furnishes, (p. 248,) when he informs us that the princes of Europe "strike directly against the modern notion of the millennium" in the seventeenth article of the Augsburg Confession, which condemns the doctrine "that prior to the resurrection of the dead, the pious will engross the government of the world." We need go no further than a former number of this periodical, which produces the testimony of John Howe, delivered before Whitby published. We need no better proofs than Dr. Duffield's own quotations furnish, that the same was a known doctrine in the best days of the uninspired Jewish church. Perhaps the most that Whitby did was to identify the doctrine of the world's ultimate conversion with the millennium proper, namely, that of Rev. xx. And this was a very natural step, resulting from the solutions which modern commentators had wrought of the previous nineteen chapters. We need not ascribe as much merit to Whitby in regard to the millennium (we speak without disparagement of that great commentator) as Dr. Duffield ascribes to Mede in regard to Chiliasm. "He was the first to open that sealed book; and, unfolding the millennarian doctrine, to pour in a light never seen before. He stands, in fact, the acknowledged father of interpreters of that wonderful book."—P. 256.

The writer, however, in whose collective and constructive imagination the scattered rays of Chiliastic traditions and reveries were combined and expanded into a splendid fabric, seems to have been Papias, a man who figures rather unfortunately among the fathers of the first century, whether exhibited in the history of

Eusebius, or in the preserved fragments of his own writings. When this celebrated church historian ascribes to him the first agency in giving development and currency to the theory of Chiliasm, and characterizes his mind very unfavorably, we see no reason for discrediting his historical statements, because, forsooth, his own orthodoxy, in regard to the trinity, is rather more than suspicious. The statements of Eusebius have the native air of genuine truth, and have some confirmatory circumstances about them. It is from the writings of Papias himself mainly that Eusebius judges him; from them he corrects the statement of Irenæus, that Papias was a hearer of the apostle John; and he quotes at length an extract in which Papias describes the greediness and faith with which he sought and swallowed all obtainable verbal reports and traditions of the oral discourses and personal doings of our Lord and his apostles. The five books in which these were recorded the Christian church has not carefully preserved from oblivion, and has not much respected the specimens which Eusebius gives. "I was of opinion," says Papias, "that I received not so much profit from books as from living and surviving voice." "He relates," says Eusebius, "some marvelous things, (παραδοξα,) as having come to him by tradition;" "he relates, as from *unwritten* tradition, some strange parables and teachings of our Saviour, and other things more fabulous. Among which, he says there is to be a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, the kingdom of Christ corporeally having been established upon the earth, not perceiving that such things were said mystically, in symbols." The silly passages of the stupendous millennial vine, and prolific grain of wheat, demonstrate him to have been as deficient in sense as Eusebius could by any language well represent him.

Doctrinal truth may be stationary, but prophetic revelation, which discloses the great last events of this world, sheds new light with advancing years. To the records of inspired prediction, antiquity is comparatively blind; it is to the patient comparer of past history and past fulfillments, that the accumulating treasures of prophetic truth roll themselves forth. Here the great law of progress rules in full supremacy. Antiquity sits in ignorance, knowledge is with the future; "what is first is adulterate, what is last is true." Even Dr. Duffield would not maintain that the inspired delineation of the great events of this world were as well understood by Papias, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, as by Bishop Newton, Dr. Whitby, and Dr. Faber. And even admitting that the Scripture predictions of the true millennium were first accu-

rately understood by a commentator so modern as Whitby, nearly all the great events of New Testament prophecy have similarly waited for a modern development. Admitting that the millennial reign of the twentieth chapter of Revelation was not understood by the church until a late century; this is equally true of the whole Apocalypse.

It is the prerogative of Providence to set limitations to human knowledge for human good. God has a glory in concealing; it may have been wisely ordered, and the supposition is no impeachment of divine veracity, that the distance of the advent should be hidden from the knowledge of the early church, in order that she might retain it in her conception, and fear its uncertain approach. With equal wisdom, (and as a necessary consequence of the previous concealment,) the future earthly triumph of Christianity may have been veiled from her view, until the age when Providence had prepared the church for her achievements, and was ready to disclose the truth of the promise, to encourage her in their performance.

Our general conclusions may be stated in brief terms. 1. The doctrine of the millennial conversion of the world, as we hold it, is not only earlier than Dr. Whitby, but earlier than the Christian era, and is clearly found in the earliest uninspired Jewish documents. 2. The doctrines of Chiliasm are Persian, imported from the Babylonish captivity into rabbinism. 3. Thence introduced into certain of the uninspired Christian compositions, and aided by a belief of an immediate advent, they maintained a prevalence, and perhaps an ascendency, through more or less of the second century. 4. The question being of a prophetic nature, was likely to be misunderstood in early times, and to be elucidated by time and progress. The ancients, therefore, had more reason to look to us than we to them, as the probable possessors of real truth. Whatever is first is adulterate, what here is last is true. We are profoundly convinced, therefore, that upon traditionary grounds, the church has no reason, in regard to this question, to change her doctrinal position; and this conviction we trust soon to corroborate by an appeal to the Scriptures.

ART. VI.—*The New-Englander*, for April, 1843. No. 2.

THIS is the title of a Quarterly issued at New-Haven, Conn., and made up of essays, reviews, and critical notices. As a literary production, the work has considerable claims. Its theology is in strict accordance with that of the New School divines of New-England.

The present number of "The New-Englander" honors us with a review of our work upon *Christian Perfection*, the spirit and tone of which are highly characteristic. We cannot enter into a grave discussion of all the points and positions to which we object in this professed review. This would occupy too much time and space, and, in some instances at least, would oblige us to descend below the proper dignity of the subject. A brief criticism of the article is all that is necessary.

The reviewer seems rather to design an *ex cathedra* decision upon the character of Wesley and his theology, and the merits of our work, than a free and candid discussion of the question at issue between us. He proceeds upon the assumption that New Divinity is the divinity of the Bible, and, of course, finds occasion to condemn the Wesleyan theory of perfection whenever it diverges from his standard of orthodoxy. He is sometimes smart and clever enough, but occasionally indulges in a little self-complacency, and not a little contempt for the men and the opinions from which he so widely differs.

We have long since heard from similar quarters that "John Wesley" had "whims and crudities," but we never heard it asserted before, by any one who had the slightest claim to competency as a witness in the case, that he "was not learned in theology, not cautious in forming and expressing his opinions." And it is all new to us that this same "John Wesley" "made up his creed" of "what *seemed to him* to be on the surface of the Scriptures." Wesley's competency as a theologian and an interpreter of Scripture has generally been acknowledged by the more candid of his enemies, and it may be questioned whether any one of the most virulent of them ever expressed a doubt as to his basing his faith upon what at least "seemed to him" to be *the true sense* of Scripture. It doubtless was not the good fortune of Mr. Wesley to be able to penetrate so far below "the surface of the Scriptures" as to see in their hidden recesses the peculiar dogmas of the reviewer. This would have required a baptism of New-England philosophy, which no one, in his days, had received.

He lived too early to avail himself of the *improvements in theological science* which mark the present age. But this can be no apology for his successors, who, despite all the light which for the last twenty years has been emitted from New-Haven and elsewhere, have not advanced a hair's breadth beyond the position of their illustrious founder. For the reviewer says, that the creed of Wesley precisely "is the creed of all his followers, stereotyped for the faith of all living Wesleyans, and of all that shall be." This is sufficiently disparaging to the character both of "living Wesleyans and of those that shall be." But if it is true, the reviewer cannot be blamed for proclaiming it abroad.

The "gratifying contrast between this chaining of free thought by fixed formularies of faith, and the truly Christian liberty that has ever been enjoyed in the primitive churches of New-England," with which the reviewer is so much elated, and which he makes a matter of so much triumph over the poor Wesleyans, is, if we mistake not, a mere creature of the imagination. Let us see, then, how the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of New-England contrast with the Wesleyans in these respects. In relation to them the reviewer says,—

"They have their great men, the fathers of their churches, and the scientific expounders of their faith. They have, too, a well-defined and well-known system of doctrinal articles, which they highly esteem. But they receive the Bible as the infallible and only rule of faith; so that whoever among them proves, from the word of God, that a commonly received article of faith is erroneous, or that the reasoning of any standard writer is inconclusive, is esteemed a public benefactor. Witness the reverence and gratitude of the churches toward such men as the elder and the younger Edwards, Dwight, Bellamy, Emmons, and others that are thought to have contributed to the correction of old theological errors. Yet even these men are not held infallible. Their opinions are fair matter of criticism. Tappan and Cheever are in no danger of ecclesiastical censures for presuming to differ from the elder Edwards on points of philosophy that affect the foundations of religion. Nor is this owing to indifference to the truth, but to warm attachment. Nothing is feared, but much is expected, from discussion."—P. 216.

We have no doubt at all but the discussions and controversies among the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in New-England have resulted in much good, and that these churches are right in their "reverence and gratitude toward" those distinguished men who have "contributed to the correction of old theological errors." And had Wesley built Methodism upon the Saybrook Platform, conflicts and revolutions in doctrinal opinions might have followed similar to those which the reviewer

mentions with so much self-complacency. But so long as the Methodists can see no "old theological errors" in their system to correct, in the name of reason why should they be blamed for living at peace among themselves! Is contention so blessed a thing, and so necessary to the church's prosperity, that her members must contend when they are perfectly agreed, and have nothing to contend about? If controversy upon "points of philosophy that affect the foundations of religion" is a necessary element of "truly Christian liberty," the Methodists, it may be hoped, will be content to remain in their present mental servitude, at least until they find a fair occasion for controversy upon radical points, and for an ultimate breaking up of their existing unity of doctrinal opinions. If unsettling fundamental and established doctrinal principles, a perfect chaos of formularies, and an utter want of all unity both of feeling and action, constitute a valid ground of self-glorification, we hope the time is distant when the Wesleyans will be disposed to contend with the reviewer for the honor or blessedness of such a state of things.

The reviewer's broad insinuations about "chaining free thought by fixed formularies of faith," and hurling "ecclesiastical censures against all dissenters," if we have the sagacity to understand them, can but be regarded as very exceptionable and offensive. And his meaning can scarcely be misunderstood; for he contrasts the Wesleyans with Congregationalists and Presbyterians, in that the latter denominations "receive the Bible as the infallible and only rule of faith." Now if the reviewer intends to insinuate that the Wesleyans have "fixed formularies," independent of the Bible, which they receive and enforce as a "rule of faith," he is wholly in error. The Methodists have a book of Discipline containing articles of religion, rules of practice, and prudential regulations. But they require in their members no subscription to "fixed formularies of faith" as a condition of membership. They do consider that unity, both in doctrine and feeling, is essential to the prosperity of any branch of the church; but still allow full liberty of private judgment, and all the freedom of discussion consistent with the peace of the church. A well-regulated Christian community must certainly be at peace among themselves, and if any are dissatisfied, either with the doctrines or usages of any particular Christian church, they ought certainly, if they cannot keep the peace, quietly to retire. And we would ask our reviewer to tell us when the Methodist Church has "hurled her ecclesiastical censures against all dissentients?" No church, we believe, is more liberal with "dissentients" than the Methodist. She uniformly

gives all such leave peaceably to retire without the least "ecclesiastical censure." When they prefer any other branch of the church, she bids them go in peace in the name of the Lord. That she should labor to preserve peace and order within her own pale, may by the reviewer be thought an instance of intolerable tyranny, but we hope she will never so far forget herself as to substitute the true liberty of the gospel for that licentiousness of debate which wholly annihilates Christian unity, and renders mutual co-operation utterly impracticable.

The reviewer's eulogies upon our work we shall leave without special notice, as we cannot insert them without complimenting ourselves. Its leading defects are, first, as to "the plan."

> "Instead of making the work strictly either historical, or polemical, or practical, the author has brought forth a mongrel production, not worthless, but of little worth, either as a history of perfectionism, a defense of the Wesleyan theory, or a 'help' in the divine life." —P. 217.

Perhaps this criticism is very fair. But we had hoped both friends and foes would do us the justice to look candidly at the evident design of the work. It was our object to enter into the *history* of the doctrine of Christian perfection only so far as is necessary to show the real difference between that doctrine as maintained by Methodists and by others in different periods with whom they differ in radical points, but with whom they have often been confounded by their opponents; to meet leading objections; to exhibit the true grounds of the Wesleyan theory; and to give the whole a practical issue. Now that we could not, with this object in view, write a work *wholly* either historical, polemical, or practical, need not be proved. But if, in the execution of our plan, we have "brought forth a mongrel production"—a work that is neither historical, polemical, nor practical, neither one thing nor another—then, indeed, have we made a miserable failure, and ought to be willing that it should be frowned into oblivion. "The other principal faults," it seems, "are prolixity and indefiniteness."

The ground for the charge of prolixity doubtless lies in the space occupied with the opinions and theories of the several classes of divines pro and con. All the apology we have to make for this is, that we supposed this part of the work would be useful to the class of readers for whom it was more especially designed. We thought it desirable to lay before Methodist readers theories and views which are not to them easily accessible, and are important to a full and comprehensive understanding of the controversy. All this matter may be perfectly stale and void of importance in the

estimation of the reviewer, but we (perhaps wrongly) judged it would not be so to those who are likely to feel the deepest interest in the subject. But a more serious charge is that of indefiniteness. The reviewer proceeds :—

"This [its prolixity] the reader might pardon, if in the midst of so much superfluity, he could find clear and full definitions of the principal points in controversy. We do not say that he cannot ascertain from it what Wesleyan perfectionism, the main subject of the book, is; but he cannot find it in any single definition, nor in any single series of propositions. He is obliged to resort to a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements—some positive, some negative—from which to infer, rather than out of which to construct, a complete definition of the doctrine."—P. 217.

We hope the reviewer is honest in all this; but the obtuseness of our vision will not admit of a discovery of any just ground for his conclusions. Difficult as it seems to have been for him to "find clear and full definitions of the principal points in controversy," he proceeds to give one from us, one which we have given from Mr. Wesley, and another from Dr. Clarke, which seem to us to be both specific and comprehensive; none of them being the result of "a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements," but all in our own language and that of our authorities. The reviewer must have overlooked the "series of propositions" in page 83, where, by "collation," we have deduced from our standards "clear and full definitions" of the Wesleyan theory, covering all "the principal points in controversy." Or, which is more probable, he has in his mind's eye "points in controversy" which we do not recognize as constituting any part of the Wesleyan theory. This indeed seems to be the true source of the reviewer's difficulties, as will be made evident in the course of this examination. Had we designed to draw out such a definition of the Wesleyan theory as would satisfy our reviewer, we could not but know that it would be necessary to embrace such "points" as in his *collations* and *comparisons* he would fain make parts and parcels of our system. But we had truth distinctly in view, and seeing no consistency or force in his logical processes and results, we have, doubtless, sadly failed to satisfy him in our definitions.

After some general remarks upon the difference between us upon the subject of *ability*, the reviewer meets what he considers the gist of the question at issue touching perfection. He proceeds,—

"This brings us to the main peculiarity of their scheme—the basis of their doctrine of perfection, which, therefore, needs to be well under-

stood—namely, *the substitution in the place of the perfect law of another rule of moral obligation*—a rule corresponding exactly in its demands with the present capacities of man. The grace of the gospel, as they teach, consists, in part, in the abrogation of the Adamic law, and in reducing the claims of God on man's obedience to the measure of his fallen powers. 'The standard of character,' says Dr. Peck, 'set up in the gospel must be such as is practicable by man, fallen as he is. Coming up to this standard is what we call Christian perfection.' P. 294. 'Each alike (the original law of perfect purity and the law of love) requires the exercise of *all the capabilities* of the subjects.' P. 292. He adds in substance, that allowing the same formulary, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' 'to be used both by the angelic law [he should say, the *Adamic* law] and the law of love, the *whole heart* implies less in the latter case than in the former.'"—Pp. 218, 219.

This paragraph sets us in a false position. For by "the standard of character" here, we mean simply *the conditions of the Christian covenant*, or what God requires of any one under the Gospel dispensation *as a condition of his approbation, in the highest sense*, and of final salvation. And we do alledge that this is, in some respects, less than legal perfection. That instead of perfect obedience to the law, God requires *as the condition of salvation* THE OBEDIENCE OF FAITH. But we have never asserted, nor do we believe, that this implies "the abrogation of the Adamic law." The only sense in which we maintain the law to be set aside or superseded is *as a covenant*—a *condition of salvation*. And this is precisely the view of Mr. Wesley, as all he has advanced in his three sermons on the law, and in his Plain Account of Christian Perfection, makes abundantly evident. The reviewer, however, is not satisfied with our exposition of Mr. Wesley's views touching this point. We will give his paragraph entire, that the reader may fully appreciate the force of his reasoning:—

"Dr. Peck shrinks from a fair interpretation of the language of Wesley, and the other standard writers, on this point; and he takes Dr. Pond, a very cautious and discriminating writer, severely to task for saying, that Wesley 'held to the repeal of the Adamic law, and thought it very consistent with perfection that persons should fall into great errors and faults.' We will enable our readers to judge between them. Wesley says: 'No man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires.—And no man is obliged to perform it; for Christ is the end of the Adamic as well as of the Mosaic law. By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other, with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law. (I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.') The justice of Dr. Pond's representation turns on the meaning of Wesley in the words in

the parenthesis. Did he simply mean, that perfect obedience to the law is not now the condition of salvation? Then he does not differ from his Calvinistic brethren. They hold that man is no longer under law in this sense, but under grace. The sins of all penitent believers are freely forgiven. This, however, was not Wesley's meaning. For he says, in the same connection, that 'the whole law under which we now are is fulfilled by love, [a love inferior to that demanded by the perfect law.] Faith working or animated by love, is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love in the room of angelic perfection.' His theory seems to be this: 'Man cannot possibly be saved, even by Christ, if, as a condition of salvation, he must love God and serve him, according to the perfect law. He cannot become a Christian, if to be so implies loving God as he is bound by that law to love him. He has not power to love to that degree; nor to walk according to that standard. And, moreover, a perfect God cannot accept, pardon, and glorify a sinful being, or one that falls short of entire obedience to his law. He cannot, therefore, save us, unless he repeals his law, so far as we cannot even by the aid of divine grace obey it; and consents to accept of a less degree of love, and of a fitful conformity to the original law, as perfect obedience. Accordingly he has made this change. Thus he has set up a new standard of holiness, in order that man may be able to comply with the conditions of salvation.' That this was Wesley's philosophy, falsely so called, must be perfectly plain to every impartial reader of the work before us. Perfection he held to be an indispensable condition of salvation."—P. 219.

Now the reader will be prepared to see whence the necessity of which the reviewer complains so bitterly of being "obliged to resort to a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements—from which to infer, rather than out of which to construct, a complete definition of the doctrine." It is because, in our definitions, we do not embrace an element which he may justly conclude would be destructive of our system. The absence of this element renders his principal objection to us utterly powerless, and places the real doctrine which we maintain beyond the reach of his logic. Could he compel us to assert the unqualified "abrogation of the law," we would then be fairly within his power. But fully to understand the case, let us inquire, first, what he concedes; and, secondly, what he maintains.

First, then, the reviewer concedes, that if Mr. Wesley means "that perfect obedience to the law is not now the condition of salvation, then he does not differ from his Calvinistic brethren." We had asserted that this is what he means, and all that he means; and we had made good this assertion from his own language.

But, *secondly*, he asserts, that we shrink from "a fair interpretation of the language of Mr. Wesley." Here we join issue with

the reviewer, and pledge ourselves, that if, upon a "collation and comparison" of all Mr. Wesley has left in writing upon the subject, it shall appear that this is not precisely his view, we will give him up as a dangerous guide in theology. He endeavors to prove that "this was not Wesley's meaning;" and his argument is, that "he says, in the same connection, that 'the whole law under which we now are is fulfilled by love. Faith working, or animated by love, is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love in the room of angelic perfection.'" Well, what of all this? The qualifying parenthesis, "I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation," is to be understood as applied to all that is said in the connection upon Christ being the end of the law, the law being dead, and love being its fulfillment. But the reviewer must make Mr. Wesley set aside the law in an objectionable sense, and to do this, after Dr. Pond, "a very cautious and discriminating writer," he must make him, in a strictly qualifying sentence, mean just nothing at all, or most absurdly contradict the whole strain of his remarks. For if indeed Mr. Wesley intended to say that the law was unqualifiedly abrogated, in this limiting clause, introduced very formally, as it would seem for the purpose of giving it importance and force, he takes great pains to limit what he wishes to be understood as making universal, or he evidently contradicts himself. Now, against this abuse of an author, either dead or alive, we must enter our solemn protest. If Wesley were an infidel or a heathen, we should meet the reviewer with the same earnest remonstrance. This method of carrying a point will never do. Let justice be done, though the heavens fall! We charge the reviewer with (at least logical) injustice to us and Mr. Wesley. We must make allowance for his prejudices, and for the distorting medium through which he looks at the language which he misinterprets. And we must not forget the fact that great men have sinned against the founder of Methodism upon this point, before him. And though he is one of the number of the New-England divines who have gone so much beyond their fathers in the profundity of their investigations, and have asserted such perfect freedom of thought and action, yet in several of the most exceptionable points of their doctrinal views and modes of attack and defense, he strictly follows on in the track of his illustrious predecessors and guides.

The reviewer further attempts to prove that Mr. Wesley "means more" than we suppose. He says,—

"He [Mr. Wesley] denies disobedience to any law but the law of Christ, to be sin. 'Such transgressions,' he says, p. 63, 'you may

call sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned.' Why not acknowledge them to be sins, since he allows them to be transgressions of the perfect law, if he did not also hold that that law was abrogated by Christ as a rule of moral obligation, as well as a condition of salvation?"—P. 220.

Is it not strange that the reviewer will not see that Mr. Wesley expressly admits all "transgressions of the perfect law" to be "*sins*," when that admission is immediately before him? That they are "sins" in such a sense as to require an atonement, he explicitly asserts over and over again: and only denies them to be so in such a sense as that they would preclude the divine favor through the merits of Christ. He says, indeed, "You may call them sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned." He had above defined "sin, properly so called," to be "a voluntary transgression of a known law," and "sin, improperly so called," to be "an involuntary transgression of a divine law, either known or unknown." These definitions taken into the account, all is plain. When he says he does not call these "involuntary transgressions of a divine law" "sins," he means that they are not "sins, properly so called." The reviewer might consistently wage war with these definitions. Could he show that they are absurd or unphilosophical, he would do something. But he has no right to leave them out of the question, and then proceed to judge of Mr. Wesley's conclusions in their relations to his own definition of sin. It is palpably unjust to attempt to involve Mr. Wesley in the absurdity of maintaining that transgressions of the perfect law are in *no* sense sins, when he only denies that they are so in *one* sense.

But the reviewer thinks Mr. Wesley's position, that these "involuntary transgressions of a divine law" are not sins, "properly so called," goes to prove that he held that "the perfect law was abrogated by Christ as a rule of moral obligation, as well as a condition of salvation." This is an obvious sophism. There is a grand difference between holding that the law is no longer to be regarded as a covenant of works, by perfect obedience to which a man is to be justified, and holding that it is abrogated. That Mr. Wesley held to no such abrogation of the law, as the reviewer charges upon him, we could prove by a multitude of quotations from his writings. Two small paragraphs must suffice for the present. The first is, a definition of the law which is wholly inconsistent with such a view, and the second is an explicit denial of it. He says,—

"Now this law is an incorruptible picture of the high and holy ONE that inhabiteth eternity. It is he, whom, in his essence, no man hath seen or can see, made visible to men and angels. It is the face of God unveiled; God manifested to his creatures as they are able to bear it; manifested to give, and not to destroy life—that they may see God and live. It is the heart of God disclosed to man. Yea, in some sense, we may apply to this law, what the apostle says of his Son, it is *απανγασμα της δοξης, και χαρακτηρ της υποσασεως αυτυ—the streaming forth* [or *out-beaming*] *of his glory, the express image of his person.*" —*Sermon xxxiv*, vol. i, p. 309.

Now, could he hold that this "incorruptible picture of the high and holy One that inhabiteth eternity"—this "out-beaming of his glory," could ever be abolished? But he explicitly denies the fact of the abrogation of the law. Hear him:—

"But is the zeal of these men according to knowledge? Have they observed the connection between the law and faith, and that, considering the close connection between them, to destroy one is indeed to destroy both? That, to abolish the moral law, is, in truth, to abolish faith and the law together; as leaving no proper means, either of bringing us to faith, or of stirring up that gift of God in our soul?"—*Ib.*, p. 316.

The law, then, remains unchanged, and acts as "our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we may be justified by faith." But this does by no means prove that it is possible for us perfectly to meet its claims, or that we will be condemned for coming short of them. Dr. Wayland, who will be acknowledged good authority upon this question, makes a distinction between *right and wrong*, and *innocence and guilt*. "Right and wrong," says he, "depend upon the relations under which beings are created; and, hence, the obligations resulting from these relations are, in their nature, fixed and unchangeable. *Guilt and innocence* depend upon the knowledge of these relations, and of the obligations arising from them. As these are manifestly susceptible of variation, while right and wrong are invariable, the two notions may manifestly not always correspond to each other."—*Moral Science*, p. 91.

Hence, under the remedial dispensation, man is supposed to be in a state of mental darkness and imbecility, and is put upon terms suited to such a condition of things. These terms imply the exercise of his present capabilities, with all the grace that God promises to afford, to their fullest extent. Now though this would not amount to *legal perfection*, yet the want of it does not involve the subject in personal guilt. He may perfectly meet the terms of salvation under the remedial dispensation, though he does not, and

cannot, perfectly meet the claims of the law under which he was created.

This whole controversy resolves itself into one question, viz.: *Whether it is proper to make the terms of salvation as presented in the gospel the standard of Christian character?* That we are to be saved by perfect legal obedience, our opponents no more maintain than we do. They explicitly alledge that we are "justified by faith alone;" and that we retain the divine favor by a "faith that works by love and purifies the heart." What, then, constitutes a Christian, except justification by a faith that proceeds, from the moment of its existence, to work by love. Will not, then, *perfect faith* and *perfect love* constitute a perfect Christian? Is not the Christian's character estimated and measured by the strength, extent, and efficiency of his faith and love to God and man? What hinders our opponents from answering these inquiries in the affirmative? Is not this the plain, practical, common-sense view of the subject? Why, then, all this shuffling to avoid a plain logical consequence of principles which we all hold in common?

We thank the reviewer for quoting from us the clear and logical statements of Bishop Hedding, though we attach about as "little worth" to his commentary upon them as he does to our book. In fact, the text needs no commentary. A little candor and common sense are quite sufficient to enable any one to understand it in all its length and breadth—in its principles and practical results.

The reviewer's whole argument upon this point is miserably sophistical and disingenuous. It is also a flagrant instance of the violation of that rule for the management of controversy, which requires that the logical consequences which we attach to the propositions of an opponent should not be attributed to him as a part of his system, unless he acknowledges them. The consequences, which the reviewer seems to consider an essential part of his theory, Mr. Wesley explicitly disclaims. We have done the same, and shall continue to do so to the last. If, after all, our reviewer shall continue to maintain that what Mr. Wesley asserts as explicitly as possible, "was not his *meaning*," and, by consequence, that this learned divine is either a knave or a fool; and that we are such a crouching slave to the dogmas of our founder, that we adhere to them though we shrink from "a fair interpretation" of his "language;" why, so it must be. We can only leave our solemn protest with him, and wait the issue.

Thus far the reviewer only aims to show from our work "what Wesleyan perfectionism is." This he has done to a charm, as we have seen, by "a collation and comparison," not indeed of "a

multitude of imperfect statements," but of a *few* "statements," "imperfect" enough to be sure, but rendered so by the false constructions of the reviewer himself. He next proceeds to give us a catalogue of the points in the "system, of which this doctrine is a consistent part," which he considers not to have "the least support from the word of God." We will now give the reader the whole, that he may see upon how many points the reviewer stands in stern opposition to Wesleyanism. Thus he proceeds :—

"What hypothesis in the whole system, of which this doctrine is a constituent part, has the least support from the word of God? Not, that man lost by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent. Not, that all the ability man has to do his duty is a gracious ability. Not, that man is unable, even by the aid of divine grace, to obey the perfect law. Not, that Christ has abrogated the perfect law, and introduced a laxer rule of moral obligation. Not, that man must be perfectly holy before his soul leaves the body, as a condition of salvation. Not, that any act of omission or of commission, absolutely unavoidable, may be a transgression of a divine law, so that it cannot bear the rigor of divine justice, and needs an atonement. Not, that a perfect Christian may transgress the divine law by mistake, and do so without sin. Not, that a Christian cannot commit a voluntary sin, without ceasing to be a Christian, falling from grace, and forfeiting his salvation. Not, that sin may remain in a Christian, independent of his choice and against choice. None of these things are asserted in the Bible. On the other hand, much may be alledged against them, both from the word of God, and established principles of philosophy."—Pp. 221, 222.

Now the converse of these several hypotheses we suppose to constitute the faith of the reviewer. We will simply state them, and give such illustrations as are necessary to enable the reader to see his real positions. He asserts,—

1. That man did not lose by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent.

2. That the ability which man has to do his duty, is not wholly a gracious ability, that is, this ability is wholly or partly natural and inherent.

3. That man is able, either by the aid of divine grace or without it, (we can scarcely tell which,) to obey the perfect law: thus rejecting the faith of the Presbyterian Church upon this point.

4. That Christ has not abrogated the perfect law and introduced a laxer rule of moral obligation. In this we do not disagree with him. For, as we have already shown, we no more than the reviewer hold that "the perfect law" has been abrogated, except in so far as it partakes of the nature of a *covenant.*

5. That man need not be perfectly holy before his soul leaves the body as a condition of salvation. Here we would query: What provision does the gospel make for man's becoming holy "after his soul leaves the body?" We acknowledge we differ here with the reviewer upon a radical point. He must hold either that men can go to heaven without perfect holiness, or that the process of sanctification is completed in a "middle passage," after death, and before they finally reach their changeless state. The first of these positions is a species of infidelity, the latter is Romanism, and both are wholly unscriptural.

6. That unavoidable acts and omissions are not transgressions of divine law, but can bear the rigor of divine justice, and need no atonement. So that sins of ignorance or infirmity are not inconsistent with perfect legal purity, and need not the virtue of the Saviour's blood!

7. That there is no such thing as transgressing the divine law by mistake, and doing it without sin; (that is, as he must mean, or do us injustice;) and do so without forfeiting the divine favor.

8. That a Christian may commit a voluntary sin without ceasing to be a Christian, falling from grace, and forfeiting his salvation. If he leaves repentance and amendment out of the question, his doctrine is grossly Antinomian.

9. That sin cannot remain in a Christian independent of and against his choice. By *sin* here the reviewer cannot mean *voluntary offenses*, for then he would assert an unmeaning truism. He probably refers to what we call sins of ignorance or infirmity, and intends to deny the existence of any such thing, as he does explicitly elsewhere. He maintains that there is no sin without voluntary action. Of course, that we have nothing to be saved from but voluntary sins, and, consequently, that all infants and idiots have no need of a Saviour at all, but will stand complete in original righteousness in the day of the Lord, without any salvation by Christ!

Now we should be glad to know what may be produced in support of these propositions, "both from the word of God and established principles of philosophy." We hope when our reviewer resumes his pen he will not dogmatize upon these mooted questions, but will bring forth his strong reasons.

The remainder of the article consists in an amplification of several of the points above noticed without any material addition to the force of the argument against us. The reviewer finds errors in the Wesleyan theory "both surprising and pernicious." These are, that there is such a thing as *original sin*, not consisting in the

voluntary actions of the individual, but in a hereditary taint, which requires atonement and sanctification: that involuntary offenses and short comings cannot stand before the rigor of divine justice, but need an atonement: that for these we are not condemned by the law of love: that it is not possible for a man here to attain to perfect legal purity, &c. Some of these are not merely "idle, but pestilent, charming myriads into a false sense of purity—a matchless opiate to the consciences of men," &c. No doubt the reviewer honestly thinks as he writes; and so he may continue to think in spite of all we can say. Could we succeed, however, in diverting his attention from his theory, and directing it for but a brief space to facts, perhaps he might find it difficult to show that those who hold these obnoxious tenets have more *sleepy consciences* than their fellow Christians. This would at least suggest the possibility of an error upon his part in tracing out the logical consequences of the theory he opposes.

We think, on the other hand, that his system has had practical bearings. It seems to us, his theory, that nothing but voluntary sin stands in need of an atonement, not only saves all infants and idiots without Christ, but supposes it *possible* for all others to stand at last complete in original righteousness equally independent of the Saviour. For if all acts and states of mind can stand before the rigor of divine justice, except such as are the result of volition, and if no man is constrained to put forth an evil volition, then, surely, if there is force in logic, no one *necessarily* needs a Saviour—then it is *possible* for all so perfectly to keep God's holy law as to be saved upon strictly legal principles. Here our reviewer is not only involved in the absurdity of a possibility of *legal perfection*, but the unscriptural theory of *salvation by the law!* Would such ascribe their salvation to *the blood of Christ*, or would they not rather rejoice that they stood in no need of it?

The reviewer agrees with Dr. Woods in holding "both to the attainableness and non-attainment, in this life, of a state of legal perfection." If the perfection which he admits possible were *Christian* perfection, we then should agree with him upon the former part of his theory, and differ with him upon the latter. But as it is a strictly "*legal* perfection" of which he speaks, we dissent from the former and agree in the latter part. Now he asserts and we deny the attainableness of a strictly legal perfection. This it will at once be perceived is a new ground of controversy. From the days of Wesley the great point in debate has been *the attainableness* of a state of Christian perfection;—not implying a state of holiness in such strict conformity to the demands of the original

law, that the subject of it could stand before the rigor of divine justice. The great body of Calvinistic divines have ever taken the negative of this question. But the New-England theologians have changed the ground, and proceeded to admit much more than we contend for; indeed, what we believe to be wholly inadmissible. They now admit the *possibility* of the highest original perfection. Upon this point no class of theologians, except Romanists, have ever been so high perfectionists as they are. They do not, like the Romanists, assert that we can do *more* than the law requires: they have not advanced quite so far as this; but they come as near to it as possible, and in doing so take a long stride beyond the limits of the old platform. Their hypothesis is, indeed, plainly contrary to the explicit statements of the great master John Calvin and the Westminster divines, as adopted by the Presbyterian Church. This, however, is just nothing with the reviewer, for the "Presbyterians and Congregationalists of New-England" have asserted the liberty of thinking for themselves. Or, to speak more plainly, they have attained that perfection of Christian liberty which will admit of their maintaining both sides of a contradiction. They are right good Calvinists while they hold dogmas repudiated by the great Genevan reformer, and first rate Presbyterians while they hold sentiments rejected by the Confession of Faith. In all this they are far in advance of the Methodists, who judge it necessary either to adhere to the fundamental doctrines of Wesley or to give up the profession of Wesleyanism.

In conclusion, we would say, not so much "justice to ourselves," as a regard for truth, has induced us to write this criticism upon the reviewer. We do not take it in ill part that he has seen proper to criticise our work, or that he differs entirely from the theory we have adopted. We except to his views, but respect his talents and his good intentions. But should he see proper to continue the controversy, we may be allowed to hope he will go more fully into the main points of the argument, and not spend his strength upon distinctions which are merely incidental. And in doing this, we shall expect him to take upon himself a fair proportion of the labor of *proving*. He may be assured that we shall never give up our theory merely because it conflicts with the main points of the system of "the Congregationalists of New-England." We can never be converted to that system until we see the proof that it is according to God's holy word.

ART. VII.—*Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* By Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University. With illustrations on steel. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 458, 478. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1843.

THE want of space in our last number compelled our correspondent, who undertook the review of the above work, to close his article just as he had arrived at the point which will undoubtedly be regarded as the most interesting portion of the work. Justice to all concerned requires that we should resume the subject, and make an effort to complete the review, and to present the reader with a more adequate idea of the labors of our distinguished friend and brother, Dr. Olin, in the investigation of that portion of the world hallowed by so many sacred associations.

We shall not follow the thread of the narrative, but shall present a few specimens of the labors performed, of the scenes witnessed, and of the discoveries made by our traveler.

In following our friend up and down the Nile, through the desert, and over "the hill country of Judea," we are struck with astonishment at the amount of physical labor performed by one who calls himself an "invalid." We should, from an *a priori* view of the subject, naturally have been led to expect that, through weakness, exhaustion, and occasional visits of melancholy, he would have passed by many objects of interest as too difficult of access, and involving too much muscular exertion and peril of life. But, instead of this, we see him always by day, and often by night, manfully buffeting with difficulties and perils—ascending and descending steeps, patiently examining and accurately measuring grottoes and piles of ruins, urging on his indolent and mercenary guides and attendants, and scarcely leaving an object of interest without due notice—fairly rivaling in industry and hardy enterprise the most daring and persevering traveling antiquary.

The habits of observation and philosophical association which develop themselves so strikingly in these volumes, eminently qualified our traveler to make every step of his journey tributary to the stock of interesting and useful observations and results. Hence, his descriptions, his reflections, and his practical observations upon the causes and relations of the many strange objects and mysterious facts which were ever and anon before him, are replete with interest and instruction. For instance, how evidently do his conclusions with regard to the government of Mohammed Ali grow out of the multitude of facts which he

brings so clearly and prominently before us, that we fancy ourselves standing upon the borders of the Nile, and seeing with our own eyes the workings of a system of government intolerably selfish, tyrannical, and oppressive! Who can read the developments here made, and the lucid and pertinent observations which accompany them, without more highly prizing the blessings of a pure Christianity and of free institutions? Who but will be induced by what is here presented so tangibly before him, to pray more fervently than ever for the speedy termination of the reign of the false prophet, and the universal triumphs of the cross of Christ? Who but will be moved by a stronger sympathy for the moral, political, and physical degradation of vast multitudes of his fellow-men?

The visit of our traveler to Mount Sinai is full of interest. Some abatement is however made from the pleasure which his account of this visit affords the reader by the condition of things at "the convent," in the neighborhood. Here, where, it would seem, the piety of nominal Christians has consulted means for the better preparation of men for *the other world*, no little regard is had to such interests of *this* as are made so high an object with the proprietors of houses of entertainment, or *taverns*, in other parts of the world. The *quid pro quo* is always looked for, it seems, with some little *earthly* anxiety by the *holy monks*. And if our traveler had escaped without suffering a worse evil than merely paying a high price for poor accommodations, it would have been quite tolerable. But his hired servant, "Ibrahim," was here (as he solemnly declared for the first time) made drunk, and, up to the period of his term of service, fell into the same evil as often as he could find the means of intoxication at command. We should be inclined to suppose that the neighborhood of Sinai, where God appeared in such terrible majesty, and to which *pious* Christians are allured, for the purpose of being more effectually directed to the contemplation of heavenly things, would cause them to exhibit some fruits of the transforming influence of these associations, and at least that they would prefer the pure mountain stream to the intoxicating cup. And it seems especially to be regretted that *Christians* who occupy these sacred places, from religious considerations, and who, by way of eminence, are called *holy fathers*, should be instruments in the hands of the devil of corrupting Mohammedans. Would it not be well to send Father Mathews upon a mission to the convents of the East? But, to digress no further.

The description given of Mount Sinai and its vicinity by Dr. Olin is the best we have ever seen. He takes observations from

various points, and by ascending heights, which command extensive views, marks the relative position of the various cliffs, gorges, and vales which characterize the scenery. He considers the several theories which have been advanced as to the precise location where God gave the law to Moses, and gives good reasons for his own. To give the reader some idea of our traveler's rambles over this consecrated ground, and of his powers of description, we will present him with his own account of one of his adventures. He says,—

"I spent an hour or more upon these lofty and venerable summits, and read the Decalogue, with an account of the prodigies which attended its promulgation, 'on the top of the mountain,' where I cannot doubt it was promulgated by the Almighty Lawgiver. Several deep valleys lie among the different masses of this part of the mountain, covered with a profusion of shrubs, to which the herds of goats belonging to the Bedouins find access by paths, certainly less steep and toilsome than those by which we made our ascent.

"My return from Sooksafa to the convent proved a much more serious affair than the upward journey. I did not wish to proceed by the same way, and thought a more direct path might be found, which would also give opportunity for exploring more extensively the central parts of the mountain. My companion took a gorge that led him to the valley of the cypress, through which we had passed in ascending Mount Sinai on Saturday. I fell into one which took a southeast direction, toward the vale of the convent. This side of the mountain is very steep, and the gorge, walled up on both sides by perpendicular cliffs, presented a slope unexpectedly abrupt and difficult, which was only made practicable by the rocks lodged there in their descent from the mountain: these, however, gave a good foothold. After descending for about half an hour, I was stopped short by a precipice at least one hundred feet deep. No course remained but to retrace my steps up the gorge, and in another half hour I was again upon the summit of the mountain. Looking about for a more practicable route, I soon found and entered a second ravine, similar in appearance to the first. Both had been formed by the removal of some perpendicular strata interposed between the masses of granite, which rise in upright or overhanging cliffs of towering height. This second attempt to reach the vale was not more fortunate than the first. At about the same point in the descent, an immense mass of granite, forty feet or more in diameter, had lodged, and completely blocked up the gap. Accumulations of smaller stones and debris formed a level on the upper side of the rock; but below, the torrents had worn a frightful precipice, extending to a depth much greater than the height of the rock. Here, again, was an impassable barrier, and I turned my face once more toward the summit of the mountain. The ascent proved difficult. I had slid down in several places over smooth rocks, which afforded no hold to the feet or hands in ascending. My strength began to fail under this unfortunate accumulation of labor, and I experienced a

lively satisfaction when I once more stood on the lofty summit above, clouded only by the necessity of renewing an attempt which I began painfully to feel might be crowned with no better success than the former. I would have returned to Sooksafa, and taken the way which I at first declined, but had lost the direction. I resolved, therefore, to attempt to find my way to the vale of the cypress, where I should have no difficulty in following the beaten road to the convent. Ascending to the highest peak in this part of the mountain to take an observation, I soon struck a gorge which led in the right direction. It presented all the difficulties of those I had previously attempted, with the exception of such as were absolutely insuperable. I slid over long declivities, having a surface too smooth to admit even of creeping, and I was made anxious by the reflection that it would be impossible to retrace my steps, should this gorge, like the others, prove to be impassable. I soon found that it did not lead to the cypress, but took a direction toward the eastern side of the mountain, of whose enormous, abrupt cliffs and precipices I had such recent experience. After descending for some time, I was gratified with the sight of a small, rude chapel, such as are to be found in several of the deep glens of the mountain. This demonstrated, at least, that the way was not unknown. The gorge by which I was descending expanded into a large vale, watered and verdant, but soon contracted again to its former dimensions, and I had reason to believe, from the increasing abruptness of the descent, and the total disappearance of all indications of improvement, that the chapel was approached from the opposite direction, probably from the valley of the cypress. This, at least, promised a way of escape should I be compelled once more to return. Fortunately, however, I was enabled to proceed by this route to the foot of the mountain. I reproached myself with the imprudence of venturing into a region so full of precipices and impassable gulfs without a guide; and I trust that a lesson which has cost so much anxiety and toil will not be lost upon me.

"I was employed in these baffling attempts to descend the mountain three and a quarter hours, and was absent, in all, above six hours. Twice this last gorge was stopped by immense fragments of rocks, which had fallen from above, and perfectly filled it, forming precipices thirty or forty feet in height. In both instances I found a subterranean passage made by the rains, just large enough to admit my body, through which I crawled under the superincumbent mass, and reached the bottom of the precipice formed by this lodgment. The last hour was one of intense anxiety. I was saved from fear by putting my trust in God, who guided me in safety, and I am sure I felt a lively gratitude." —Vol. i, pp. 399–402.

We should be very happy to give from our author a complete view of the city of Jerusalem, but this we are not able to do. Fully to grasp his graphic description of the various objects of interest in and about the Holy City, the whole must be read. We will merely give the "view" of the city "from Olivet:"—

"The celebrated view from the Mount of Olives, however, is that from which the traveler receives his final and remembered impression of Jerusalem. Hither, like every other visitor, I resorted, as soon as I was able to leave my chamber, and during my stay in the city I often repeated my walk. The summit of the Mount of Olives is about half a mile east from the city, which it completely overlooks, every considerable edifice and almost every house being distinctly visible. The city, seen from this point, appears to be a regular inclined plain, sloping gently and uniformly from west to east, or toward the observer, and indented by a slight depression or shallow vale running nearly through the centre in the same direction. The southeast corner of the quadrangle—for that may be assumed as the figure formed by the walls—that which is nearest to the observer, is occupied by the Mosque of Omar and its extensive and beautiful grounds. This is Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's Temple; and the ground embraced in the sacred inclosure, which conforms to that of the ancient temple, occupies about an eighth of the whole of the modern city. It is covered with greensward, and planted sparingly with olive, cypress, and other trees, and it is certainly the most lovely feature of the town, whether we have reference to the splendid constructions or the beautiful lawn spread out around them.

"The southwest quarter, embracing that part of Mount Sion which is within the modern town, is to a great extent occupied by the Armenian convent, an enormous edifice, which is the only conspicuous object in this neighborhood. The northwest is largely occupied by the Latin convent, another very extensive establishment. About midway between these two convents is the castle or citadel, close to the Bethlehem gate, already mentioned. The northeast quarter of Jerusalem is but partially built up, and it has more the aspect of a rambling, agricultural village, than that of a crowded city. The vacant spots here are green, with gardens and olive-trees. There is another large vacant tract along the southern wall, and west of the Haram, also covered with verdure. Near the centre of the city also appear two or three green spots, which are small gardens. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only conspicuous edifice in this vicinity, and its domes are striking objects. There are no other buildings which, either from their size or beauty, are likely to engage the attention. Eight or ten minarets mark the position of so many mosques in different parts of the town, but they are only noticed because of their elevation above the surrounding edifices. Upon the same principle, the eye rests for a moment upon a great number of low domes which form the roofs of the principal dwellings, and relieve the heavy uniformity of the flat, plastered roofs which cover the greater mass of more humble habitations. Many ruinous piles and a thousand disgusting objects are concealed or disguised by the distance. Many inequalities of surface, which exist to so great an extent that there is not a level street of any length in Jerusalem, are also unperceived.

"From the same commanding point of view, a few olive and fig-trees are seen in the lower part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and scattered over the side of Olivet from its base to the summit. They

are sprinkled yet more sparingly on the southern sides of the city, on Mounts Zion and Ophel. North of Jerusalem, the olive plantations appear more numerous as well as thrifty, and they offer a grateful contrast to the sunburned fields and bare rocks which predominate in this landscape. The region west of the city appears to be destitute of trees.

"Fields of stunted wheat, yellow with the drought rather than white for the harvest, are seen on all sides of the town."—Vol. ii, pp. 127–129.

This grand description, with the aid of the map and the plate, will present a clear and definite view of the Holy City as it now is. The author differs from several writers of eminence as to the site of the holy sepulchre. His views are clearly presented, and, as far as we can judge, well sustained. He shows that there are substantial reasons for adhering to the traditionary faith on this subject.

Our author's "excursion to the Jordan and the Dead Sea" is a beautiful and elegant specimen of description, and from the number of interesting objects which it presents, can scarcely be traced in his chaste and striking language without feelings of the liveliest interest. The concourse of pilgrims, the bustle of a vast train, and the peculiarities of an Oriental encampment; the thieves and robbers in the way "from Jerusalem to Jericho;" the sacred waters of the Jordan, "overflowing all its banks;" and the great salt lake, or Dead Sea, in which the cities of the plain were submerged, are all brought out in so happy and striking a manner, that the reader is carried away from himself, and seems to stand gazing upon these splendid scenes, and inhaling the inspiration of their sublime associations. We can merely give the reader two or three specimens from this part of the work. The scene upon leaving Jerusalem is thus graphically and beautifully described:—

"After proceeding a quarter of a mile or more beyond Gethsemane, along the western side of Olivet, I had occasion to make a halt, and wait for a friend who had left the city by the Damascus gate, and, consequently, fallen in the rear. The view of the multitude before St. Stephen's, from this elevated and more distant point, was peculiarly striking and picturesque. The eye embraced the entire animated field at a single glance. The double row of women, lining the sides of the paved way, and glittering in their immense mantles, were conspicuously visible from the top quite to the bottom of the mount. Their white, resplendent ranks, upon which the rays of a brilliant sun were now falling, were as exact and regular as those of disciplined soldiers upon parade, and they defined all the courses and angles of the zigzag road with the perfection of a mathematical figure."—Pp. 194, 195.

The following is a portion of the author's description of the Jordan:—

"This verdant canopy of foliage and the luxuriant undergrowth of cane and brushwood entirely concealed the river from our view until we had nearly reached the water's edge. The banks were quite full, and had recently been overflowed, as was apparent from the water yet standing upon the lower grounds, and from marks left by it upon the trees. I estimated the river to be thirty-five or forty yards wide at this point. It swept along with a rapid, turbid current. The water was discolored and of a clayey hue, not unlike that of the Nile, and, though muddy, was agreeable to the taste. It bore the appearance of being deep, but I had no means of measurement. Some of the party who bathed in the river found themselves beyond their depth soon after leaving the shore, and they were carried rapidly down the stream by the strength of the current. Upon the particular part of the bank where we approached the river, a large quantity of sand had been deposited by the inundations, which formed good footing quite to the edge of the water. Here the pilgrims had performed their rites in the morning. A few rods lower down, however, the bank is formed of clay, with a very slight intermixture of sand, and it was too soft to bear footsteps. This is also the case at a little distance from the bank, where we stopped, and I several times sunk deep in the mire in attempting to leave the beaten track upon the sand deposit to walk among the trees.

"This spot, which may be four or five miles from the mouth of the river, and three and a half from the Dead Sea by a direct course over the plain, is held by the Greeks, and, I presume, by the Armenians, who joined in the religious ceremonies of the day, to be the identical place where our blessed Lord received baptism at the hands of John the Baptist. The Latin Christians resort to a place between two and three miles higher up the river, guided in their preference by a tradition which they regard of greater authenticity. The spot is marked by a ruinous convent, dedicated to the Baptist, which occupies a position at a little distance from the river, and was a conspicuous object from some parts of our route from Jericho. The banks of the Jordan are there clothed with wood, presenting to the eye, as seen at a distance, the same appearances as at the point which we visited below. Still nearer to the mouth of the river the trees become more rare, and in the immediate vicinity of the sea, as it appeared to us in riding across the plain, the banks are low and marshy, and covered with a thick growth of reeds and low bushes. North of the convent of St. John the border of trees continues to a great distance, quite beyond the reach of vision."—Pp. 227–229.

We must close this part of our review with an extract from the account of the "Dead Sea:"—

"We approached the sea at its northern extremity, distant, I should think, a little more than two miles west from the mouth of the Jordan. The beach is smooth and sandy, and covered with pebbles and gravel. The water is not perfectly transparent, but has a whitish hue, as if

dashed with a very slight infusion of milk. To the taste it is extremely salt and bitter, perceptibly more so than the water of any other sea which I have visited. I at once pronounced it to have the taste of Glauber salts, to which one of the party replied, and I think justly, that it more resembled a mixture of salts and senna. We did not fail to bathe, for the double purpose of enjoying so great a luxury, especially grateful in this heated atmosphere, and of testing, by our own experience, the truth of the strange and rather discordant statements which have been put forth with regard to its buoyancy. I had always read the reports of travelers upon this subject with incredulity, ranking them with other fictions and legends with which all descriptions of this marvelous sea are rife; but the experiment satisfied me that, upon this point at least, there is no exaggeration. The water is shallow near the shore, and I waded perhaps one hundred and fifty yards before reaching a depth of seven or eight feet. I swam out into much deeper water, which I found to bear me upon its surface without any effort of the legs or arms. These, indeed, I raised quite out of the water, and still continued to float like a mass of wood. When I stood erect, with my feet placed together, and my hands and arms brought close to the sides, my shoulders still rose above the surface. I made many attempts to sink, but without success, and found swimming an awkward business, as it was quite impossible to keep both the arms and legs in the water at the same time. Some gentlemen of the party, who were unable to swim, waded in cautiously at first, but found themselves suddenly endowed with the capacity of floating upon the briny element.

"The usual casualties of a sea-bath did not fail to administer repeated tastes of the nauseous fluid, and the strong exclamations and distorted visages of the company gave ample and unanimous testimony to its intolerable saline bitterness. It is to its excessive saltness unquestionably that the water of the Dead Sea is indebted for its unequaled ability to sustain heavy bodies. Its specific gravity is much greater than that of any other water known to have been subjected to chimical examination. According to the experiments of Dr. Marcet, of London, the results of which have been substantially confirmed by many subsequent trials, the specific gravity of this water is twelve hundred and eleven, that of rain-water being one thousand. It contains about one-fourth its weight in various salts, of which those of soda, magnesia, and lime are the most considerable. From some of these ingredients the water derives a pungency, which made itself quite sensible to the skin after remaining in it for a quarter of an hour, and then going into the air. Besides a slight smarting, it left upon my skin a sense of stiffness, as if it were coated with a thin, adhesive substance; but I could obtain no evidence of the presence of any foreign matter upon passing my hand over the surface. I, however, several times submerged my head in attempting to sink, and I subsequently found that the hair had imbibed from the water a something little less adhesive than tar. I could with difficulty pass a comb through it, and it was only at the end of ten days or a fortnight, and after several ablutions with soap and water, that I was able to get clear of this troublesome memorial of my bath in the Dead Sea.

"We made diligent search, so far as our opportunities permitted, for evidence bearing upon the current tradition that no species of fish can live in these waters, which are said to be so pestiferous as not only to be fatal to animal life, but to poison the atmosphere, so that birds, venturing to fly over the sea, soon fall dead upon its bosom. The attention of our whole party was particularly directed to this subject, and we made a careful examination along the beach, and, so far as practicable, in the shallow water near the shore, for two miles or more, in quest of shells and fish. We discovered one small fish, about four inches long, in the shallow water, a little east of the place where we had bathed. It was dead, though it retained a fresh appearance. No living fish was seen, nor any shells, or the smallest fragment of a shell. These facts are the more decisive upon the question, as this shore is evidently much lashed with storms, which could not well fail of throwing upon the beach some specimens, if any existed, of the animal and vegetable productions of this sea. Large quantities of drift-wood are accumulated on the beach, which the rains have brought down from the mountain ravines, and the prevalence of southerly winds has driven upon this shore. There was no marine plant of any description to be found among these masses, which consist mostly of entire trees, whose branches and roots must have swept the bottom in many places in their progress through the water, and collected the sea-weed and other vegetable growth in their track, had any existed.

"Here were the largest trunks which I saw in Palestine. No trees or verdure of any kind are seen upon the dreary mountains about the Dead Sea, but these trophies of the storm demonstrate the existence of a more generous soil in their deep and hidden recesses. They were entirely excoriated, so that not a vestige of bark remained to aid in determining the species to which they belonged; an evidence of the violence and frequency of the storms that prevail in this sea.

"In view of the facts here stated, which correspond substantially with the reports of former travelers, it can hardly be thought premature to conclude that the water of the Dead Sea is fatal to, or, at least, is incapable of sustaining animal or vegetable life. There can be little doubt that the dead fish was an estray from the Jordan, only two or three miles distant, and the state in which it was found goes to establish the pestiferous character of this water. The same is probably true of the 'two or three shells of fish, resembling oyster-shells, cast up by the waves, two hours' distance from the mouth of the Jordan,' which were seen by the traveler Maundrell. Seetzen found some snail-shells upon the shore, and Irby discovered snail-shells, and another species of a small, spiral form. All, however, were empty, and appeared to be old. They were, most probably, land, and not marine shells, and were quite too inconsiderable in number to counterbalance the strong and concurrent testimony which seems to have established the fact, at least till some new discoveries shall be made, that nothing of the kind is produced by this sea. It may be the extreme saltness of the water that is so fatal to animal and vegetable life, or the effect may not improbably be produced by some other ingredient more peculiar and powerful, which has not yet been detected. It may

be, too, that the atmosphere derives a measure of insalubrity from the same cause, whatever it may be; but we had demonstrative evidence that tradition is at fault in affirming that birds are unable to fly over the surface of the sea. We saw several small flocks rise from the reeds and brushwood that grow upon the beach a little west of the place where we bathed, and fly toward the eastern shore, without any appearance of suffering or difficulty. I did not recognize any species with which I am acquainted; but they were of a dark gray color, and about as large as sparrows. The sterility of the region, and the want of fish and other food suited to the sustenance of aquatic fowls, sufficiently account for the rarity of the feathered tribes, without ascribing any pernicious influences to malaria and noxious vapors from the sea. It is, beyond all question, an insalubrious region. I have already mentioned the sickly complexion of the inhabitants of Jericho. Those of the southern border of the sea are reported to exhibit symptoms of feebleness and disease equally indicative of the malignant character of the climate, to account for which something more seems necessary than the extreme heat prevalent here throughout so large a part of the year. It perhaps derives a special malignity from the waters of the sea."—Pp. 234–238.

After the numerous observations of learned travelers which have been published upon the East, any thing like discovery is scarcely expected. We find, however, several important objects described and identified by our traveler, which we do not recollect to have seen noticed by any of his numerous predecessors. These we will now proceed to notice, presenting them in the author's own language. Several of this class of objects are found in Petra. Of these we have the following descriptions :—

"I have said that we arrived in Petra on the 30th day of March. We pitched our tents on a level area, the largest, probably, in the ancient city, and elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the southern embankment of the river. It is situated in the angle of a perpendicular rock nearly twenty feet in height, which has been faced by art, so as to form, as far as it extends, two sides of a square. The eastern side is completed by a massive wall in good preservation. The southern and western sides were also inclosed by some barrier, of which a mound of rubbish and a part of the foundation stones still mark the direction and extent. This great central area was certainly a place of public resort, probably the forum of Petra. Several bridges, or, perhaps, one broad bridge, of which the substantial foundations still remain, gave access thither from the opposite side of the river; and two staircases still exist, in ruins, by which the multitude ascended to this theatre of business or pleasure. Several pedestals, and an immense prostrate column, mark the unquestionable position of a colonnade, the magnificent entrance to the forum, fronting toward the north, and standing immediately above the bridge, from which it is separated by a broad, paved thoroughfare, that extended from the great eastern

entrance of Petra westward, through the most central and splendid portion of the city, to the palace of Pharaoh. West of this forum, and about half way to the palace which I have described as the only remaining edifice of Petra, is another level of about the same dimensions, bounded on the south by a nearly semi-circular bulwark of solid rock, excavated by art. To this are joined the walls that form the eastern and western sides of this area, the extremities of which are united by a low, thick mass of masonry, forming the chord. This, too, was unquestionably a place of public meetings for amusements or business, though the structure is in too ruinous a condition to allow us to determine with certainty to what particular object it was devoted. On the summit of that part of the rock which forms the east side of this area are considerable remains of a cistern. The cement with which it was lined is still solid, and uninjured by time. The two public places which I have just described fronted, as did the other principal edifices, the great thoroughfare along the bank of the river. This must have been a magnificent street."—Pp. 24, 25.

"Urging my ascending way by several narrow and steep flights of steps, and through ravines choked with shrubs and brushwood, I passed a small and shallow reservoir, made for collecting the small rills which were conducted hither by natural and some by artificial channels. My attention was here attracted by a venerable cedar, the largest I have yet seen in Arabia, and the dark green foliage of several large trees which it partially concealed from my view. I was surprised to find that these noble trees grow in the bottom of an ancient reservoir, thirty-two paces in length by eight wide, and nearly twenty feet in depth. This interesting monument of the ancient civilization of Petra is excavated out of the solid rock, one end of it only being formed of a massive wall, consisting of twenty-eight courses of hewn stone, still in good preservation. A flight of stone steps leads down to the bottom of the reservoir, which are also entire. It is lined with a cement formed of lime and gravel. The bottom is carpeted with the richest vegetation I have seen in Arabia; and the venerable trees, each from twelve to eighteen inches in diameter, almost exclude the rays of the sun by their thick, dark foliage. For any thing I was able to discover, this reservoir is in perfect preservation and now fit for use."—P. 27.

"In returning to Petra our guide led us through another deep and wild ravine, which enters the northern extremity of the town. It increased the length of our rather fatiguing excursion, but had the advantage of affording new and interesting views of this peculiar mountain scenery. The way is narrow and precipitous, and practicable only for foot passengers. The appearance of the mountains north of us, as seen from that part of the valley, is a little peculiar. They shoot up into a great number of lofty, distinct peaks, whose summits have become rounded by the agency of the elements. The whole looks like a Cyclopean city of domes, and the rock is of gray sandstone, which gives them a hoary and venerable aspect. In some parts of this route, immense masses of rock, which have fallen from the higher regions of the mountains, stand reclining against each other on the sides of the

ravine, forming covered ways, under which we passed. With the exception of a few inconsiderable excavations, or, more properly, niches in the face of the mountain, we discovered no mark of art or industry besides an aqueduct excavated in the face of the cliff on our right, and extending the whole length of this wild valley. It is carried over a deep chasm which occurs in the rock on an ancient arch, still in good preservation, and forming, when seen from the ravine, a most picturesque and striking object. I clambered up the rocks to examine this fine specimen of art more minutely. The covered channel for the conveyance of the water is a part of the way entire, and the lining of cement still adheres to its sides. This aqueduct begins near the eastern extremity of the Syke, and, after running north for perhaps a mile, and collecting the water which falls upon this part of the mountain, turns to the west and joins the one already described, extending from the northern extremity of Petra along the eastern mountain, and discharging its water near the centre of the city. Such economic arrangements are calculated to give us very favorable ideas of the wealth and advanced civilization of the race of men who occupied this wonderful city."—Pp. 42, 43.

Our author thinks he has discovered the site of Bethphage, which it has generally been supposed was lost. The following is his account of the ruins of this interesting spot:—

"The footpath which leads from Bethany over the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem takes a northwest direction around the head of a deep ravine which passes off along the foot of the mount to the right. This valley, which contains a good many fruit-trees, and is extensively tilled by the plough, separates a lower ridge from Olivet, which also stretches off to the right, parallel with the ravine. Instead of following the path, I turned off along the top of this ridge, which is tolerably level and partially cultivated. My object was to look for any existing remains of the ancient Bethphage, which, from the nature of the ground about Bethany, taken in connection with the language of the evangelists upon this subject, I thought would probably be found, if at all, in this direction. I was gratified to discover, at the distance of perhaps forty rods from the path, and a little more than a quarter of a mile nearly north from Bethany, the unquestionable vestiges of an ancient village. Here, upon the top of the ridge, and upon the upper portion of the slope toward the Mount of Olives, is a large reservoir, which, though not used at present, is very little out of repair. It is lined with cement and covered with an arch, in the same style as the ancient cisterns in the open field north of the city. The mouth through which the water was raised is about three feet square. Near this reservoir are several foundations for houses, made by excavating the rock so as to form a level of sufficient extent for the purpose. Besides these well-defined and unchangeable remains, there are several shapeless heaps of stones and rubbish, which must be taken, in such a place, for the ruins and accumulations of former habitations or other edifices. I take these to be the ruins of Bethphage, of which it is commonly said not a vestige

remains to mark its former site. The road from Jericho by which our Lord approached Jerusalem must have passed through, or just to the right of Bethany, and to the left of Bethphage, which probably met, or nearly so, on this side, for which the ground is sufficiently favorable. The language of the evangelists clearly implies that the two places were adjacent, or rather, perhaps, united in one. 'And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives,' Mark ii, 1. Luke (chap. xix, 29) uses the same language: 'When he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives.' Bethphage and Bethany were adjoining then; and at the Mount of Olives, two circumstances which almost demonstrably fix Bethphage at or near the ancient reservoir. It must otherwise have been at the Mount of Olives, on the opposite side of Bethany, where the ground is impracticable. Its situation upon the ridge, at the place of the ruins, was highly favorable for the residence of persons employed in cultivating the valley, which contains a large tract of arable land."—Pp. 321, 322.

The next object of this class is "an ancient citadel" upon Mount Gerizim, which our author concludes, with much probability, to be "really the remains of the demolished Samaritan Temple." The following is his description:—

"The most conspicuous object upon these heights is a Mohammedan tomb, situated near the eastern brow of the mountain, on the edge of an extensive field of ruins. Leaving this to the right, and, for the present, unexplored, we passed on to a second summit, separated from the first by a considerable depression, and distant from it perhaps two or three hundred yards, toward the northeast. This is a high point of the mountain, which pushes out between Wady Sahl and the Valley of Nablous, and the particular elevation overlooks the vicinity of Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb. The rounded summit is surmounted by an ancient citadel, now in a very ruinous state, but easily traceable on every side. Portions of the wall, consisting of large square stones, are seen in several places. From others the materials have evidently been removed; but a mound of mortar and smaller stones preserves the continuity of the inclosure, which is a quadrangle sixty-eight steps in length by forty-four wide. South of this area are considerable ruins; and there are appearances upon the north and east sides which indicate the former existence of a second wall in advance of the first, and considerably lower down the declivity.

"Adjacent to the inclosure, upon the north, is a ruinous cistern, forty-six paces in length by twenty wide. A portion of its wall, now standing, is seven feet thick by twenty in height. A fig-tree finds root among its ruins, and there is a broken doorway in the northern side."—P. 344.

Our traveler finally takes his departure from the Holy City with the feelings which might be expected to predominate in a mind predisposed to venerate antiquity, and an imagination highly

susceptible of strong impressions. His route to the point of embarkation upon the Mediterranean lay through Samaria. He visits Mount Gerizim, Tiberius, the ancient Sychar, "Jacob's well," and the Sea of Galilee. But our limits will not permit us to give any specimen of his observations in this region of wonders.

We must not omit to notify the reader that these volumes are ornamented with a map of Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, and one of the city of Jerusalem; and also with several beautiful steel-plate engravings; all taken on the spot by our citizen, Mr. Catherwood, whose high reputation in the art is too well known and too highly appreciated to require our commendation. These maps and engravings are not mere ornaments; they greatly assist the reader in forming a correct conception of the topography of the regions visited by our traveler, and of the appearance of a variety of interesting objects which are described in his work.

Our object in this paper has been to give as correct a view as possible of the character of Dr. Olin's work. This, from the nature of the case, we could not do in any way so effectually as by copious extracts from such portions of it as afford fair specimens of the whole. We have seldom read a work with so much pleasure. As a literary production it is entitled to take a high rank. We have detected no single offense against the best literary taste, the language always being suited to make the impression which the author designs. The style is natural, perspicuous, and energetic. The facts are happily selected, and the objects comprehensively and graphically described. The sentiments are sound and manly; and the arguments cogent and convincing. Dr. Olin, in describing the places mentioned in Scripture, has the Bible always before him, and makes up his opinions upon mooted questions from his own personal examinations and investigations, not servilely following any previous traveler. For these examinations he is eminently qualified by his learning, extensive reading, and habits of thought and observation. We would make no invidious comparisons; but in justice we are bound to say, that there are works of the class of much higher pretensions, which afford much less real available information, and, of course, for all practical purposes, are far inferior to the volumes of our highly esteemed friend.

In the study of Scriptural geography, a better text-book cannot be found. As a book to be read for instruction and entertainment, it is among the highest class. As an aid in a critical reading of the Holy Scriptures, it has vastly higher claims than its author ever thought of making for it. Finally, it deals in facts, and not in legendary tales.

We can most confidently and cordially recommend this work to our readers, as a production which does honor to the author and to the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he has so long been a distinguished minister and an ornament. We hope the Methodist ministers will read it, and encourage its circulation. A sufficient reason for expressing this wish, to say nothing of such considerations as respect the author himself, is, that it will afford them the kind of information which they need in a smaller compass, and at a less expense of money and time, than any similar work. We indeed have no doubt but Dr. Olin's Travels in the East will be thought a necessary appendage to every Methodist preacher's library, and an ornament to the centre tables of our members and friends. We do not insinuate by these remarks that there is the least taint of sectarianism in the work. Far from this. The author's known liberality and truly catholic feelings would be, to all who know him, a sufficient guaranty against such a defect. And it is observable, that his enlarged views are always developed when he comes into contact with missionaries of other denominations in the East. His expressions upon these occasions are eminently fraternal, and must be truly gratifying to all good Christians who feel a greater interest in the prosperity of our common Christianity than they do in the extension of particular communions.

But we shall be excused for saying, that Dr. Olin still has special claims upon Methodists, and particularly Methodist preachers. He has been for many years identified with our connection, and is now assiduously devoted to the interests of one of our rising colleges. In his labors to elevate the standard of education in our church, he is now rendering important service not only to the Methodist denomination, but to the country at large. For all this the public express their gratitude in various ways. And we are quite sure that his brethren and fellow-laborers will not be behind in any proper expression of respect for one so truly deserving; especially when, by doing so, they not only do credit to their own taste, but secure to themselves the means of high gratification and substantial improvement.

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of Several Wesleyan Preachers; principally selected from Rev. T. Jackson's Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, and the Arminian and Wesleyan Magazines.* 12mo., pp. 346. New-York: G. Lane and P. P. Sandford. 1843.

The present volume, it is confidently believed, will constitute an important addition to our means of acquainting ourselves with the early history of Methodism. Too much cannot be known of the religious experience and labors of those self-denying men, who, in the providence of God, were called to assist the Messrs. Wesley in their labors to spread Scriptural holiness over the world. American Methodists will undoubtedly appreciate the efforts of the Book Agents to give them in a permanent form what is to be known of Mr. Wesley's coadjutors. These Memoirs have been collected and arranged by the Rev. P. P. Sandford, whose long experience and discrimination amply qualify him to suit a work of this kind to the taste and wants of American readers. We cannot doubt but the work will be extensively circulated and read by all lovers of eminent examples of piety and zeal, and especially by Methodists.

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2. *The Mother's Practical Guide in the Early Training of her Children: containing Directions for their Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education.* By Mrs. J. Bakewell. From the second London edition. 18mo., pp. 224. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

There is no subject of higher importance, and yet scarcely any less understood, than the physical, intellectual, and moral training of children. Upon this depends the future man. Habits are formed and principles instilled in the young, which become indelibly fixed in the constitution, and which continue to act through life. The work at the head of this notice is a sound, sensible production, and cannot fail greatly to assist young mothers in so forming the habits and principles of the dear objects of their solicitude, that they may qualify them for the duties and conflicts of life. We ardently hope this little manual will find its way especially into every young family of our numerous connection.

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3. *Lectures on the Nature and End of the Sacred Office, and on the Dignity, Duty, Qualifications, and Character of the Sacred Order.* By John Smith, D. D., one of the Ministers of Cambleton. 12mo., pp. 284. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1843.

We are highly gratified that a new edition of this superb work is now given to the ministry in this country. It comes out timely, and

we have no doubt will meet with an extensive sale. Among the various works of the class we have read, we have no hesitation in saying we think this the best.

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4. *Millenarianism Defended; a Reply to Professor Stuart's "Strictures on the Rev. G. Duffield's recent Work on the Second Coming of Christ," in which the former's false Assumptions are pointed out, and the Fallacy of his Interpretation of different important Passages of Scripture are both philologically and exegetically exposed.* By George Duffield, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. 12mo., pp. 183. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1843.

This is a spirited, and somewhat caustic, rejoinder to Professor Stuart's review of the author's work on the prophecies. In this sharp controversy we are inclined to the opinion, that in several leading points both parties are wrong. The productions pro and con may, however, be read with profit. The controversy is probably still to proceed; and it is to be hoped that at each successive stage of it new light will be reflected upon a dark and confessedly difficult subject.

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5. *The Christian Citizen.—The Obligations of the Christian Citizen, with a Review of High-Church Principles in Relation to Civil and Religious Institutions.* By A. D. Eddy, Newark, N. J. 12mo., pp. 164. New-York: J. S. Taylor & Co. 1843.

This work is executed with considerable spirit and ability. It contains many hard thrusts at Puseyism and infidelity. The argument against the exclusiveness of the high-Church party is well sustained and entirely conclusive. But in his views of "the doctrines of grace" the author strongly inclines to ultra-Calvinism, and falls himself into a species of exclusiveness little less injurious in its bearings than that which he so stoutly resists: he also erroneously identifies Arminianism with "high-Church pretensions." He seems to see no difference between the evangelical system of Arminius and the semi-Pelagianism of Laud—and in the instrumentality employed in "the gradual revival of religion within the last forty years," in England, makes no mention of the Wesleyan Methodists. We had hoped that the battle of the seventeenth century between two systems of exclusiveness had died away, never to be revived; and that evangelical Christians of all denominations were now prepared to view their respective peculiarities in their true light. But if the scope and spirit of "The Christian Citizen" correctly represent the views and feelings of the Calvinistic churches of this country, we may well despair of any thing

like combined action against Roman and Anglican usurpations. We heartily wish the author clearer views of the true "doctrines of grace," and a more expansive charity.

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6. *A Residence of eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Mohammedans.* By Rev. Justin Perkins. With a Map and Plates. 8vo., pp. 512. Andover: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

The wonder-working power of the gospel, as it is manifested in foreign lands, through the instrumentality of self-denying missionaries, cannot be too well understood. And missionaries abroad, who would keep up the interest at home, and be sustained by the prayers and contributions of the churches, must not fail to spread before them the facts connected with their operations. We wish to know as much as possible of the character and habits of the people where our missionaries labor, and the success of the labors bestowed upon them. And indeed, without being frequently and explicitly advised upon these subjects, our zeal soon flags, and our liberality is restrained.

The book before us is a fund of information in relation to one of the most interesting portions of the great missionary field. The Nestorians are a fragment of the primitive church, not a particle the worse for having been cut off from the communion of the Greek and Latin churches, by the Council of Nice, because they would not call the Virgin Mary "the mother of God." They are on many accounts a most interesting people, and we rejoice in the great and effectual door which is now open, for the free circulation of the Scriptures and other religious publications, and the labors of devoted missionaries among them.

The work before us is truly Christian and missionary in its spirit and tendency. It is illustrated with numerous colored engravings, showing the peculiarities of the native costumes, &c. We doubt not but this work will be the means in the hands of God of much good both to the Nestorians and the churches in this country.

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7. *Psychology, or a View of the Human Soul; including Anthropology. Adapted for the Use of Colleges.* By Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, D. P., late President of Marshall College, Penn. Second edition, revised and improved. 8vo., pp. 401. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1841.

The work now before us is one which cost the author much reflection and study. It is an attempt to bring the better portions of the

German philosophy into a system in harmony with the elements of revealed religion. We have been able only to give it a cursory examination, and, of course, cannot speak of it with much confidence. But so far as we can judge from the attention we have paid to the work, it forms a valuable portion of the mass of effort which has been contributed to the illustration of the phenomena of mind, and is well worthy the attention of the philosopher and the student. Every teacher certainly ought at least to read Rauch, whether he adopts him as a standard or not. The work is well executed, and, in appearance, is worthy of the enterprising publisher.

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8. *The Advancement of Religion the Claim of the Times.* By ANDREW REED, D. D. With a recommendatory Introduction. By GARDINER SPRING, D. D. 12mo., pp. 310. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

THIS is a timely and a stirring production. It is an earnest appeal to all Christians, and especially to ministers of the Lord Jesus. It is comprised in ten lectures upon the following topics, viz.:—

"Lecture I—The advancement of religion desirable; —— II—Its advancement in the person; —— III—Its advancement by personal effort; —— IV—Its advancement in the family; —— V—Its advancement by the ministry; —— VI—Its advancement in the church; —— VII—Its advancement by the church; —— VIII—Its advancement in the nation; —— IX—Its advancement in the world; —— X—Certainty and glory of the consummation."

The following specimens of the author's tone will give the reader a fair idea of the character of the work. They are taken from the fifth lecture, on "advancement by the ministry:"—

"Our communications should have all the freshness of a revelation, and all the vitality and reality which are found in 'fear, and trembling, and tears.'

"Such was the ministry once; and such it must become yet once more. My brethren, we shall never go into the millennium with read sermons and read prayers! Imagination is versatile; but it is difficult even to imagine Paul, or Peter, or Timothy reading a sermon, or repeating a precomposed prayer. 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' Our modern methods are the sign and the cause of weakness and degeneracy. We must have a ministry free, disencumbered; relying on the heart and on God, not on the memory and the manuscript; breathing of life, love, and heaven!"

"To be great, the ministry must be magnanimous. It must live, not for sect and party, but for man and for God. Points of difference must be seen for confession, for humiliation, not for strife; points of agreement must be resolutely made the centre of unity, fellowship, and co-operation. All who are not against us, are with us and for us."

"Considerations of place, time, manner, should not even be placed in the scale, against the simple claims of duty. If it is my duty to labor abroad, in foreign and barbarous climes, I must be prepared cheerfully to go there, though all my preferences should be at home; and if it is my duty to labor at home, I must be equally ready, though all my preferences should be abroad. He is prepared to labor nowhere, who is not prepared to labor anywhere for Christ."—Pp. 148–150.

We could most heartily wish this book in the hands of every Christian family in the land. We cordially thank the publisher for giving a work of so much practical value, and so eminently adjusted to the necessities of the times, to the American public. We are sure that when the churches shall become imbued with its spirit, and shall act upon its really catholic and Christian principles, the world will feel their power; and infidelity, with every form of spurious Christianity, will flee away for ever. May God hasten the day!

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9. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.* Edited by William Smith, P. D.; and illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. First American edition, carefully revised, and containing numerous additional articles relative to the botany, mineralogy, and zoology of the ancients. By Charles Anthon, LL.D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

The study of the classics in this country is passing through an important change. To use the forcible language employed not long since, by one of the daily papers, it is beginning to take rank in the life-time occupation of a scholar, instead of the mere routine of a school-boy or a collegian. Men are springing up among us, as they have long been found in Europe, willing to make Roman and Greek literature their whole business, proficiency in it their claim to consideration, new discoveries in relation to it, or the settlement of doubtful questions, their title to renown. With this change, it is hoped, will come a change in the manner of studying, the manner of teaching, the object of learning, the subsequent employment, and, above all, in the selection of persons to become students of the classics.

In Germany, men devote themselves to the acquisition of what we may call classical knowledge, in contradistinction from Latin and Greek words and phrases. There, they labor assiduously for years—ay, often for their whole lives—to become perfectly familiar not only with ancient literature, but also with ancient history, manners, science, philosophy, and theology. Not content to possess a superficial and mere verbal acquaintance with three or four books, they seek to enter into the spirit of those who wrote the books, of the people for whom, and the ages in which, they were written. And mainly to German scholars, therefore, is the world indebted for such rare and precious materials as are exhibited in the magnificent octavo whose title is placed at the head of this notice. An English scholar, indeed, arranged, and an American has enlarged and improved, the noble collection; but chiefly to German writers have they resorted for the

treasures of knowledge here spread out for the use of English and American students.

Of what vast importance and value such a work must be to the classical student, must be perfectly obvious. With its aid the study of Greek and Latin becomes not an empty matter of words and phrases, conducing little to either enlargement of mind or refinement of taste, but a veritable employment of the intellect, as rich in results as it is satisfactory and useful in progress; the learner has the consciousness of acquiring something beyond mere verbal knowledge, thus dealing with things—realities—as he advances in his study of the languages; and we may hope that a consequence will be the existence among us hereafter of classical *scholars*, worthy of the name, and capable of something more than the tracing of a root, or the scanning of a quantity.

In conclusion, we must bestow a few words upon the part taken by the publishers in the preparation of this great volume. All their editions of classical works, produced under the supervision of Dr. Anthon, have been eminently noticeable for beauty of type and excellence of workmanship; indicating, or perhaps we should rather say creating, a new era in the publication of school books. But this Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities surpasses even its predecessors in the series. It is admirably printed, on thick, white paper, inclosed in handsome substantial binding, and most copiously illustrated with wood engravings of remarkably good execution. The expense of publishing such a work must be enormous; and the publishers, we are sure, would not have ventured upon it if they had not derived from the sale of Dr. Anthon's other classical editions a reasonable assurance that the demand would be extensive, continuous, and increasing.

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10. *The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M., with a Brief Memoir of his Life.* By Dr. Gregory. And Observations on his Character as a Preacher, by the Rev. John Foster. Published under the superintendence of Orlinthus Gregory, LL.D., F. R. A. S., Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy. In three vols., 8vo., pp. 504, 488, 546. Harper & Brothers. 1842.

The Works of Robert Hall are too well known and too highly appreciated to require eulogy from us. It is an encouraging fact that works of this class are so extensively called for and read. Robert Hall was eminently a good Christian, an eloquent preacher, and a man of truly liberal and catholic views. He felt it vastly more important to defend the great fundamental principles of Christianity against the assaults of infidelity than to maintain mere sectarian dogmas. In his Works, he has left behind him a body of divinity sound in fundamentals, and characterized by a purity of style and a power of expression peculiarly his own. These Works constitute an important portion of the mass of English theology and literature, which is destined to go down to the latest posterity. The present edition is executed in a style corresponding with the works of the enterprising house from which it emanates.

11. *Useful Works for the People, No.* 1—*Travels in the Great Western Prairies.* By THOMAS J. FARNHAM. 8vo., pp. 112.
———, *No.* 2—*Improvements in Agriculture, Arts, &c., of the United States.* By Hon. W. H. ELLSWORTH, U. S. Commissioner of Patents. 8vo., pp. 80.
———, *No.* 3—*Sketch of the Progress of Physical Science.* By THOMAS THOMSON, M. D., F. R. S. Also, a Course of Lectures on Astronomy, &c. By DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 96.
———, *No.* 4—*Chimistry of the four Ancient Elements, Fire, Air, Earth, and Water.* By THOMAS GRIFFITHS. Also, the Book of Philosophical Experiments. By J. S. DALTON. 8vo., pp. 81. New-York: Greeley & M'Elrath. 1843.

WE have here *multum in parvo*—the results of the most important scientific investigations brought within the most limited means. We cordially thank the publishers for providing "the people" with such excellent helps to scientific improvement.

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12. *The Kingdom of Christ Delineated. Second edition, with additions by the Author.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. 12mo., pp. 298. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1843.

WE are happy to announce a new edition, with the author's improvements, of this truly important and timely work. We heartily wish it a wide circulation.

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13. *An Essay on the Doctrine of the Trinity.* By HIRAM MATTISON, Minister of the M. E. Church. 12mo., pp. 122. Watertown: N. W. FULLER.

THIS is an able defense of a fundamental doctrine.

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14. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* By JOHN KITTO, Editor of "The Pictorial Bible," &c., &c. Part I. 8vo., pp. 80. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1843.

THIS is a work of great interest to the Biblical student.

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15. *Newbury Biblical Magazine.* Vol. I, No. 1, May, 1843. Edited by Professor W. M. WILLETT. 8vo., pp. 48.

WE heartily wish all success to this enterprise.

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16. *M'Culloch's Universal Gazetteer.—A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH. With Additions, by DANIEL HASKEL, A. M., late President of the University of Vermont. In 2 vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS great work is issued in parts, on the plan upon which the same house is issuing several other works of great interest. The execution is beautiful.

17. *The Principles of English Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved English Grammars extant. With copious Exercises in Parsing and Syntax, for the Use of Academies and Common Schools. A new Edition, revised and corrected; with an Appendix of various and useful Matter.* By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of Latin Grammar; and Principles of Greek Grammar. 12mo., pp. 216. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

The Principles of Latin Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the Use of Colleges and Academies. By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of English Grammar; and Principles of Greek Grammar. 12mo., pp. 303. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

The Principles of Greek Grammar; comprising the Substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the Use of Colleges and Academies. Third edition, revised and corrected. By the Rev. PETER BULLIONS, D. D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy; author of Principles of English Grammar, and of Principles of Latin Grammar. 12mo., pp. 312. New-York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co. 1843.

THE above series of Grammars come attended by strong recommendations from some of the best scholars in the land. The plan is given in the following language:—

"In preparing this series the main object has been, first, to provide for the use of schools a set of class books on this important branch of study, more simple in their arrangement, more complete in their parts, and better adapted to the purposes of public instruction, than any heretofore in use in our public seminaries; and, secondly, to give the whole a uniform character by following, in each, substantially, the same arrangement of parts, using the same grammatical terms, and expressing the definitions, rules, and leading parts, as nearly as the nature of the case would admit, in the same language; and thus to render the study of one Grammar a more profitable introduction to the study of another than it can be, when the books used differ so widely from each other in their whole style and arrangement, as those now in use commonly do. By this means, it is believed, much time and labor will be saved, both to teacher and pupil—the analogy and peculiarities of the different languages being constantly kept in view, will show what is common to all, or peculiar to each—the confusion and difficulty unnecessarily occasioned by the use of elementary works, differing widely from each other in language and structure, will be avoided—and the progress of the student rendered much more rapid, easy, and satisfactory."

These Grammars are, it seems, being extensively adopted in the schools and colleges of this country, and there can be no doubt but they have high merit. The importance of good text books in this department is great and pressing, and the fact that there has hitherto been great room for improvement has been known and felt by those who are capable of judging of the matter. We can but hope we shall finally reach the point of perfection which will, at least, obviate the necessity of frequent changes. Change of text books is certainly a great evil; but the work of change must still go on so long as existing systems are materially defective.

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18. *Judah's Lion.* By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. 12mo., pp. 406. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

A MOST beautiful, interesting, and instructive tale.

REV. THOMAS A. MORRIS.

one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church

New York Published by G. Lane & P. Sandford 200 Mulberry St.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1843.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*The Priesthood in the Church, set forth in Two Discourses; delivered in Baltimore, &c.* By WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM, Bishop of Maryland. Second edition, with a Preface and Additional Notes. 8vo., pp. 32. Baltimore: Knight & Colburn. 1843.

WHOEVER dispassionately reflects upon the controversies that have agitated the Church of England from the time of her political existence under the decree of King Henry the Eighth, will, we apprehend, perceive the happy application to her constitution of the prophetic answer received by Rebecca, the wife of the patriarch Isaac, as recorded in the twenty-fifth chapter of the book of Genesis; and which, with a slight alteration, we venture to apply in the way of accommodation: "Two *sects* are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels, and the one *sect* shall be stronger than the other *sect*, and the elder shall serve the younger."

These two sects of the Church of England we consider to be a Protestant party and a Catholic party, which, it is notorious, in that Church have ever been in collision with each other from the times of the Reformation until now; and the parallel is unfortunately preserved in the fact, equally notorious, that the Protestant party, which was the *eldest*, has long since been ruled over by the *younger*, or those that have professed Catholic principles. In using the term Catholic, we do so in that sense in which the word has been ordinarily used for some hundred years, namely, as designating the communion of the Church of Rome, and consequently when we speak of the dominant sect of the English Church as being Catholic, we mean neither more nor less than that their doctrines and opinions are much more conformable to the Romish standard, than to those technically denominated Protestant: but we stop here. It is not necessary at the present time that we

should undertake any special investigation of the history of the Church of England: what we have already observed is sufficient to recall to the reader's mind those singular anomalies of her constitution, through which her various ministers, from time to time, proclaim doctrines, and publish expositions of doctrines, as directly contradictory to each other as it is possible for words to state them. In the space of a very few years we have seen the authors of the Oxford Tracts, Mr. Perceval, and now Bishop Whittingham, ascribing peculiar features and doctrines to the Church of England, which Archbishop Whately, Dr. Arnold, Goode, and others, as positively deny, and in like manner with many other names of too little importance to be enumerated in our page.

We shall not, however, concern ourselves to compare these contradictory writers with one another; our readers in general have already heard more or less on the subject; and few, we presume, have not felt sufficient interest in the Christianity of the English Church not to be on the Protestant side of this controversy. Our present undertaking contemplates nothing further than to lay before our readers an exposition of some prominent articles of the Catholic faith of the anglo-episcopal sect in the United States, as set forth by one whom they consider a lineal successor of the apostles, who shows himself no way backward to exercise all the prerogatives that can be supposed to attach to the theory of his ministerial office.

If we had only considered the two Discourses at the head of this article according to their intrinsic merits, we should not have deemed them worthy of the trouble it would require to prepare such an analysis of their contents as would be necessary to make our readers duly appreciate them. But esteeming them as it were an *ex officio* statement of a bishop of the anglo-episcopal sect in the United States, on certain points of doctrine that he and others of his brethren in opinion are prepared to preach for the future;* we thought the subject would possess an amount of interest with our readers which might require some exposition and comment: and we hope we shall have full credit with them both for patience and labor, when we assure them we have seldom had a harder task imposed upon us. We do not mean by this to say that any difficulty lay in the matter of refutation; that was of small moment; the difficulty was, the wearisome task of reducing a confused intermingling of direct and latent assumptions, evasions of proof, and

* See the prospectus of a new periodical to be entitled, "The True Catholic, Reformed, Protestant, and Free," to be published at Baltimore, under the auspices of Bishop Whittingham.

unwarrantable inferences, into such coherence as would bring the merits of the two Discourses fairly before our readers. After we had gone through this irksome labor, we found the points in controversy between us and the bishop reduced to so small a compass that, as the saying is, they might have been put in "a nutshell." But if we had simply stated the subject in this manner, the confutation of the bishop would not have required more than half a page, and no one would have given us any credit for the pains and trouble we had gone through before we could make the short digest that the merits of the bishop's Discourses required.

Furthermore, this short mode of proceeding would not have given our readers any adequate notion of the argument of these Discourses; for we can assure them, from our experience as a reviewer, that there is often as much instruction to be derived from seeing the process by which an author undertakes to establish or refute a fact or principle, as there would be in a conviction of the truth or falsehood of the very fact or principle itself, and such we think is especially the case with these two Discourses of Bishop Whittingham. Therefore, instead of digesting them into an exhibition of the one simple point upon which they are constructed, we think it will be more edifying to let our readers see the argumentation by which the bishop develops his own doctrines, and the very curious logic by which he arrives at his conclusions.

In the second paragraph of the first Discourse, Bishop Whittingham states his subject thus:—

"I propose to occupy your attention with a theme, the treatment of which must, more or less directly, bring up all the three topics suggested by the Church; by endeavoring to clear up a subject too generally misunderstood, often grossly misrepresented—the claim of the gospel ministry to the character of a *priesthood*."

Now one would suppose from this enunciation that the bishop would proceed "to clear up," that is, we presume, establish "the *claim* of the gospel ministry to the character of a priesthood" by references to those passages of Scripture that teach such a doctrine. St. Paul has said in Hebrews v, 4, "No man taketh this honor [that is, of being a priest] to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron:" and how any one could make a claim for the gospel ministry to be a priesthood, except by referring it to the appointment of Scripture, is not easy for us to comprehend. Notwithstanding this reasonable expectation, the reader is disappointed, for Bishop Whittingham commences with an etymological disquisition concerning the English term "*priest*," which he assures us is from the old French term *prestre*, which is an

abbreviation of the term *presbyter*, which means an elder; in which acceptance, *that is*, as elder, he says it is beyond a doubt used in the ordination office of the Church of England. But then besides this sense of elder as officially used, he contends, that by the institution office of the Church of England and the Prayer Book, the term is used with express reference to *a "sacerdotal function,"* and as such necessarily implying that *presbyter* includes in it the sense of the term *priest*.

Now all this may be true or not: it is not material to the *claim* of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood, what the ordination office or the Prayer Book may imply, for they are not Scripture. We want to see their *claim* of being a priesthood established from the authority of the Scripture, and that alone can establish it in the view of a Christian community. However, the bishop does not get to the Scripture authorities in this Discourse, but enters upon a controversy with certain bishops and doctors of this very Church of England, who absolutely deny the priestly character of the gospel ministry as *claimed* by Bishop Whittingham; and the balance of the first Discourse is occupied with his argumentations concerning the functions of the Jewish priesthood, by which he strives to convince his readers that the ministers of the gospel in the Church of England, and the branch in the United States, performed certain acts that he construes to be analogous to those performed by the Jewish priests; and hence Bishop Whittingham infers, that as the acts of the Jewish priesthood were *priestly*, so certain acts of the Christian ministry in having a constructive resemblance to what the Jewish priests performed, must, therefore, in virtue of that resemblance, be *priestly* also.

That our readers may be able to judge concerning the exactness of these resemblances which are so strenuously urged by Bishop Whittingham, we shall lay before them the following extracts and inferences taken from his Discourse, which, we apprehend, are sufficiently clear to dispense with any comment on our part:—

"By sprinkling the blood of the slain victim before the Lord, he [that is, the Jewish priest] prefigured the entry of the risen Son of GOD into the holiest not made with hands, and declared, by his visible act and deed, the dependence of sinful man upon his Saviour for the pardon of transgression. Is more or less done when, by the broken bread and wine poured out, a Christian assembly shows forth the Lord's death as its only ground of hope?

"What, then, is the 'baptism for the remission of sins,' which the Church has 'acknowledged' from the beginning? Why did Ananias bid his 'brother Saul arise, and be baptized, and wash away his sins,' unless that joint act of the administrator, in the name of GOD the Father,

the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the humbly penitent receiver, conveyed an interest in the one atonement, equivalent to that obtained by sacrifice in the older dispensation? Infinitely more, indeed, the new birth in baptism symbolized and gave: but in so far as it sealed to Saul the forgiveness of his sins, wherein was it inferior in signification or efficacy to the sin-offering of the law? Why should the administrator of water, by which sins were washed away, be less a priest than the sprinkler of blood, by which atonement was effected?

"But if sacrifice had *not* been, as it was, a joint act, the priestly interference in behalf of an offender for the forgiveness of his sins would not be without a parallel under the new covenant. 'Is any sick among you,' say the Scriptures of the New Testament; 'let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the LORD: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick; and the LORD shall raise him up; *and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.*' Is less power here attributed to the elder in the church of Christ than the part of the Mosaic priest in the sin-offering implied? The mediation is more explicit and direct."

Such are the functions that Bishop Whittingham considers to be common to the Jewish priesthood and the gospel ministry, which we shall not undertake to discuss, presuming it to be universally admitted among intelligent men that no one can require others to prove the negative to what a writer may please to assert. The only point we will request our readers to remember is this, that whatever the Jewish priests did was done in virtue of an express commandment of God, directing them to perform such functions. It is, therefore, a singular circumstance that Bishop Whittingham should overlook the fact that the Scripture nowhere requires the performance of any such functions from the gospel ministers as he produces as being similar to those of the Jewish priesthood. Let him, for instance, show us where the commemoration of the Lord's supper is stated in Scripture to be the peculiar function of the Christian ministry. Let him show us where the Scripture says that gospel ministers only can baptize.* Unless he can do this, we must be permitted to say that these supposed priestly acts of the gospel ministry, as represented by him, are without authority, and, consequently, that this priesthood of the Anglican Church is, in reality, only a *volunteer* priesthood.

What is the precise import of Bishop Whittingham's reference

* These functions are, in all well-regulated churches, exercised by the ministry: the usage, however, is not grounded upon any direct Scripture warrant, but upon the fitness of things. If, indeed, the celebration of the eucharist and the administration of baptism were, by explicit Scripture warrant, confined to the ministry, this would not help the bishop, unless these functions were in the Scriptures characterized as *priestly* functions.—ED.

to the anointing with oil, &c., we do not comprehend. Does he mean to teach the doctrine of extreme unction, as the Catholics do, upon the strength of this text? If this be his meaning, which we incline to think is probably the case, then he must first settle this doctrine with his own Church, which has hitherto rejected it, and the force of his argument and comparison must lay over to receive its value, when the Episcopal Church approves the doctrine, or the bishop's inferences; for until that be done, the previous rejection of it by that Church must be considered proof that the bishop has *claimed* it at least prematurely, even according to the sentiments of his own religious communion.

We have now arrived at the twelfth page of the first Discourse; and here Bishop Whittingham for the first time states what he considers to be the true theory of the priestly office. This would have been much better placed at the beginning of the Discourse: however, as the bishop's two Discourses are not according to any order of arrangement that we are familiar with, so we must take things as he gives them to us. It is better to be late than not at all. But to return to our subject. The bishop now gives us the following theory of the priestly function:—

"And, brethren, *ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven* is the essence of priesthood, and in the multitude of words truth has been obscured, in the discussions concerning a Christian priesthood, by stopping short of that definition."

To make this definition sustain his notion that the gospel ministers are a priesthood, through whose intervention sins are forgiven, the bishop employs the following argumentation, which, we apprehend, will sound very strange in the ears of those who have hitherto supposed that the Church of England held Protestant doctrines:—

"But does such *ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven*, comport with the one mediation, atonement, and intercession of the Son of God?

"Observe, in the first place, if it *ever did*, it may now. The plan of God for our redemption is one, and has known no change. Since sin was sin, forgiveness came through the blood of Christ alone, and belonged to him alone. If forgiveness through the Beloved, in whom we have redemption through his blood, allowed of priestly intervention before his coming, it may equally since the mystery, then hidden, has been made known.

"It *may*, but not necessarily *must*. Have we reason to think it does?

"The mode in which our Lord thought fit to heal the sick of the palsy in Capernaum may afford the clew to an answer: 'Seeing their

faith'—the faith, no doubt, of the man himself as well as of his charitable friends—'Jesus said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.' When the scribes took umbrage at the expression he had chosen to adopt for the conveyal of his mercy, his vindication assumed a most remarkable form. 'That ye may know,' said he, 'that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins'—and he gave the direct command, to prove his power by miracle —'Arise, take up thy bed:'—and still more strange than the Saviour's expression and its vindication, is the comment of the inspired evangelist—'they marveled and glorified GOD *who had given such power unto men.*' Doubtless what the LORD JESUS claimed as 'Son of man,' he claimed, not in right of his own divine nature, but in his human nature as *given him of* GOD; and what he claimed as given him of GOD 'on earth,' he claimed as '*sent*' of GOD. By this miracle, therefore, he asserted his claim to *power*, as *a man sent of the Father* to *forgive sins.* Now, what he so claimed, we find that he afterward conveyed, in the most explicit manner, to those whom he left on earth to represent him in his church, and minister in his behalf to the end of time. 'All power'—the words of the commission run—'All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them.—As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you—whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained. And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"

We shall make no comment upon the extraordinary reasoning employed in the above quotation to establish Bishop Whittingham's notion that the ministers of the gospel have power to forgive sin. We presume that every unprejudiced reader of mature age can see through such singular assumptions, and the puerile conceit by which they are sustained. But we request them again to read over the last ten lines that contain the commission of those whom the bishop says our Saviour "left on earth to represent him, &c., to the end of time."

Whenever Bishop Whittingham refers to, or quotes Scripture, he generally extends the import and meaning of the passages beyond what we deem to be correct, that he may magnify the office of that gospel ministry which he seems to have so much at heart. But in the present instance he acts otherwise. He seems to have felt something like certain other persons whom he says have been "startled at the very largeness of this grant or commission," for though the commission, as stated by him, is made up of different quotations from Matthew, John, and Matthew again, he takes no notice of certain powers which Mark as *explicitly* informs us belonged to the commission, and which we insist ought to have been quoted also: by so doing we shall see there is nothing "startling" in the commission, for we perceive by the powers

annexed to whom the commission was granted, and, furthermore, it will show the bishop to be in grievous error in supposing it the commission under which the gospel ministry now act.

Mark (xvi, 14, &c.) says, Christ appeared to the *eleven*, that is, the apostles, and said to them, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. *And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.*—And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs [miracles] following."

Such, then, were the powers annexed to the "commission," quoted by Bishop Whittingham, and seeing this, we clearly comprehend it has no connection whatever with the gospel ministry, but was addressed *personally* to the apostles alone. This, we apprehend, must be clear to every unprejudiced person, for no one ever accomplished the miraculous things promised by Christ, as far as we are informed, but those *who believed through the personal ministry of the apostles only.*

If the "commission" be to those who have succeeded the apostles, then *believers* converted by the gospel ministers must be able to do the wonderful things here promised. These signs, however, no one can truly assert have followed the preaching of any men after the first century, or thereabouts. But to prevent any cavil as to the exact period when miracles ceased in the church, we will only say that no miracles follow the conversions of Bishop Whittingham or any other clergyman whatever, and, consequently, in this defect we assert that the "commission" claimed by Bishop Whittingham for the gospel ministry is wholly inapplicable to them, and belonged to the apostles only in their personal ministry.

As to the phrase in the commission, "I am with you alway, unto the end of the world," Matt. xxviii, 20, this need not embarrass any one longer than may be necessary to comprehend the term used in the original Scripture; for every reader of the Greek language knows that "ending of the world" is not the literal rendering of the Scripture phrase, but what our translators honestly thought to be its significance. The words themselves, when literally translated, are, "to the ending of the age, or state," by which we presume the Jewish age or dispensation was intended, and which

was then about to terminate. The promise of Christ to be with the apostles to the ending of the world, therefore, was literally fulfilled by the supernatural evidences afforded to them in their ministrations among men, until the end of the Jewish age, which took place somewhere about forty years after the crucifixion.

That this is the most reasonable sense in which the phrase "end of the world or age" is to be understood, is distinctly sustained by the fact that the miraculous powers exercised among the first believers in Christ ceased altogether within a few years after that event: for it would seem that though an imposition of the hands of the apostles did confer miraculous powers on those who believed through their ministry, yet we have no instance on record of any value that can induce us to believe that those upon whom the apostles' hands had been laid were able to communicate a similar miraculous power to those who believed through them. The presumption, therefore, is, that when all those persons died who had received power from the hands of the apostles, then all miracles in the church ceased. This is the theory maintained by Archbishop Whately in some essays of great interest published by him a few years ago, which Bishop Whittingham himself was so much pleased with as to republish in the United States.

Unless our view on this subject be correct as above stated, there must be some other explanation to be given which is yet unknown, for never can any rational man suppose that the "commission" assumed by the bishop, pertains to the gospel ministry to the ending of the present world; for the fact that *believers* in Christ through their ministrations have no miraculous powers is self-evident and undeniable; nor is it possible, without violence, to detach miraculous powers from the "commission" quoted by Bishop Whittingham.

We have now faithfully exhibited the scope and argument of the first Discourse of Bishop Whittingham, and as yet no proof has been given from the Scriptures to justify the *claim* of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood, which the bishop proposed to establish at the commencement of the sermon. His fancied resemblances between the functions of the Jewish priests and the acts of the Christian ministers, have, in our view, about the same force as those employed by Fluellen, to prove the resemblance between Macedonia and Monmouth,—"There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my brains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis so like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmon in both."

The second Discourse of Bishop Whittingham commences with great solemnity of language, founded on his peculiar views of the priestly character, that he continually assumes to characterize the ministry of the anglo-episcopal sect. But after a short exordium he makes the following remarks:—

"In the office which we have just been using, I have, by the prescription of the Church, had occasion again and again to speak of your pastor as '*a priest*,' and of the duties which have now been committed to him as 'sacerdotal functions'—implying that *as a priest* he is to minister among you, and therefore to offer *sacrifice*, at what we learn from the rubrics or directions incorporated in the office, to call the '*altar*' of Christian worship.—It is my purpose to examine the grounds for acquiescing in the view adopted by the Church, and put forth in the frame-work of her most solemn formularies."

Here the bishop affirms a proposition nearly similar to what he advanced on commencing the first Discourse, and repeats his intention of examining into the merits of his theory of the priestly office of the gospel ministry. And now the reader would in all reason expect to see him bring forth from the Scriptures those texts that are to establish the *claim* of the Christian ministers to be a priesthood. But instead of undertaking to establish this claim, he tells us that certain objections have been made to it. Now this was not treating his hearers or readers respectfully. He ought to have shown us how the claim is to be made, upon what texts of Scripture it is founded, and then, after having stated his strong reasons in support of it, he might inform us that certain objections had been made, &c. But instead of doing this, we are altogether left in the dark as to what are the foundations of the *claim* of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood. We must take the bishop's word for it that they have a *claim*, though, for all that we have seen, the *claim* may be nothing but a downright assumption. However, since the bishop will not substantiate the *claim* by direct exhibition of Scripture proofs, we must even follow him, and see how he defends it, and possibly, from the mode of defense, we shall learn something further concerning the foundation and merits of this *claim* of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood.

The bishop opens his defense in the following ingenuous manner:—

"An objection that must be met at the outset, is, that we have no Scriptural sanction for such a procedure; that the New Testament nowhere speaks of 'priest,' 'altar,' or 'sacrifice,' as pertaining to the worship of the new and better covenant."

Now we should think that this objection is sufficient to crush to powder the whole theory of the bishop concerning the Christian priesthood: for if the terms PRIEST, ALTAR, SACRIFICE, as pertaining to the Christian dispensation, are not to be found in the New Testament, we should naturally suppose it to be incredible that either Christ or his apostles ever meditated any such system as Bishop Whittingham supposes; and we believe it would be impossible to produce any stronger objections to such an hypothesis than this utter silence of the New Testament writers. But Bishop Whittingham says this "objection is to be met at the outset"—and the manner he does meet it is to us unparalleled in all our controversial reading. To the objection, that the New Testament nowhere speaks of priest, altar, or sacrifice, as pertaining to the Christian dispensation, he replies, "*This is a matter not wholly certain!*"

"This is a matter not wholly certain, since the Epistle to the Hebrews says, 'We *have* an altar;' and our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, where the gospel is set in contrast with the law, speaks of *his* followers leaving their gifts on the altar, to be first reconciled with their brethren before they offer; while the apostles repeatedly make mention of the gifts and offerings of Christians in terms implying a sacrificial character."

Now, is not this wonderful? Here is an advocate for a priesthood in the Christian ministry who admits the words priest, altar, and sacrifice, are not formally applied in the Scriptures to that ministry, and who yet attempts to delude himself and his readers into the belief that the non-application of these terms to the gospel ministers is a matter "*not wholly certain*," seeing there are two expressions in the Scripture, one relating to the then existing Jewish altar, in the view of every unprejudiced commentator, and the other a mere metaphor, which are yet, according to his notion, to set aside the whole amount of direct objection founded on the important fact that the terms priest, altar, and sacrifice are not to be found throughout the whole writings of those who promulgated the Christian religion to the world, and whom he asserts commissioned a priesthood, and appointed institutions of a sacrificial character.

We need not be surprised after this at the logic of the following argumentation of the bishop concerning the omission of the New Testament writers to introduce the terms priest, altar, sacrifice:—

"But suppose it should be granted that the application of the terms 'priest,' 'sacrifice,' and 'altar' to a ministry and worship under the gospel, does not occur in the New Testament? Just this: that the

terms, and the things they signify, will be left in the same position as the terms 'sabbath' and 'Bible,' and the things they signify. If there be no mention of a Christian *priest*, there is none, also, of a Christian *sabbath*. If our being *all* priests, a 'royal priesthood,' 'a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices,' 'kings and priests unto GOD,' excludes a delegated priesthood of men separated to the work, then our time being all holy, our whole lives consecrated unto GOD, must exclude (as some few sects have from time to time, in opposition to the mass of the Christian community, maintained) the dedication of the seventh day as holy unto the LORD. If our having one great High Priest, for ever making intercession, by the oblation of his one sufficient sacrifice, excludes the ministration of earthly priests; so we have one heavenly sabbath, a rest remaining for the people of GOD, to which we are bid look forward, and for an entry into which we are taught to labor. If the absence from the New Testament of the words 'priest,' 'sacrifice,' and 'altar,' in application to the ministers and mode of Christian worship, could prove the ministry of the gospel to be no priesthood, its service no sacrifice, needing and admitting of no altar, then the absence of the words 'Bible' and 'Holy Scriptures' from the New Testament, in application to its own form and contents, would prove that the new dispensation has no sacred volume, the word of GOD, written by apostles and evangelists, no claim to be his revelation of his will.

"This negative mode of arguing, then, will not do. The books of the New Testament are part and parcel of the Bible, though they nowhere say so. The Lord's day is the Christian sabbath, though nowhere called so. The gospel ministry may be a priesthood, the worship of the church a sacrifice, though nowhere so described."

By such reasoning as this, which is too absurd to require any refutation, the Roman Catholics prove purgatory, auricular confession, indulgences, and whatever they may desire to establish. Mohammed could have proved equally well by the New Testament what he arrogated to himself, for having *claimed* that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by our Saviour, (John xvi, 7, 8;) every thing else would follow by as necessary inferences as any made by Bishop Whittingham to sustain the claim of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood.

Bishop Whittingham having taken the position that the "gospel ministry may be a priesthood, and the worship of the Church a sacrifice, though nowhere so described in the Scripture," now proceeds to show his strong reasons for affirming this to be the fact; and to convince us of the truth of this, he urges upon us this mighty argument, not drawn from Scripture, as our readers might naturally anticipate:—

"A presumption that they are [that is, a priesthood]—*a presumption only to be set aside by the express counter testimony of the written word*

—arises from the fact, that there never has been a time when they were not so considered by the church; for fifteen hundred years without a breath of opposition, and for the last three hundred with the exception only of a minority, so disproportionately small as hardly to merit being taken into the account."*

We now have at last ascertained that Bishop Whittingham's *claim* of the gospel ministry to be a priesthood rests upon no warranty or authority of the Scriptures, but on an asserted presumption of fifteen hundred years' standing that they are so. Hard as it seems to us to be put off with a presumption when we have been looking for Scripture authority all this while, it seems still harder to digest the bishop's doctrine on its back when he asserts that the force of this fifteen hundred year presumption can only be set aside by the "*express counter statement of the Scripture*," whose absolute silence that there is any Christian priesthood whatever, constitutes the very objection that we have to the doctrine in question. This is a new way of arguing, and may, indeed, be called a complete turning of the tables on the bishop's theological adversaries. They required proof from him, and he manages to

* The whole proceeding of Bishop Whittingham to evade the force of the objection that the New Testament nowhere uses the terms priest, altar, sacrifice, in reference to the gospel ministry, is so precisely like that employed by Lord Peter to justify wearing gold lace, as described in Swift's immortal Tale of a Tub, as might lead an ill-natured person into a suspicion of plagiarism. This, however, may be explained otherwise: the resemblance between Lord Peter and the bishop may proceed from the similarity of their positions, as well as something, perhaps, similar in genius and temper. However, let our readers judge of the matter by the following extract:—

"——, a certain lord, came direct from Paris with fifty yards of gold lace upon his coat: in two days all mankind appeared closed up in bars of gold lace. What should our three knights do in this momentous affair? They had sufficiently strained a point already in the affair of shoulder knots: upon recourse to the WILL, nothing appeared there (concerning gold lace) but *altum silentium*. But about this time it fell out that the learned brother aforesaid (Lord Peter) had read *Aristotelis dialectica*, and especially that wonderful piece *de interpretatione*, &c. 'Brothers,' said he, 'you are to be informed that of wills *duo sunt genera*, viz., *Nuncupatory*, and *Scriptory*; that in the *Scriptory will* here before us, there is no precept or mention made about gold lace, *conceditur*: but *si idem affirmetur de nuncupatoria*; *negatur*. For, brothers, if you remember, we heard a fellow say, when we were boys, that he heard my father's man say, that he would advise his sons to get gold lace on their coats as soon as ever they could procure money to buy it.' 'By George, that is very true,' cries the other. 'I remember it perfectly well,' said the third. And so without more ado they got the largest gold lace in the parish, and walked about as fine as lords."

get round and require proof from them that he is in error. They insist upon Scripture, and the bishop gives them a presumption, and then turning on them, he challenges them to disprove his presumption from Scripture; nay, he even goes so far as to say he must have *express Scripture*, and nothing less, to disprove a presumption which has been taken up without regard to Scripture.

But if our readers be disposed to smile at this absurdity of requiring other persons to prove by Scripture the negative to an unwarrantable presumption not based on Scripture, what must they think of the ludicrous absurdity of a writer who, in the very next paragraph, cancels the whole value of his presumption by the following remarks :—

"Unquestionably, like every other truth, this, of the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry, has been liable to misinterpretation and abuse. Errors of the most dangerous nature have grown out of it, and prevailed to a very great extent, and find their misguided advocates to this very day and at our thresholds, [that is, the Romish priesthood.] A priesthood assuming the character of mediatorship and intercessorship, sprung up in days of predominant ignorance, out of the amalgamation of half-discarded paganism with the Christian forms and doctrines. A worship offered not *with*, but *for* the people, in a tongue unknown to them, and a voice inaudible, crept into use among insufficiently instructed converts, from the barbarous hordes that changed the face of Europe in the sixth and following centuries, and, in similar circumstances, found its way among the churches of the East, depriving their time-honored forms of half their beauty and nearly all their efficacy. Crude, contradictory, and low views of the Christian sacraments, led to utterly unscriptural notions of the sacrificial nature of the blessed eucharist, and while they, almost blasphemously, elevated it into a constantly recurring, and simultaneously multiplied, propitiatory repetition of the one great mystery wrought on Calvary; degraded it into dependence for its nature, worth, and efficacy, on the intention of the frail and sinful man commissioned with its administration. Ministerial intervention for the remitting or retaining sin, by admission to the sacraments or exclusion from their privileges, assumed the form, for ten centuries unheard of in the Church, of judicial reconciliation of offenders in absolution, given on terms at the discretion of the fallible, mortal judge."

If such, then, was the character of the priesthood of the Romish Church preceding the Reformation, according to Bishop Whittingham's own showing, and to which we assent with all our heart, is it not exquisitely absurd to ask any one to concede the smallest respect to a "presumption" that comes to us alone through such gross corrupters of Christianity? We do not understand how any one could urge more forcible objections against the value of such a "presumption" than the bishop himself has done; but he, never-

theless, is so short-sighted as to overlook the consequence, that, by so doing, he entirely destroys his own argument.

The next position of the bishop is so curious both as to its logic and ingenuity, that we consider it the most remarkable thing of the kind we have ever met with. The bishop having described the priesthood of the Catholic Church preceding the Reformation, as we have just quoted it, continues his remarks as follows:—

"Such a priesthood the reformers found, claiming privileges which it refused to test by the written record of its commission, and exercising those privileges, even on its own showing of their extent, in abuses the most fearful and soul-destroying. Is it wonderful that some who set themselves to gainsay its usurpations, failed, in the corruption which they saw, to find the simple, Scriptural original? and under the exclusive worship, mumbled in an unknown tongue, of a mass, and pardon-monging ministry, lost sight of the Christian priesthood and its spiritual sacrifices?

"*Some*, not all; for GOD be thanked, our branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, while it purged away the accumulated errors that had soiled its discipline and worship, retained alike the form of sound words in doctrine, and the golden casket of ritual observances, that it found transmitted, unbroken and unchanged, from primitive days and apostolic men. A ministry derived by pure succession, from the fount in the Lord's own commission, has never ceased to keep up its claim to the priestly character," &c.

The preceding extract, we repeat it, is one of the most curious things we have seen in these curious Discourses, and places Bishop Whittingham as a controversial writer in a peculiarly ingenious light. He had admitted, on a previous page, that the claim of the anglo-episcopal ministry to be a priesthood rested so strongly on the presumption of fifteen hundred years, that nothing but express counter testimony of the Scripture was sufficient to set it aside. But now he turns on the Papists, through whom the fifteen hundred years' presumption only comes, censures them for "abuses the most fearful and soul-destroying," charges them with that outrage to common sense of refusing to test their assumed privileges by "*the written record of their commission*," that is, the Scriptures, and, at the same time, claims for the Church of England, without any reference whatever to Scripture on his part, the full benefit of the fifteen hundred year presumption.

King James the Second said, that no one could possibly reason with the Church of England; for that against Catholics they argued as if they were Puritans, and against Puritans as if they were Catholics: but we presume he was only acquainted with the fact that they did so in their separate discussions with either Catholics

or Puritans. It remained for Bishop Whittingham to do this at the same time, in the one breath, and his ingenuity in so doing ought to promote him to great honor with the friends of anglo-episcopacy on either side of the great Atlantic.

But now, after Bishop Whittingham's censure of the Catholic priesthood for not testing their privileges "*by the written record of its commission*," we surely are justified for our repeated notices of his omission to prove by "*that written record*" the *claim* he has made for the Church of England, that her ministry are priests. The objection which he himself noticed in the first part of the second Discourse,—"that the New Testament nowhere speaks of priest, altar, or sacrifice, as pertaining to the gospel ministry"—remains as yet unanswered by him, and we cannot allow him to evade that objection, and to slip abruptly into a panegyric upon the Church of England, regardless, at the same time, of Scripture on the one hand, and the Popish traditions on the other. We must be permitted to remind our readers of these inconsistencies, and since he has given us a sound form of words for the occasion, we shall use them to say, he has altogether evaded, like the Papists, to test his assumptions that the clergy of the anglo-episcopal sect are a priesthood, by any reference to the "*written record*," or Scripture.

Returning once more to the bishop's Discourses. After having exalted the Church of England, as we have shown in our last extract, and much more than we thought necessary to quote, he next proceeds to magnify the functions of the clergymen of that Church as a priesthood in the administration of the sacraments, utterly oblivious that he has never proved them to be a priesthood, or that they have any divine precept or warrant for an exclusive right to administer those ordinances. He concludes at last with an exhortation to the congregation, and to the reverend gentleman whom he had just instituted rector over them, according to the usages of the Church of England, but which it is not necessary to introduce here.

The sentiments uttered by the bishop in his two Discourses, however, do not appear to have been received by the new rector with any favor; for in the evening of that same day he preached to his congregation, and, with a becoming regard both to Scripture and common sense, had the magnanimity to tell them his views on the subject in the following words:—

"And now, let me further speak of the only way in which the Lord's table can be called an altar, the eucharist a sacrifice, and the officiating minister a priest. This can only be in the accom-

modated or figurative use of these terms, and not in their literal or Jewish acceptation, or with any idea of their being in our eucharist "a real or material sacrifice." To use these terms without such qualification very distinctly expressed leads to error, and is at variance with the word of God and the institutions and principles of our Church."

In another place he says,—

"The English word *priest* is used in consequence of the meagerness of our language, as the translation of the two Greek words ἱερευς and πρεσβυτερος,* the former of which denotes an offerer of Jewish sacrifices, and the latter a Christian minister. The latter word, according to Bishop White, 'never denotes an offerer of sacrifice' except in the figurative or accommodated sense. I am no more a priest in the sense of the word objected to, than you are, my brethren, who are laymen; nor can I in the same sense offer sacrifice any more than you can."

The consequence of this collision of opinion between Bishop Whittingham and Mr. Johns, in conjunction with the reports in circulation as to the *ultra* notions of the former, made it necessary that their several Discourses and Sermons should be printed, and so much interest was taken by the members of the Episcopal sect on the subject that second editions of them have been published. This circumstance afforded Bishop Whittingham an opportunity of explaining and strengthening his views by a preface to the second edition of his two Discourses, which, in one or two particulars, is sufficiently curiously characteristic of the writer to be taken notice of. His preface commences thus:—

"It will be perceived that in the following Discourses the stress of the argument is laid not upon *any one* act of the gospel ministry, such as the administration of the holy eucharist; but on the fact that the ministry of the Christian priesthood in the word and sacraments *is equivalent* in nature and efficiency to that of the Jewish priesthood in offering animal or other sacrifices. Of that fact proof is given. It is perfectly immaterial to the end and aim of the Discourses whether one or ten thousand persons have used the word 'priest' to express an office

* It is very strange to us that Mr. Johns should suppose there is any meagerness in the English language in this case. The Greek term πρεσβυτερος was never rendered by the term *priest* by any sect of Protestant Christians but those of the Church of England: excepting these last, all others translate the term by *elder*, its true, plain, legitimate signification. The complaint of the meagerness of the English language on this subject was the peculiar discovery of those who sustain transubstantiation, apostolical succession, or other kindred doctrines.

more limited in its nature than that which they [that is, the Discourses] maintain to belong to the commissioned servants and representatives of Christ in his church. *Let it be shown* that the Christian ministry is *not an appointed intervention for the forgiveness of sins*, and the doctrine here taught will be set aside; *but not till then.*"

Here we have our illogical bishop writing a preface which has no concinnity with the two Discourses to which it is prefixed; for in the first Discourse he proposed "to clear up the claim of the gospel ministry to the character of a priesthood;" and in the second Discourse he said, "It is my purpose to examine the grounds for acquiescing" in such a view, &c. But in the preface to the second edition of these Discourses, he says his argument is laid "on the fact that the ministry of the Christian priesthood in the word and sacraments is equivalent in nature and efficiency to that of the Jewish priesthood in offering animal or other sacrifices. Of that fact," he says, "proof is given."

Now on these points we are at issue with the bishop:—*First*, he has given no proof or argument whatever that the gospel ministry are a priesthood. He has neither "cleared up the claim," nor has he given us any "grounds to acquiesce" in the theory of their priesthood, which, in truth, is so far from being of *divine appointment*, that even he is obliged to admit the terms priest, altar, and sacrifice, are not formally applied throughout the whole Scripture to the Christian ministry. The only proof that he brought forward was the "fifteen hundred year presumption," which, after he had required all gainsayers to prove a negative, he saved them the trouble by brushing it away himself.

Secondly. We are at issue with the bishop upon what he says he has done in the preface, *namely*, given proof that "the ministry of the Christian priesthood," &c., is *equivalent* to that of the Jewish priesthood, &c. As to any thing like proof that they are *equivalent* we cannot see it in any thing advanced by him. That the functions of the Jewish priests and gospel ministers may so far resemble each other as to justify a metaphorical exchange of terms in certain instances, we shall not deny, and any thing further than will justify a tropical application we do deny, and we hope the testimony of Bishops White, Whately, and others, on this subject, is as good authority as that of Bishop Whittingham.

Passing over some other particulars that might be urged on the foregoing points at issue between us and the bishop, we direct the reader's attention to the following passage in the above extract from the preface:—"*Let it be shown* that the Christian ministry is *not an appointed intervention for the forgiveness of*

sins, and the doctrine here taught will be set aside; but not till then."

In this curious passage we have again a specimen of Bishop Whittingham's ingenuity as a controversialist, which is in happy keeping with that part of the Discourses which required all dissentients to prove the negative to "the fifteen hundred year presumption." He now, after again affirming the Christian ministry to be a priesthood, sets all gainsayers at defiance by requiring THEM *to show* that the Christian ministry IS NOT *an appointed intervention for the forgiveness of sins;* and not until *the negative* to his assertion *is proved* will he agree to abandon his doctrine. Surely the merest tyro in logic is supposed to know that this would be deemed an absurd requirement. He that advances a proposition is bound to prove or establish it himself. To require others to disprove assertions, gratuitously assumed, is unreasonable enough, but to assert he will not lay them aside until the negative is proved, seems, in our view, to indicate a state of utter intellectual confusion, if it be not rather something worse; for this very singular writer, at the same time that he takes such remarkable privileges to himself in making assertions, will not admit other persons to make assertions, or to quote human authorities against him; for he expressly objects to "*reiterated assertion, and appeals to names* bright and venerable, but never lent by those who bore them to *crush inquiry into the meaning of the word of God under the weight of human authority.*"

The absurdity and inconsistencies involved in Bishop Whittingham's writings are often so complicated that it is wearisome in the extreme to unravel and expose them as it ought to be done, but the intricacy of the inconsistencies of this last extract are almost too great for our patience. That Bishop Whittingham could ever imagine that his Discourses were any inquiry into the meaning of the word of God is wonderful; but that he could suppose others proposed to crush him by the weight of human authority is really past all bearing: however, the drift of his observations on this subject is evidently to set aside those natural inferences that men have made concerning the palpable contradictions in doctrine between him and the late Bishop White, whom, though a member of the same Church, Bishop Whittingham represents to have been "warped by prejudice." This, indeed, is an easy way of getting rid of the authority of Bishop White's opinions; but those who are capable of judging between the two will not be at much loss to determine which of them it were the wiser to follow.

It would be uninteresting to examine Bishop Whittingham's preface any further as respects either his doctrines or his arguments. We have sufficiently laid them before our readers. It may not, however, be amiss to show his indomitable resolution to maintain the opinions promulgated by him in his Discourses, and of what small account he regards the opposition either of Papists or Protestants. "Hear him:"—

"In the meanwhile, if the Romanist chooses to value his schismatic ministrations because they profess to offer a sacrifice of a kind utterly different from any known to holy writ or the Church in its purest ages, let him. If he can persuade the people to narrow down a good old English word [that is, the word 'priest'] to suit his exclusive notions, be it so. It is the thing, not the name, about which the true Catholic is anxious. To have a ministry bearing the Master's warrant in a visible succession from Him, commissioned to preach forgiveness of sins in his name, and seal it in the sacraments, and to know it as so commissioned, and take corresponding comfort in its ministrations of the spiritual washing and heavenly food, is our need and glory.

"Nevertheless, against both the Romanist and such Churchmen as may be disposed toward the view of Zuingle, it is safe and right to insist that while we have the thing, we shall not tamely surrender its true name. The Church has a priesthood 'called of GOD,' 'separated unto him,' 'to minister unto him,' 'to offer gifts and sacrifices.' It is low, unworthy truckling to the usurping arrogance of Rome, and the Kora-ite gainsaying of those who deny all segregated ministry in the name of CHRIST, to relinquish what the one appropriates to its perverted notions, and the other scouts as obsolete and futile, because the extremes of error meet in opposition to our just claim. Romish and Anabaptist pulpits have resounded with denunciations of the doctrine of these Discourses. So much the better. Sooner shall the stricken anvil burst than the heritage of God's elect be despoiled by the onslaughts of heresy or schism."

As we do not apprehend that any Protestant sect among us will care a straw concerning this splenetic brag of Bishop Whittingham, we shall say nothing in reply. The Papists may defend themselves against him as they may see fit, and truly we think they ought to bestir themselves, for the Church of England, both over the sea and in this country, seem determined not only to appropriate their peculiar doctrines to themselves, but even to deprive them of their inconsistent appellation of Catholic by the still more inconsistent application of it to the smaller communion of the anglo-episcopal sect.

As it is not improbable that some of our readers may sooner or later find themselves engaged in controversy with those members of the anglo-episcopal sect in our country who entertain

notions similar to those of Bishop Whittingham, we do not think it unadvisable at the present time to lay before them a brief view of what the New Testament really communicates to us concerning the office and functions of those persons we denominate ministers of the gospel.

From the time that our first parents transgressed in the garden of Eden, the economy of human redemption has been ever manifested to us through the instrumentality of a priest offering sacrifices for sin, thus continually proclaiming to us the doctrine, that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." In patriarchal times it would seem that every head of a family or tribe offered up such sacrifices. But in the dispensation committed to Moses, the law of God restricted the function of sacrificing to the family of Aaron alone, and expressly forbade any other person to exercise that office. It would be needless to inquire what may have been the notions of the Jews concerning the priesthood, or the efficacy of the sacrifices offered by them. All believers in Christianity confess that both priest and sacrifice under the Jewish economy were mere types and references to Christ. This doctrine is so fully set before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews that it would be useless to more than refer to it; the sum of the whole epistle is, that Christ having made propitiation for the sins of mankind by the sacrifice of himself, then ascended into heaven, where he is set down on the right hand of God as our high priest, mediator, and intercessor for ever. "But this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood: wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them," Heb. vii, 24, 25.

Christ, then, as our high priest, having ascended into heaven, where he ever lives to exercise for us the functions of priest and mediator, every devout worshiper draws near to God through him without the intervention of any other person whatever, and if any doctrine is clearly taught in the Scripture we should presume it to be this.

But though Christ has thus ascended on high as our high priest and intercessor, he still regards all Christian believers as a community under the general term of the Church; and either by himself or by his apostles has recognized certain principles of order and edification by which they are comprehended together as a body of devout believers in him, and by which they might be confirmed and established in the common faith. Thus in Ephesians iv, 8, &c., "When he ascended up on high he led captivity captive,

and gave gifts unto men. And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ," &c.

That Christ has, therefore, set certain persons in the church, (that is, the whole communion of Christian believers,) is then abundantly clear; but we must observe, that the terms, as above used, are all general, merely implying appointments to certain ends and purposes, but in nothing technical, as expressing permanent officers under such appellations. The names of those officers of the church that are mentioned in the New Testament as concerned in the religious exercises of Christianity are those of bishop or presbyter, and deacon.

But though the writers of the New Testament have spoken of bishops or presbyters, and deacons, yet there is nothing stated by them to give us a precise or exact comprehension of their office, ordination, or function, unless as preachers of the gospel of Christ; and the consequence has been that men have entertained the most opposite theories on these subjects. Nevertheless, it seems to us that a proper acquaintance with the Jewish institutions of that day will remove every difficulty on the subject, and place the whole matter in the very clearest point of view, without any confusion or distraction whatever.

The terms bishop or presbyter, and deacon, were not names of officers invented by the apostles, but were familiar and well-known titles of persons performing certain functions in the Jewish synagogues; who had been distinguished by these very names for some three hundred years or more before the advent of our Saviour.*

Now, then, since Christ or his apostles have familiarly spoken of the officers of the Christian community by the same titles as

* It may perhaps be proper that we should here correct a common, but very erroneous notion, that the first appointment of deacons in the Christian church was made by the apostles on the occasion mentioned in Acts vi. As we have abundant testimony from the rabbinical writers that deacons had been always a part of the synagogue officers from whatever time the synagogue service had existed, it is, therefore, evident that the appointment of those persons recorded in Acts vi was either *special*, or else an addition to a number then actually existing. The circumstances of the case explain the whole transaction. The Greek-Jewish Christians complained that their widows had been neglected by those officers whose particular business it was to discharge a certain duty; and the apostles, to remedy the injustice complained of, recommend them to choose seven persons out of their own number, that is, Greek-Jewish Christians, to attend to this matter in future, in conjunction, we presume,

those by which the Jewish synagogue officers were universally distinguished at that time, and since there is not a single passage in the whole New Testament that gives any definition or makes any statement implying any particular difference to exist between the offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, as exercised in the churches of the Christians, from those of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, as exercised in the Jewish synagogues, it seems to us absurd to suppose there was any specific difference between them at that time, or that it was ever intended the ministers of the gospel should stand upon any other platform than that of the synagogue.

It seems impossible how any rational man can come to any other conclusion; for if Christ or his apostles did not intend that Christian believers should follow the institutions and scheme of the synagogue, why have they not only alone employed synagogue titles and terms, but have, moreover, entirely forborne to express any opinion whatever that might imply they did not approve of such a construction? How, then, can the mind of Christ and of his apostles be more clearly expressed as to the exact resemblance, in their view, of the ministers of the gospel to those of the synagogue?

However satisfactory it might be to our readers for us now to proceed with an exposition of the theory of the synagogue, it would require far more space than we could rightly claim in this review. The reader who has not been instructed on this subject must be satisfied when we tell him, on the universal consent of all writers on this subject, Jewish or Christian, that the synagogue and all its institutions of officers, &c., were framed upon no commandment

with the other officers already appointed. This advice they accepted, and chose seven persons, whose evidently Greek names show from what party in the church they had been selected.

By what authority these seven persons chosen on this occasion have been styled deacons, we know not. For all that we can see, *their appointment* was one peculiar alone to the church at Jerusalem, where the disciples lived on a common fund or stock; for we have no intimation given us that the primitive Christians lived in common anywhere else than at Jerusalem. The true deacons of the synagogue had existed in their peculiar functions already some three hundred years, as is evident from Jewish antiquities, and deacons such as these of the synagogue undoubtedly belonged to every Christian church from the beginning of Christianity. The *seven*, therefore, whose election is stated in Acts vi, can only be called deacons in a general sense, as a term applied to any subordinate officers of the church. The relation of Acts vi has, therefore, nothing to do with the appointment of deacons, properly so called, but refers to a special office, which, in all probability, was peculiar to the Christian community at Jerusalem alone.

of God, but arose from the piety and good sense of religious men among the Jews shortly after their return from the Babylonian captivity, then very desirous of instructing one another in the truths revealed to them by Moses and the prophets. They met together, therefore, in meetings or synagogues, where prayer to God was offered, the law and the prophets were read and expounded, and where exhortations were made to them to continue faithful and obedient to what God had commanded them. These services of prayer, reading, expounding, or exhorting, were performed by individuals from among their own body, who were called on in virtue of their gifts, learning, or piety, to render such services to their less enlightened brethren. Nor was there any ordination or appointment to these functions that can be said to differ in any material point from what ordinarily takes place in a well-regulated prayer meeting. In these last, as in the Jewish synagogues, any person able to pray, exhort, or teach, may be called on to edify the rest, nor would any one hesitate to obey the call if he felt himself competent. Thus every one is aware our Saviour continually officiated in the Jewish synagogue. He had never been ordained, as far as we know, either as presbyter or deacon. But he was known to them as a devout or religious Jew, and in virtue of that character he was invited to read and expound the law to the congregation; and he stood up and taught them. Luke iv, 15, &c. And so in like manner with the apostles. See Acts xiii, 14, 15; xvii, 1, 2.

But where the members of a Jewish synagogue were the common sojourners of a town or village, those persons who had spiritual gifts, being continually exercised in such services, gradually became a separate number of persons in the congregation, and were ultimately distinguished by the names of elders, bishops, or presbyters. One of these, as being the head, eldest, or moderator, was known by the name of chief, or ruler, of the synagogue, angel of the church, overseer, or bishop, and those who attended to the smaller and temporal concerns of the assembly, or of building, &c., were termed deacons, or ministers.

Such, then, in brief, was the constitution of the Jewish synagogue for some three hundred years' continuance before our Saviour's advent, and seeing that the apostles have alone used synagogue titles for the ministry under the gospel dispensation, it is passing strange how any reader of Scripture, acquainted with Jewish antiquities, can be at any loss in comprehending the true theory of the constitution of the Christian church, and ordination of the ministers of the gospel. Let us, however, urge the subject

more clearly, perhaps, through the medium of a familiar illustration.

When the United States of America severed the bond of allegiance that united them to the British crown, a greater or less number of modifications ensued in the fact, that we established a republic in the place of a monarchical government. But as there was no intention to depart from the principles or theory of British jurisprudence beyond what was necessary to suit the change of the form of government, so the office or functions of judges, sheriffs, magistrates, jurors, &c., were recognized in the mere use of those names in our new constitutions, and have remained ever since to be construed by those acts of parliaments, and decisions of English courts, that regulated the functions of judges, sheriffs, magistrates, jurors, &c., in Great Britain previous to the times of our revolution; and he would be thought insane who should attempt to construe the office of such persons by any other principles or laws than those of Great Britain, from whom alone we have received both the title and theory of the office.

Just so it was with the first congregations of the primitive Christians. They had been Jews, familiar with every peculiarity of the institutions of their country. They were instructed, by men inspired of God, that the temple service, and all its appointments of priesthood, altars, and sacrifices, were but types and symbols of the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ, which, having been fulfilled by his coming, were henceforth to cease; and, consequently, we find not a single passage in the New Testament that applies any portion of the temple service, such as priest, altar, or sacrifice, to the religious institutions under the gospel dispensation. But, at the same time, we find they did retain and use, in their religious assemblies and practices, various synagogue terms, titles, and usages, of which the titles, bishops or presbyters, and deacons, were pre-eminently so. In short, the whole constitution of the primitive churches, as far as we can see from the New Testament writers, denotes nothing else than the ordinary usages of the synagogue.

Such, then, being undeniably the case, and since the New Testament writers have not, in a single instance, by any new promulgation of discipline, stated that the functions of the gospel ministers as bishops or presbyters, and deacons, differed from their well-known employments in the synagogue, it is as unreasonable and absurd to construe the office or functions of the gospel ministry by any other theory than that of the synagogue, as it would be for us to construe the office or functions of our judges,

sheriffs, jurors, or magistrates, by any other theory of law than that of Great Britain.

Presuming our argument and illustration on this subject to be distinctly clear and forcible, we shall say nothing further on the subject, but will proceed to show that any attempts to seek for the constitution of the primitive church and the functions of its ministers by any references to the writings of the fathers, is not only illusory, but is directly contrary to the theory of the Scriptures and the teaching of our Saviour.

We say it is illusory to refer to the primitive fathers in this instance, from the fact that there are none of them for above three centuries after Christ who give any decisive testimony on the subject, as must be confessed by any impartial reader of the different controversies that have agitated the Christian world on these points.

But, in the second place, we deem a submission to the writings and traditions of the primitive fathers to be wholly contradictory to the theory and purpose of all those inspired persons concerned in the promulgation of Christianity. We have the most direct denunciations of our Saviour himself against the theory of tradition, and doctrinal teaching of men, as exhibited by those who lived under the Jewish economy; so that it would be most inconsistent indeed to suppose that Christ or his apostles could justify, in the new economy established by them, a similar mode of teaching, so distinctly censured by him, as having corrupted and made naught the one previously existing.

And, again, further than this, the apostles have distinctly announced to us, in the New Testament, that great corruptions, perversions, and a downright falling away from Christian truth, should take place at some time or other after they should be removed by death. Now, as neither Christ nor his apostles have left us any test by which we could ascertain who would corrupt, or who would preserve his truth in the world, unless we judge of it by their conformity or nonconformity to what is recorded in the Scriptures, so it must be evident that we can only determine what is truth by an honest, unprejudiced reference to the Scriptures alone, and to the principles recognized by them; for how can any one rationally undertake to say that such persons have erred from the truth, or that such others have maintained it, upon the strength of traditions and doctrinal teachings of the early fathers? seeing that we know not but that the very traditions or doctrines themselves may be the very error, corruption, or delusion that the apostles foretold would take place in the Christian world. Were

the ministers of the gospel to be inspired of God to preserve the truth sacred and incorruptible? Nay, St. Paul expressly tells the bishops or presbyters of Ephesus, (Acts xx, 30,) "Also of *your own selves* shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them."

Again St. Paul tells us, (2 Thess. ii, 7,) that the mystery of iniquity was already at work in his time, that would ultimately terminate in that consummation of Christian corruption which should be revealed in the full development of the MAN OF SIN. With what sort of confidence, then, can any reader of Scripture rely upon traditions and teachings of men who lived posterior to the times of the apostles, who, unrestrained by their authority, published whatever notions they deemed plausible in consistency with their prejudices as Jews, heathen converts, or speculating philosophers?

There is, then, no alternative but to rest on the Scriptures alone in all their simplicity of statement, as based on principles recognized by the inspired writers. What is there recognized by them must be our rule as far as is consistent with their theory of things, and no further; for to eke out the Scriptures by some conceit of our own suggestion, or to extend the signification of titles, words, and terms used in the Scripture by some tradition of men, may lead us into some delusion or other on the subject, which, if we are resolutely bent on maintaining, may lead us, by other perversions, as it did the Jews, into a system of will worship wholly at variance with the simple text of the Scripture as interpreted by itself.

In short, according to any view which is justified by the Scripture, we can come to no other conclusion than that the constitution of the primitive church, in the immediate view of Christ and his apostles, was no way different in its theory from the Jewish synagogue, and that the ministers of the church, as bishops or presbyters, and deacons, were appointed or ordained to those functions simply on the ground that they were fitted by their gifts and integrity to exercise them to the edification of the congregation, and that their ordination, setting aside the prayers that might be offered to God to assist them by the influences of his Spirit, amounted to nothing more than a recognition of their ability to pray, teach, or exhort, as was done in like cases in the Jewish synagogues.

The principle of this ordination was distinctly what we see done continually in licensing a physician to practice medicine. Such a person having been examined by experienced physicians, and having been found competent, is therefore certified, under their

hands, by a diploma or license, to be sufficiently well-instructed in the principles of the healing art, as to be capable of affording relief to such as may require his medical services.

But, unlike a physician, a minister of the gospel, in his religious ministrations, had a right, like every other Christian, to expect continued spiritual assistance, according to the promise of Christ, as long as he faithfully persevered in the discharge of his duty to the congregation. But further than this there is no promise; there is not a single passage in the Scripture to justify the notion that the ministers of the gospel were constituted a corporate body, in virtue of which they were made privileged functionaries in the dispensation of the means of grace; and we apprehend that all those who have adopted a different theory on this subject, have alone derived it from the hand of that mystical harlot who has intoxicated "the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication."

Art. II.—*Philosophy of Rhetoric.*

The term rhetoric was formerly applied exclusively to public speaking, and, hence, its principal theme was eloquence. But, by an easy transition, it subsequently came to be applied to the various classes of composition designed either to be read or spoken. This use of the term received the sanction of Aristotle, and has since become general. Rhetoric, then, is the guide of the orator in every thing essential to *instruct the judgment, please the imagination, rouse the passions, and improve the heart.* We shall, therefore, be at liberty in this discussion to develop those principles in style, whether written or extemporaneous, which are decisive of effect upon a popular or deliberative assembly.

There is philosophy in rhetoric—philosophy that relates both to the minds to be affected by thought, and to the language through which thought is communicated. With this philosophy he who aims at excellence in oratory should be thoroughly acquainted. Mind has its fixed laws; its distinguishing traits to be accommodated; its regular avenues through which, if at all, it must be reached. Ignorance of these may greatly diminish, if not entirely destroy, the effect of a well-meant public effort.

But we must avail ourselves of the essayist's license. A full discussion of this intricate subject would require a volume. Within the limits properly assigned to this article, we can only exhibit a

few prominent points, and we shall prefer those which are more immediately practical. If it be deemed presumption in us to attempt a development of a theme confessedly so abstruse and philosophical for the benefit of readers so intelligent as those of the Quarterly Review, we answer, "The youthful Achilles acquired skill in hurling the javelin under the instruction of Chiron, though the master could not compete with the pupil in vigor of arm."

To give order to our thoughts, we proceed to remark that *man must be addressed as possessing a reasonable soul.*

Amplification by argument enters more or less into almost every public discourse. An acquaintance with the philosophy of that department of mind which takes cognizance of arguments, must, therefore, be of decided importance to the public speaker.

It is found by a rigid analysis of mental phenomena that reason does not exist as a separate and ultimate faculty. Several distinct powers of the mind are concerned in the reasoning process, all of which must be respected in an attempt to adapt a discourse to the reason of an audience. Association, comparison, abstraction, and judgment, all perform important parts in every such effort. Whenever a proposition requiring proof is suggested to the mind, association at once collects an array of facts and arguments, relevant and irrelevant. Comparison is immediately instituted; relationship determined; kindred reasons abstracted from the mass collected by association, and the judgment determines the conclusion, sitting as final umpire upon the whole process. It is important to remark here that every intellectual power bears directly or indirectly upon the reasoning process, and hence the whole department of intellect is frequently styled reason; and an argumentative discourse is properly said to be addressed to the understanding. Aristotle seems to have had a glimpse of this truth when he asserted that "we have, as it were, two souls, the sensible soul, which we have in common with the brutes; and the reasonable soul, whereby we are distinguished from the brutes." And a view of mind similar to this, though without the mysticism of a double soul, forms the basis of the metaphysical system of the celebrated Coleridge.

It must not, however, be supposed that these various intellectual powers are all equally concerned in an effort of reason. Indeed, a narrow inspection of the mental action will show that one simple faculty performs the principal part of this important labor. With many of those powers which render occasional assistance, reason frequently dispenses; but comparison must always be operative. It must form the basis of our judgments in regard to the relationship of the arguments to the point to be proved; of the arguments

to each other; and of the whole to the conclusion. Hence, in determining upon the merit of an argument, the power of comparison is chiefly interested.

If this analysis of reason be correct, reasoning may be justly defined drawing conclusions from a comparison of related ideas. He who hopes to win over an audience, or defeat an opponent, must, therefore, bring all his remarks within the scope of this prevalent mental susceptibility. In order to this it is obvious that the relations which he would have his auditors perceive, must exist in the thoughts advanced. If they do not, all attempts to exhibit them in words must, of course, be a failure. Related words can never be a substitute for related ideas. It is of the ideas that the intelligent hearer chiefly takes cognizance, and upon the discovery of the relations which exist between them his conviction will wholly depend. And though these relations may actually exist in the opinions entertained by the author, confusion in the view of them will infallibly produce confusion in the development. How often does truth, fundamental truth, suffer in the hands of the most sincere, for no other reason than this. It is certainly unnecessary to urge here that the only remedy for this evil is increased intelligence; the cultivation of "definiteness of thought" by thorough and long-continued mental discipline.

But it should not fail to be noticed that however certain may be the connection and mutual dependence of the ideas entertained by an author, and however definite his own views of them, clearness and precision in their expression are indispensable to the accommodation of man's power of perceiving relations. It cannot be denied that accuracy and skill in the perception of philosophical relations, such as exist between ideas, do not necessarily imply a corresponding clearness in the perception of those arbitrary relations which exist between ideas and words. Hence it occurs that many who think philosophically and profoundly, fail entirely as public speakers. To point out a remedy for this evil (if indeed it be remediable) is no part of our present duty or design. But we have introduced the fact to show that a separate attention to the science of language is imperatively the duty of the public speaker. To enforce his own thoughts upon others he must be able to use those words which have been appropriated by good usage to the expression of such thoughts, and in such an order as to express them to the best advantage; and just in proportion as he is choice and select in the style of his argument will be the power of his reasoning. But a discourse addressed to the understanding should never be lumbered by words. Tautology introduces confusion in the view; pleonasm

destroys the vivacity of the reasoning; ambiguity perplexes, and equivocation misleads the hearer. Reasons for a legitimate opinion, stated in a simple, bold, and perspicuous style, cannot fail to produce conviction.

But in intruded adaptation to the power of comparison, the error of supposing that because relations are perfectly obvious to the speaker, they therefore are to all, must be carefully avoided. It must be borne in mind that this capability exists in very different degrees; hence an intimate acquaintance with human nature can alone secure the orator against the humiliating charge of having contributed more to his own edification than to that of his hearers. He must be aware of the facts upon which adaptation depends. There is an adaptation of thought, and an adaptation of language; both of which are of fundamental importance, and neither of which is practicable, without an intimate acquaintance with the intelligence and mental habits of the hearers. We insist upon this point with the more earnestness because, notwithstanding its decisive bearing upon public efforts, it is so commonly overlooked. How many sublime strains of eloquence, upon which the orator has congratulated himself as having raised him to the very pinnacle of honor, have vanished into air, without producing a single rational thought! A vacant stare and an undefined surprise at the stentorian voice or impassioned manner of the speaker are the only result; and all because the real auditors were never addressed. The man has placed himself in the ludicrous position of an orator to imaginary beings, in the presence of real ones. It is needless to say that he might as well have addressed the fairies in his study at home, as to have taxed the patience of an auditory to whom he did not condescend to speak. We have wholly mistaken the spirit of the present age, or the day of glory to such an oratory as this has entirely gone by. The only way of obtaining rank in this exalted profession in these days of sober thought, is to bring all that is said fairly within the comprehension of those who are addressed. Upon this subject we will only add, that while in only a few instances this kind of obscurity arises from too great familiarity with the principles discussed, it is generally the product of inexcusable ignorance or unpardonable vanity.

But to conclude our remarks upon this topic, the public reasoner must be acquainted with all the laws of belief; for with every one of them he will have something to do. He must be aware that whatever is intuitive with mind will be believed as soon as it is mentioned, and that the relations of many facts originally deductive are so obvious that they are universally ad-

mitted, and by common consent made the basis of reasoning; and thus save himself from the impropriety of attempting to prove what, from its nature, though true, is incapable of proof; or what every body believes, and therefore needs no proof. He must be impressed with the necessary difference between the demonstrations of immutable truths, and the power of deductive reasoning. He must know the appropriate fields and relative strength of induction, analogy, and testimony, and apply them with skill and effect. Aware of the different species of sophism, he must be prepared to reject them in his own reasonings, to detect them in an opponent, and defeat them by the legitimate use of a consistent logic. He will observe that arguments may be true, and conclusions false—conclusions true, and arguments false; and both true, and yet have no valid relation to each other, and, hence, produce no rational conviction. In fine, he ought to be a theoretical and practical logician: for in the hearer's power of perceiving relations is the certain detection of fallacy. If the ideas advanced do not bear upon each other as they are claimed to do, the assumed relation cannot be discovered, and, hence, no conviction can follow. It is in vain to urge that the great mass of hearers are incompetent to judge of abstruse reasonings, and hence he who argues fallaciously is not liable to be detected; for whatever mental decisions may follow such an effort, are not the decisions of reason, but of blind credulity, or obstinate prejudice. The recreant sophist has, therefore, never cause to triumph; for he has evaded the competent judge of his effort, and owes his victory entirely to the want of reason. But as truth is the only legitimate object of argumentation, the speaker has reason to congratulate himself only when he has fairly exhibited the evidences upon which it depends. And it should never be forgotten, that however it may be with the many, in popular assemblies, there are always some present whose accurate mental discriminations will not fail to detect the absence of legitimacy in the arguments and conclusions of the orator. And if this were not so, sound moral principle ought to be an effectual preventive to a species of dishonesty which can hardly be sufficiently reprehended.

But we proceed to remark that *man must be addressed as a creature of imagination.*

Not only is he capable of judging of relations and determining the question of truth; but he is susceptible of pleasure, and hence the philosophy of the imagination is important to the orator. It is well known that the force of conviction depends very much upon the power of attention; and attention depends greatly upon the

interest taken in the discussion. If there be no way of gratifying the fancy of the hearer, of pleasing his imagination, the clearest arguments may be wholly lost to him—the most valuable truths entirely thrown away.

The elements of pleasure to the fancy are chiefly vivacity, beauty, sublimity, and novelty.

Vivacity exists primarily in the thoughts, and it is much more easily understood than defined. It is that kind of definiteness, spirit, and energy, which gives distinctness to the view. With this distinctness, the mind is always pleased and interested. A degree of impatience, amounting to resentment, is instinctively felt when the mind, encouraged to expect a treat in the development of well-defined ideas, is perplexed with dark and ambiguous sayings—dull, trite, and stale thoughts; or dry, abstract, and impracticable theories. But if no labor is required; no conjecture necessary to unravel the mystery of confused thought or unintelligible language; if the idea, clear and well-defined, arrests the attention, rivets the soul instantaneously, leaving no room to doubt; presenting at one view the relations and dependencies of vigorous thoughts, sprightly and pertinent illustrations, and sound indubitable arguments, the mind is delighted and the hearer is a captive. This is *vivacity*. This is "truth to nature." He who would wield this power of intellectual pleasure must be a master of language. Words, to produce this effect, must be "specific in distinction from those that are general;" epithets must be skillfully chosen, so as to "direct attention to striking and characteristic qualities of the object"—to "those qualities most obvious in the view taken of them"—to lead the mind to "trace out illustrative comparisons"—and to "afford a full description of the object." The arrangement of words must be uncommon and impressive—"all unnecessary words must be cautiously avoided"—the sentences must be short, pithy, and periodic, and aid may be had from "climax, antithesis, exclamation, repetition, interrogation, and rhetorical dialogue." Thus it is seen how language, as well as mind, is concerned in the philosophy of rhetoric, and how indispensable is a thorough acquaintance with its principles to the speaker who would please the imagination with the vivacity of discourse.

But man's susceptibility to emotions of beauty must be regarded in an attempt to please. This susceptibility is original with mind, and hence it is intuitive and universal. He whose wisdom produced it, has benevolently furnished the materials of its gratification, in the greatest abundance and variety. Nature is little else

than an assemblage of beauties, addressed to every organ of sense. Delightful odors perfume the air—delicious flavors gratify the taste—graceful forms, gentle resistance, soft breezes, and genial warmth play upon the feelings—sounds of sweetest melody and ravishing harmony thrill the ear—and gorgeous paintings of sunlight dazzle the eye. Nor these alone. The principles and relations perceived by the intellect; the vivid conceptions of past mental states; and the novel, bold, and brilliant creations of imagination; are all elements of the beautiful; furnishing additional materials for the gratification of fancy. These are the arrangements of nature upon which the ornaments of style depend. Here is put into the hands of the orator a most powerful engine for the control of mind. He may interest by the stately comparison; entrance and startle by the sprightly metaphor; illustrate and embellish by the well-timed allusion, and astonish by the bold personification.

But it must not be supposed that these instruments of pleasure are designed for common use. They are to be held in reserve for their appropriate occasions. The ornaments of style all require a degree of excitement, dependent upon the character of the figure; a lively, riveted attention; a mind fixed and charmed by the power of truth. Then it is susceptible of perceiving those rare, difficult, but certain relations upon which ornament depends for its effect. But if this state of mind be anticipated, by a premature introduction of the figure, or neglected by its introduction too late, the effect is lost. Nay, the feeling of irrelevancy or unfitness which must result, will inevitably prejudice the orator and disparage the effort. Hence, attempts of this kind to please the imagination should rarely, indeed never, except upon very exciting occasions, be found in introductions. They should occur seldom, as their power depends very much upon their novelty, and as the state of mind upon which their appropriateness depends is so rare and fugitive. Indeed, the young speaker of an exuberant fancy has need to be very often reminded, that a too frequent and unskillful use of the ornaments of style is far more unfortunate than an utter neglect of them. What man of taste has not been shocked by the incongruities of crude and inappropriate figures, crowded upon a state of mental indifference by the unpracticed orator, who has suddenly conceived the idea of being eloquent? However promising may be the indications of this bold and imaginative turn of mind in the young speaker, its ultimate success depends upon its being thoroughly chastened, and subjected to the control of a corrected taste. Let the student of oratory be a student of nature.

Let him form his taste upon the models of excellence around him. He who adopts this course may be said to "exist in a new creation. He lives where the sun sheds a brighter day, where the clouds are skirted by more brilliant colors, and where nature's carpet shows a richer green. Angelic forms are about him. He even stands on some chosen spot, and each new scene that presents itself gives but a varied hue to the emotion of beauty that he feels."

> "Not a breeze
> Flies o'er the meadow; not a cloud imbibes
> The setting sun's effulgence; not a strain
> From all the tenants of the warbling shade
> Ascends; but whence his bosom can partake
> Fresh pleasure unreproved."

And thus his own feelings are formed to a harmony with the music of nature; the fires of his eloquence are kindled at the altar of God; and the souls of his hearers, spell-bound, yield their homage to the power of truth.

Sublimity is another element of pleasure to the imagination. The emotion of beauty, swelled by the idea of vastness, power, or fear, becomes an emotion of sublimity. The mountain rill is beautiful—the rolling river is grand; but the vast ocean is sublime. When the storm-cloud gathers blackness in the heavens; when

> "Along the woods, along the moorish fens
> Sighs the sad genius of the coming storm;"

and

> "Men look up
> With mad disquietude on the dull sky:"

when

> "Thoughts rush in stormy darkness through the soul;"

and

> "Far along,
> From peak to peak, the rattling crags among
> Leaps the live thunder,"

the feeling of awful sublimity almost suspends the power of self-consciousness. Indeed, the scenes of sublimity in nature; in moral principles, relations, and actions; and in the world of towering intellect, are actually inexhaustible. But from all these scenes the orator may draw his power to astonish and delight his auditors. There may be a sublimity in his thought, a sublimity in his descriptions, illustrations, and appeals, which is actually irresistible.

But here we must not fail to urge that the occasions for the

sublime in oratory are rare and transient. He who feels himself under obligation to be sublime in every description, in every effort at public speaking, whatever is the occasion, or whatever the state of feeling in his audience, greatly mistakes the genius of oratory, overlooks the philosophy of mind, and, in the most significant manner possible, proclaims his own incompetency to the functions of the orator. As, in the case of beauty, the occasion of sublimity must be seized when it exists. It cannot be created by art for purposes of effect, nor invoked as the servant at will of the specious declaimer. The orator must rather be the servant of sublimity. He must be the victim of its feeling; the agent of its power. He must lose himself in its sweeping current—bury his language in its rolling wave; and stand out of the way till its dashing surges have passed over his audience and disappeared for ever.

The only remaining element of pleasure to the imagination which we shall consider is, novelty. The desire of novelty is a wise provision of our nature, nearly identical with curiosity. The mind is so formed as not to remain stationary, not to be satisfied with present knowledge or attainments. It is for ever on the stretch for new truths, new relations, new elements of gratification. It is to this fact that we are primarily indebted for the development of mind; for the endlessly progressive movements of our race. Hence it is that in attempts to please, the orator must know how to accommodate this universal law of our nature. But to know how to do this is comparatively easy, if he only possess the means of doing it. If the speaker has nothing new to present, then, of course, however much he may gratify other feelings of the soul, he can take no advantage of this one. But if he has *nothing* new, it may well be doubted whether he can establish his claims to consideration as a public teacher. This remark, however, must not be misinterpreted. It is by no means intended to assert that no thought is valuable, or deserves to be repeated, or is adapted to excite pleasure, unless it is new. There are a vast many truths which are intrinsically valuable, and their frequent repetition does not diminish their power to please; and yet there are various species of novelty which may be used with great success for the entertainment of an audience.

There is a novelty of principles, and of thought, which hearers feel themselves entitled to expect; and they instinctively resent a disappointment of this just expectation, as they are instinctively pleased with its gratification. The public teacher stands virtually pledged to develop new ideas for the satisfaction of his audience.

But ideas are not the product of chance. He may not expect that they will arise spontaneously in his mind, obtrude themselves upon his attention, uninvited guests, or happen to be present, just at the time they are needed. Nor yet are they the product of logic, however legitimate; for logic discovers no new truths. It compares, modifies, and combines those already known. But philosophy is the prime instrument of discovery in the world of principles; the grand revelator of truths before concealed from mental vision. Elaborate and profound philosophical research, alone, can successfully explore the fields of occult science, rich with inexhaustible treasures. And hence we arrive at the important fact that the orator must be a working man, a thorough and indefatigable student, if he would constantly accumulate the truths upon which the gratification of his hearers depends.

But there is also a novelty of relations which greatly aids the orator. Truths which are perfectly familiar may be so analyzed and combined, as to exhibit entirely new features; and these new and unexpected relations are as verily sources of pleasure as are many facts and principles never before known. The phases of truth are endlessly varied, and so often as they are presented in a new aspect they have all the charms of novelty.

And there is a novelty of description—a novelty of language which gives to the oldest truths every material advantage of new ones. And this is an advantage wholly within the power of all intelligent speakers. The richness of our language, arising from its figurative use, furnishes a vocabulary of inexhaustible variety for the expression of thought; so that however frequently the matter of a discourse may have been repeated, it will not fail to charm by its new dress in the hands of the skillful linguist. But it should be carefully observed, that the strength of this species of novelty does not depend upon direct efforts to obtain it. By a long familiarity with the numerous varieties of English style, the mind should be so thoroughly furnished with language, in its rich and varied adaptation to the expression of thought, that terms most appropriate to the design of the writer shall be instantly suggested by the sentiment; and thus the distinguishing characteristics of his style will be, "the man himself," rather than the result of mechanical effort. Indeed, an affectation of novelty of any kind is highly objectionable. It is a source of pleasure merely when it is obviously the result of intelligence previously acquired; and when it develops itself spontaneously, so that the full conviction is invariably produced that it would cost the author much more labor to express himself differently than in his own easy and novel

style. This is the excellence which Professor Newman calls "naturalness."

In concluding this effort to draw out and exhibit the philosophy of the imagination as a material branch of the philosophy of rhetoric, we must direct attention to the world of literature. Poetry, fictitious prose, historical, epistolary, and essay writing, furnish ample materials of vivacity, beauty, sublimity, and novelty. Hence it is that literature is said to be designed especially to please; and is addressed to the imagination. This suggests the importance of general and special literary reading, to those who attempt the cultivation of oratory. True it is that the inexperienced pupil should not enter this labyrinth of thought without a guide. But under the direction of a skillful pioneer, he may safely explore its secret recesses; draw forth its richest gems for the embellishment of his style; and liberally furnish his mind with costly materials for the gratification and delight of his hearers.

Again we remark, that *man must be addressed as a creature of passion.*

In the philosophy of mind, the passions is a generic appellation for the sensitive part of our nature, including, very nearly, what Professor Upham styles the benevolent and malevolent affections. These are of marked importance to the philosophic orator. Fancy gives brilliancy to our ideas, but passion animates them. Hence when persuasion is the object of amplification, we generally address the passions. If the speaker has succeeded in producing conviction of the truth of his positions, his next object is to induce action; and if reason be the guide, passion is the mover to action. The aim will, therefore, be to excite, to a proper degree, some passion actually concerned in the prospective bearings of the discussion. If, for instance, the orator would move a man to act for the defense of his honor, he must rouse his self-respect; if for his interest, he must excite his self-love; if for the public good, he must rouse his patriotism; if for the relief of the suffering, he must touch his pity; if for the increase of his intelligence, he must enlist his curiosity; and if he wish to crowd him on to deeds of noble daring, he must stir up his love of power; if to deeds of heroic virtue, he must appeal to his philanthropy; or deeds of fearful retribution, he must rouse his anger, his jealousy, or his revenge. How important, then, is the philosophy of the passions to the public speaker! Action is the great object of oratory. If we instruct, it is to make action intelligent. If we convince, it is to make action rational. If we excite, it is to make action energetic. Deliberate, but bold and decisive action is the only object worthy of eloquence. It was

not for the settlement of abstract theories that the eloquence of Demosthenes thundered in the forum; but to rouse his slumbering countrymen to instant vigorous action against an insidious foe. It is not for the purpose of determining questions in speculative theology that the orator of the pulpit chains, humbles, excites, and entrances his hearers; but to move them to action in the great work of their expiring probation. Then let the student of oratory give high rank to the study of the passions.

"The circumstances," says Dr. Campbell, "that are chiefly instrumental in operating on the passions are, probability, plausibility, importance, proximity of time, connection of place, relation of the actors or sufferers to the hearers or speakers, and interest of the hearers or speakers in the consequences." Fully to expand these thoughts would lengthen this article beyond the patience of the reader. We will, however, take the liberty to say that "probability relates to fact, plausibility to fiction." If in the world of truth the speaker would avail himself of the passions, he must reach the highest degree of probability of which the subject admits; and he must establish the connection between the object proposed and the feeling to be gratified. If in the world of fiction the orator would excite, plausibility must govern the plot, the characters, and the morals. The representations must not be of persons or circumstances which never could by possibility exist, otherwise reason will revolt, and disgust will take the place of pleasure. Again, the claimed relations may be distinctly perceived, but if no feeling of importance to the individual addressed can be excited, he will receive with indifference what was designed to move him to action. Further, if the time and place of the events exhibited be remote, the interest and excitement will be less: if near, they will be greater; and relation near and intimate to the characters of the scene moves the feeling of friendship, while interest in the consequences excites that of self-love. Hence, the study of the passions involves the whole of these modifying circumstances, as well as the strict metaphysical analysis of that class of mental phenomena; and he who would excel in public speaking should deem no labor intolerable, essential to the acquisition of this knowledge.

But it should not fail to be observed, that to wield the passions successfully is a difficult task. The gentler feelings are to be courted with soft words, and pathetic intonations. Mild efforts can stir the passions that sit upon the surface of this sea, but vivacity, energy, and power alone, can rouse those which are deep and rare. Eloquence is the appointed agent of calming, as well

as exciting the storm of passion. But to allay the feverish, morbid excitement which breaks out like the smothered fires of the volcano, and control the fitful whirlwinds of the mind, is a work of the most delicate skill.

The practical suggestion obviously arising from the difficulty of this work is, that the effort should not be made, unless it can be skillfully conducted. That frequent and mortifying failures have resulted from a want of caution upon this point, will scarcely be doubted; while only a few master-spirits of any age have wielded with complete success this immense power over the minds of men. For it will be noticed that the difficulty is not in exciting passion. This can be done by the most ordinary mind; and either with, or without design. But to command the passions, as an engine of eloquence, is wholly a different thing. The inexperienced speaker should be put upon his guard, so that he may not be rash or premature in his attempts, while, as we have before urged, he should spare no pains to mature himself in this department of mental philosophy.

But we remark, finally, that *man must be addressed as a moral being*.

The benevolent Creator of mind has wonderfully endowed it with the power of moral distinctions; so that it instinctively asks what is right, as well as what is good: and wherever the elements of right and wrong exist, it has the capability of detecting them. It is further evident that the mind feels itself impelled to the right, and against the wrong, whenever the antecedent perception is connected with the feeling of relationship, which locates the duty to do, or not to do, upon itself. And, finally, after a right action has been performed, with a consciousness of right motives, a feeling of personal gratification, of inward satisfaction, follows, which has a direct tendency to increase the mind's love of virtue, and power to do good. If, on the other hand, the action be wrong, and the habits of the mind allow a distinct perception of that wrong, a feeling of self-degradation, of painful guilt, follows, which is obviously corrective in its character, and excites a dread of vice, which would not otherwise be possible. It is, perhaps, a sufficiently correct use of language to call them different mental susceptibilities: the discriminating, the impulsive, and the retributive power of conscience. For the evidence of their existence I need only appeal to every man's memory and self-consciousness. Either of these laws of intuitive belief is absolute in its own sphere; and who does not remember to have passed frequently through all these mental states? And what individual can fail

to be aware of their present existence, so often as their necessary conditions occur? Consciousness, the grand revelator of the mind, settles this question so completely as wholly to supersede all deductive reasoning.

We claim that no public speaker is at liberty to forget the existence of this moral nature, or neglect to provide for it. We cannot resist the conviction that secular oratory has gone widely astray from its legitimate bearings in this respect. We do not intend by this that the orator of the bar, or of the deliberative or popular assembly, is obligated to labor directly for the education of the conscience. But should he, therefore, outrage and trample upon the most sacred and authoritative attributes of the immortal mind? Should he be so regardless of moral distinctions and obligations as to wield the whole force of his eloquence, directly or indirectly, to blunt the moral feelings, degrade the moral mind in himself and his hearers, and thus help to disparage and destroy the chief conservative element of civil society? It is greatly to be feared that such men are not sufficiently aware of the immense power they are constantly wielding in this respect for the weal or wo of man. What admirable opportunities has the secular orator to extend the potent arm of popular eloquence to the relief of enfeebled virtue, and crush with the power of popular opinion the giant form of vice! The cause of truth and virtue calls loudly for reform upon this point—reform that shall rescue this heaven-appointed instrument of good from the service of sin and corruption. Let this imperative demand be seconded in the most decisive manner, by whatever of virtue there is remaining in the ranks of professional and private life, ere the smothered fires of corruption, fed by a thousand tributary flames, shall burst upon us and roll their scorching waves over all that is fair and lovely in our highly favored land.

But the direct cultivation of the moral mind is the appropriate work of the pulpit orator. Besides all the advantage which he has in the nature of his subjects, and the world from which he is allowed to draw his motives, he is Heaven's commissioned messenger for this very object. The work of guiding mind to its originally intended destination has been undertaken by God himself. And the true expression of his own wisdom is the appointment of human agencies for the accomplishment of this grand object. The eloquence of the pulpit is, therefore, characterized by a loftiness of design and purity of origin which can be claimed for no other. Its philosophy, it is true, has much that is common to oratory in general; and hence the practical principles which

have been dwelt upon at length in this paper, bear more or less directly upon the public efforts of the minister. But its distinctive character will require a separate discussion.

Dr. Blair has well said, that "every sermon should be a persuasive oration." Thorough reformation by right mental action is the great object of preaching. Every effort designed to accomplish this end must be based upon truth in regard to the persons to be reformed. They are uninformed upon the great facts of their present and future interests. Hence persuasion would be useless without instruction; and thus it appears that the minister must be thoroughly furnished with intelligence upon the great science of salvation. Suitably to enlighten the dark mind of the natural man, he will have abundant need of all the information within the reach of human effort. But especially must he be skilled in the exegesis of the sacred text; for this is the great fountain whence his richest stores must be drawn. The truths of the Bible are clothed with the sanction of God; and, most of all within the reach of the embassador of Christ, they shed light upon the mysterious character and eternal destiny of man.

But another fact which bears strongly upon the design of the minister to persuade, is the depraved state of the moral mind. True philosophy requires that he, whose great work is the cultivation of the moral nature, should be aware of its actual condition. Did it exist now in its primeval purity, the whole aspect of Christian theology and of the ministerial work would be changed. But the Scriptures seize upon the most odious objects in nature to represent the moral state of the soul. It is not a beautiful symmetrical human figure, but a putrid mass of loathsome corruption. So completely is it degenerated, that "the imaginations of the thoughts of the heart are only evil, and that continually." This is the state of mind that is to be met by an evangelical ministry. The sovereign remedy is to be prescribed for this dreadfully fatal malady. The way to a supernatural purification of this heart of depravity must be pointed out, and the perverse temper of disobedience, which it has produced, must be overcome. Here, again, the sacred orator must have recourse to his Book of books. He will there find a divine agency, upon which his hearers must rely for moral renovation; and he will there be presented with the awful motives of eternity which must sway the decisions of the will, and triumph over the obstinacy of sin.

And the whole scheme of persuasive eloquence must regard the fact, that man is morally free. If he be moved at all, it must be as a voluntary agent. But this is no barrier to the success

of ministerial effort. Indeed, it is the only psychological arrangement which could make persuasion practicable. And here the orator of the pulpit may find a sufficient reason for all the effort which can add any thing to the probability of success. Here he may concentrate the immense moral power of his sacred profession. He may reach the will through the understanding, and sway it by the force of cogent and irresistible argument. Or he may reach it through the heart, and move it by enlisting the emotions or the passions. He may gently lead his hearer on to Christ, to God, to heaven, by the charms of love or the glory of redemption; or he may "sweep away his refuge of lies" by the collected surges of truth, gathered from heaven, earth, and hell.

But we must arrest the progress of thought, and conclude this brief attempt to develop the philosophy of eloquence, as it relates to the moral nature of man, by a few simple suggestions with regard to the orator and the fundamental elements of his success. Upon the other requisites of the pulpit orator, sufficient to answer the purposes of this article may be gathered from what has already been said. But we must not fail to urge here, that he should be pre-eminently a good man. He whose eloquence must be the ceaseless streams of purity and truth, must contain the fountain whence such streams can emanate—a heart wholly "consecrated to God by the death of his Son." Indeed, he must be, in the highest sense, evangelical. He must have a soul thoroughly impregnated with heavenly love and holy fire. It is another excellent remark of Dr. Blair, that "on no subject can any man be truly eloquent who does not utter the 'veræ voces ab imo pectore,' who does not speak the language of his own conviction, and his own feelings." And if this exact correspondence between the heart and the language is indispensable to the success of even the secular orator, how much more must it be to that of the man whose great business is to rescue his fellows from the power of falsehood and deception, and to stamp upon their hearts the lasting image of truth!

By the same author it is urged that "the chief characteristics of the eloquence suited to the pulpit are, gravity and warmth. The serious nature of the subjects belonging to the pulpit requires gravity; their importance to mankind requires warmth. It is far from being either easy or common to unite these characters of eloquence. The grave, when it is predominant, is apt to run into a dull, uniform solemnity. The warm, when it wants gravity, borders on the theatrical and light. The union of the two must be studied by all preachers as of the utmost consequence, both in

the composition of their discourses and in their manner of delivery. Gravity and warmth united form that character of preaching which the French call *onction;* the affecting, penetrating, interesting manner, flowing from a strong sensibility of heart in the preacher to the importance of those truths which he delivers, and an earnest desire that they may make full impression on the hearts of his hearers."

In the introduction to this article it was stated that rhetoric was the guide of the orator in every thing essential to *instruct the judgment, please the imagination, rouse the passions, and improve the heart;* and that there was philosophy in rhetoric, relating both to mind and language. These truths have been our principal guide in conducting this inquiry. We have endeavored to give the psychological facts which are concerned in these objects of oratory; and, as far as the limits of our design would allow, the philosophy of affecting them by expressed thought. In doing this we may perhaps have incurred the charge of advocating a mechanical, artificial eloquence. If so, it is only necessary to reply, that the subject required the direct discussion of what may be regarded as the true objects of study and effort to the orator; while it allowed only indirect allusions to the "*nature*" of oratory.

Troy Conference Academy, March 24, 1843.

ART. III.—*The British Pulpit. An Essay on Pulpit Eloquence.* Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers. 1841.

WE have read repeatedly, and with increasing satisfaction, this very sensible production. It appeared originally in the Edinburgh Review, and attracted no small attention in England; in our own country it has been copied by the religious press in weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies, and has received most hearty commendation. The publisher of the present edition has issued it in a cheap 18mo. form; we hope he has scattered it broad-cast, for it is our sober conviction that in few communities is such a corrective to the errors of public speaking more needed, and that few rebukes to such errors have been more masterly. It presents none of those ostentatious splendors which, in occasional articles of Mackintosh, Brougham, Macauley, and others, have given celebrity to the veteran Quarterly of Edinburgh, and produced a sensation through the literary circles of the English language, but has

won the meed of admiration by its excellent taste, its thorough good sense, the exceeding pertinency of its suggestions, the simple energy and directness of its style, and its manifest appropriateness to the urgent wants of the times.

The author expresses his wonder that there should be so small a proportion of sermons destined to live; that of the millions preached annually there should be so few which are remembered three whole days—fewer still committed to the press—scarcely one which is not in a few years absolutely forgotten. He says,—

"If any one were for the first time informed what preaching was; if, for example, one of the ancient critics had been told that the time would come when vast multitudes of persons should assemble regularly, to be addressed, in the midst of their devotions, upon the most sacred truths of a religion sublime beyond all the speculations of philosophers, yet in all its most important points simple, and of the easiest apprehension; that with those truths were to be mingled discussions of the whole circle of human duties, according to a system of morality singularly pure and attractive; that the more dignified and the more interesting parts of national affairs were not to be excluded from the discourse; that, in short, the most elevating, the most touching, and the most interesting of all topics, were to be the subject matter of the address, directed to persons sufficiently versed in them, and assembled only from the desire they felt to hear them handled, surely the conclusion would at once have been drawn, that such occasions must train up a race of the most consummate orators, and that the effusions to which they gave birth must needs cast all other rhetorical compositions into the shade.—How, then, comes it to pass, that instances are so rare of eminent eloquence in the pulpit?"

He ascribes the inefficiency which so generally distinguishes the pulpit principally to the following causes:—

"First, that preachers do not sufficiently cultivate, as part of their professional education, a systematic acquaintance with the principles upon which all effective eloquence must be founded—with the limitations under which their topics must be chosen, and the mode in which they must be exhibited, in order to secure popular impression; and, secondly, that they do not, after they have assumed their sacred functions, give sufficient time or labor to the preparation of their discourses."

He then proceeds to consider the "general conditions on which all religious instructions (presupposing them to be true) should be conveyed, and especially the style and the manner peculiarly appropriate to this department of public speaking."

We have hinted at the necessity of some such corrective to the prevalent faults of our public speakers. We would not, however, have the reader class us among those whose characteristic pro-

pensity is to depreciate whatever is native in the genius of their country; far from it, and furthest from it in respect to our capabilities for eloquence. Our history is full of its best examples. Our institutions are more congenial with it than were those of Greece or Rome in the palmiest days of the art. The physical features of our noble country are favorable to it, and the severe practical character of the national mind, especially, is adapted to it; for imagination is more a trait of poetry than of oratory. An imaginative people, like the French or Italians, may produce poets; but the strenuousness of the Greek, or the sternness of the Roman mind, the vigor of the British, or, better perhaps than either, the severe but rapid energy of the American intellect, fits a community to excel in genuine eloquence.

But these capabilities only render it the more desirable that the right principles of the art should be understood, and the more mortifying that spurious ones should be so prevalent. There are many reasons for the latter fact. One is, the juvenility of many of our public speakers, especially in the pulpit. With individuals, as with nations, the first development of mind is poetical, eloquence follows, and philosophy limps on crutches in the rear. Our peculiar impulses, perhaps our peculiar necessities, urge our youth into public life before the poetical period has terminated; this, too, is precisely the period in which modes most readily become habits, and habits become unalterable. Hence rhapsody is often mistaken for eloquence, and declamation for elocution, and even when the inflammable excitability of the young mind has given place to the more manly indications of intellect, this declamatory, bastard elocution, often remains, presenting a more painful incongruity than when accompanied by an equally extravagant intellect.

Another reason, analogous to and partly arising from this, but also applicable to maturer speakers, is the superficiality of our education. While we justly boast of the superior prevalence of popular intelligence among us, we cannot deny the inferiority of our professional education, and in no respects is it more defective than in those which involve the principles of correct taste. Elocution, though included in the programm of every college in the land, is scarcely a study; it is but incidental to the "course." Our young men pass from the college to the bar, the pulpit, and the legislature tolerably instructed, it may be, in the science appropriate to their pursuits, but scarcely acquainted with the practical art on which depends its successful application. Almost as well might one who has never learned the practical art of sculpture, presume that, because he has studied the anatomy of the human frame, and has before him the

marble material and the necessary implements, he can transform the rude stone into an Apollo.

Another cause is the influence of bad models. Men of unquestionable genius, but addicted from early habit to a false elocution, have given it importance and popularity. Their example has indeed become almost a national calamity. The public taste, which is generally correct when let alone, has become strangely deteriorated by this pernicious influence. Clamor is not unfrequently mistaken for eloquence, bombast for learning, and figures ludicrously fantastic, or hideously grotesque, for splendid imagery. We state an undeniable fact. Who has not seen in city churches vast throngs crowding pulpit stairs, altar, aisles, and portals, and hanging from the galleries and windows in vague but wondering interest at speakers whom men of severely just taste could not hear without perspiring with agony—speakers who ever and anon plunge among the clouds, or rake the stars, or, with affected tones, soft mannerisms, feminine allusions, and thoughts equally emasculate, and sometimes with genuine traits of foppery, stand up to discourse to dying men on the simplest and sternest truths in the universe? We scarcely know which should predominate, contempt or humor, in imagining such men in contrast with the noble "apostle to the Gentiles," the Saxon reformer, or the powerful old preachers of Methodism. We do not say that such are *specimens* of our public preachers, but that they are the most popular—the "stars," and therefore, to a great extent, the models—that the public taste has been warped to such standards. They are not only in the pulpit, but at the bar, and in the legislature, though to a much less extent.* Our author says, more truly in respect to England, we fear, than to our own country, that "the irrelevant discussions, the florid declamation, the imaginative finery, the tawdry ornament, which too often are heard in the pulpit, not only without astonishment, but with admiration, would not be tolerated a moment in the senate or at the bar." We do not assert that the popular mind is so far perverted as to approve such instances alone, for, thanks to its instinctive good sense, it ever recognizes the power of a genuine orator; but that it is so far perverted as to approve, to applaud and even prefer them, and that their imitators are found through the land.

How potent is a wrong influence! The causes specified have produced among us a national anomaly. We are considered a

* The reference to Daniel Webster, in a late speech of Hon. T. F. Marshall, is a notable example; it was listened to with enthusiasm, but in print utterly transgresses the principles of correct taste.

rigorously practical, a matter-of-fact people. The national character of no other people shows fewer proofs of the influence of imagination. Our land has given birth to artists, but other lands have had to train and sustain them; we have scarcely produced two or three permanent examples of poetry, and yet public speaking, the most common and commanding instrument of popular influence, is chiefly characterized among us by two qualities, which are in utter defiance of the strongest tendencies of the national mind—*verbiage* and *imaginative extravagance*.

Before we dismiss this part of our subject we would record an earnest admonition to young speakers, resolutely to eschew examples toward which juvenile immaturity and buoyancy so strongly predispose them. Their usefulness, their self-respect, the approbation of all good judges, every motive, in fine, but that of a fictitious and ephemeral popularity, enforces the admonition.

What, then, is the eloquence appropriate to the pulpit? Our author says,—

"The appropriateness of any composition, whether written or spoken, is easily deduced from its object. If that object be to instruct, convince, or persuade, or all these at the same time, we may naturally expect that it should be throughout of a forcible and earnest character—indicating a mind absorbed in the avowed object, and solicitous only about what may subserve it."

This *singleness* of purpose he demands in the topics discussed, the arguments selected to enforce them, the modes of illustration, and in even the peculiarities of style and expression. He would admit nothing for the mere design of exciting an interest, in either the language or the thought, except when directly pertinent to the object, not even for the excitement of an emotion of pleasure "*for its own sake*"—as in poetical productions—although this precise adaptation of the means to the ends cannot fail to excite itself the liveliest pleasure.

"We cannot readily pardon mere beauties or elegances, striking thoughts or graceful imagery, if they are marked by this irrelevancy; since they serve only to impede the vehement current of argument or feeling. In a word, we expect nothing but what, under the circumstances of the speaker, is prompted by *nature;* nature, not as opposed to a deliberate effort to adapt the means to the ends, and to do what is to be done as well as possible, for this, though in one sense art, is also the truest nature; but nature, as opposed to whatever is inconsistent with the idea that the man is under the dominion of genuine feeling, and bent upon taking the directest path to the accomplishment of his object. True eloquence is not like some painted window, which not only transmits the light of day variegated and tinged with a thousand

hues, but calls away the attention from its proper use to the pomp and splendor of the artist's doings. It is a perfectly transparent medium; transmitting light, without suggesting a thought about the medium itself. Adaptation to the one single object is every thing. These maxims have been universally recognized in deliberate and forensic eloquence. Those who have most severely exemplified them, have ever been regarded as the truest models; while those who have partially violated them, have failed to obtain the highest place."

Our author contends that pulpit eloquence never has been as thoroughly assimilated as it might have been to that which has had the greatest effect elsewhere, and which is demonstrated to be the right kind, both by its effects and the analysis of its qualities. The following is his definition of this kind of eloquence:—

"If we were compelled to give a brief definition of the principal characteristics of this truest style of eloquence, we should say it was 'practical reasoning, animated by strong emotion;' or if we might be indulged in what is rather a description than a definition of it, we should say that it consisted in reasoning on topics calculated to inspire a common interest, expressed in the language of ordinary life, and in that brief, rapid, familiar style which natural emotion ever assumes. The former half of this description would condemn no small portion of the compositions called 'Sermons,' and the latter half a still larger portion."

He admits the high character of the literature of the English pulpit, its erudition, originality, and argumentative strength; but contends that it is mostly foreign to the true idea of the "Sermon" —that the greater part of it deserves not the name, "if by it be meant a discourse *especially adapted* to the object of instructing, convincing, or persuading the common mind." If his definition of effective eloquence be correct, viz., that "it consists in reasoning on topics calculated to inspire a common interest in the mass of a common audience," what can be more inappropriate to the pulpit, what more hopeless in engaging the attention or interesting the feelings of a common audience, than metaphysical discussions?

"And yet abstruse speculations on the 'origin of evil,' on 'moral necessity,' on 'the self-determining power,' on the 'ultimate principles of ethics,' on the 'immortality of the soul,' as proved from its indiscerptibility, and we know not what, on 'the eternal fitness of things,' on 'the moral sense,' with other still more recondite speculations on themes which it is almost impious and perfectly useless to touch, were of common occurrence in our older pulpit literature; and they are not unfrequent, though not pursued to the same extent, even now. For our own part we believe that the discussion of such subjects is as about as profitable in a popular assembly as would be that of the well-known questions as to whether angels can pass from one point of space

to another without passing through the intermediate points, and whether they can visually discern objects in the dark. We verily believe that Thomas Aquinas would have stood aghast at the idea of dragging such questions out of the obscurity of the schools into common daylight, and making them the themes of popular declamation."

He thinks that the pulpit is fast reforming in this respect, but laments that so many young preachers, beguiled by the marvelousness or illusive profundity of such extravagances, attempt to display them in their sermons; "touching upon them, at least to a sufficient extent to exhaust and dissipate the attention of the audience," before they come to more valuable and more welcome matter, or using phraseology and allusions incomprehensible to the mass. He rebukes, also, another class who seem more intent on intellectual display than the instruction or reformation of their hearers, such as delight to discuss subjects connected with "natural theology," or "the first principles of morals," who are for ever demonstrating that there is a God to those that never doubted the fact, that the universe displays an intelligent cause to those who have ever admitted it, that death is not an eternal sleep to those who firmly believe in heaven and hell, that man is a moral agent to those who cannot think of him as otherwise, and that those elementary, ethical principles are perfectly true, which savages have never denied.

"We say not that such topics should be excluded from the pulpit, but only that they should form a very inferior element in its ordinary prelections. The Atheist and Deist, though rarely found in Christian congregations, should not be entirely neglected; and those who are neither the one nor the other should certainly be in possession of arguments which may serve to confute both, and to give an intelligent reason 'of the hope that is in them.' But it may safely be taken for granted, in ordinary cases, that the great bulk of those who attend any Christian place of worship, already believe all these things; in a word, admit the truth of that revelation, the exposition and enforcement of which are the preacher's object. What should we say of a member of parliament who should treat the House of Commons (characteristically impatient of what does not bear on practical objects) to formal disquisitions on points on which all the members are agreed, on the first principles of law and government for instance. Allusions to such matters, so far as they bear on the matter in hand, and brief references to general principles, which embrace the particular instances under discussion, are all that would be tolerated."

He pushes this rigor (and severe as it is, we contend that it is demanded by good taste) still further. Not only should the *topics* of the pulpit be thus strictly appropriate, but its phraseology also.

"There are men with whom it is not sufficient to say, that such and such a thing must be, but there is always a 'moral or physical necessity' for it. The will is too old-fashioned a thing to be mentioned, and every thing is done by volition; duty is expanded into 'moral obligation;' men not only *ought* to do this, that, or the other, it is always by 'some principle of their moral nature;' they not only *like* to do so and so, but they are 'impelled by some natural propensity;' men not only *think* and *do*, but they are never represented as thinking and doing without some parade of their 'intellectual processes and active powers.' Such discourses are full of 'moral beauty,' and 'necessary relations,' and 'philosophical demonstrations,' and 'laws of nature,' and '*à priori* and *à posteriori* arguments.' Heat straightway becomes 'caloric,' lightning, the 'electric fluid;' instead of plants and animals, we are surrounded by 'organized substances;' life is nothing half so good as the 'vital principle;' phenomena of all kinds are very plentiful; these phenomena are 'developed,' and 'combined,' and 'analyzed,' and, in short, done every thing with, except being made intelligible. Not only is such language as this obscurely understood, or not understood at all, but even if perfectly understood, must necessarily be far less effective than those simple terms of common life, which for the most part may be substituted for them."

This learned style—the language of learned vanity—is not so common this side the Atlantic as in England, but we have in its stead a species of bombast, which, if possible, is worse; unredeemed by plausible appearances of learning. It consists in the use of uncommon but not technical words—an accumulation of adjectives and adverbs—florid phrases, such as would need much chastening to suit tolerable poetry. We have heard men, who, we should suppose from their professional positions, ought to have read the classic rhetoricians and models, repeat to wondering but unprofited assemblies, discourses which, if put on paper, would be distinguishable from Young's Night Thoughts only by their inferior sense and superior extravagance. A greater rhetorical vice could scarcely exist. If St. Paul should have perpetrated such a solecism on Mars Hill, the fish-mongers of Athens, who, it is said, criticised her orators, would have driven him from Attica. The style of true eloquence is characterized, says our author, by "that *brief*, *familiar*, and *natural* manner which a mind in earnest ever assumes;" such as would be used by a man engaged in earnest conversation—intent on convincing his friend of some momentous truth, or dissuading him from some fatal measure. Greater dignity or vehemence, he admits, will often arise from the greater importance of the subject or a larger audience, &c., but there will be the same general traits still.

"The same colloquial, but never vulgar, diction will remain; the same homely illustrations; the same brevity of expression; in a word,

all those peculiarities which mark a man absorbed in his subject, and simply anxious to give the most forcible expression to his thoughts and feelings. The chief characteristics of this peculiar style are, abhorrence of the ornate and the glittering, of the pompous and the florid; jealousy of epithets, a highly idiomatic and homely diction, a love of brevity and condensation, a freedom from stateliness and formality; rapid changes of construction, frequent recurrence to the interrogative, not to mention numberless other indications of vivacity and animation, marked in speech by the most rapid and varied changes of voice and gesture. Of all its characteristics, the most striking and the most universal is the moderate use of the imagination. Now, as lively emotion always stimulates the imagination, it may at first sight appear paradoxical that this should be a characteristic at all. But a little reflection will explain this; for every one must recollect that if a speaker is in earnest, he never employs his imagination as the poet does, merely to delight us; nor indeed to delight us at all—except as appropriate imagery, though used for another object, necessarily imparts pleasure. For this reason, illustrations are selected always with a reference to their force rather than their beauty; and are very generally marked more by their homely propriety than by their grace and elegance. For the same reason, wherever it is possible, they are thrown into the brief form of metaphor; and here Aristotle, with his usual sagacity, observes that the metaphor is the only trope in which the orator may freely indulge. Every thing marks the man intent upon serious business, whose sole anxiety is to convey his meaning with as much precision and energy as possible to the minds of his auditors. But with the poet, whose very object is to delight us, or even with the prose writer, in those species of prose which have the same object, the case is widely different. He may employ two or more images, if they are but appropriate and elegant, where the orator would employ but one, and that perhaps the simplest and homeliest; he may throw in an epithet merely to suggest some picturesque circumstance, or to give greater minuteness and vivacity to description; he may sometimes indulge in a more flowing and graceful expression than the orator would venture upon; that is, whenever harmony will better answer his object than energy. What does it matter to him who is walking for walking's sake, how long he lingers amidst the beautiful, or how often he pauses to drink in at leisure the melody and fragrance of nature? But the man who is pressing on to his journey's end, cannot afford time for such luxurious loitering. The utmost he can do is to snatch here and there a homely floweret from the dusty hedgerow, and eagerly pursue his way. So delicate is the perception attained by a highly cultivated taste of the proprieties of all grave and earnest composition, that it not only feels at enmity with the meretricious or viciously ornate, but immediately perceives that the greatest beauties of certain species of prose composition would become little better than downright bombast, if transplanted into any composition the object of which was serious. We may illustrate this by referring to a passage of acknowledged beauty—the description, in the *Antiquary*, of the sunset preceding the storm, there so grandly delineated. 'The sun was now resting his

huge disc upon the edge of the level ocean, and gilded the accumulation of towering clouds through which he had traveled the livelong day, and which now assembled on all sides, like misfortunes and disasters around a sinking empire and falling monarch. Still, however, his dying splendor gave a sombre magnificence to the massive congregation of vapors, forming out of their unsubstantial gloom the show of pyramids and towers, some touched with gold, some with purple, some with a hue of deep and dark red. The distant sea, stretched beneath this varied gorgeous canopy, lay almost portentously still, reflecting back the dazzling and level beams of the descending luminary, and the splendid coloring of the clouds amid which he was setting.' No one in reading this passage can help admiring its graphic beauty; the numerous epithets, considering the purpose for which they are employed—that of detaining the mind upon every picturesque circumstance, and giving vividness and fidelity to the whole picture—appear no more frequent than they ought to be. But suppose some naval historian, who has occasion to narrate the movements of two hostile fleets, (separated on the eve of battle by a storm,) should suddenly pause to introduce a similar description, would not the effect be so ridiculous that no one could read to the end of the passage without bursting into laughter?"

"Ridiculous?" Most assuredly, and yet we put it to the reader if he has not frequently heard from men who pass for pulpit orators, sermons which were almost entirely a series of picturesque descriptions—descriptions too which would compare in chasteness with the above about as much as would the Paphian goddess with Diana.

Having thus discussed the appropriate character of the sermon in respect to its topics and style, our author presents examples. Latimer and the English reformers generally are mentioned as specimens. Notwithstanding their rude language, quaint affectations, and frequent puerilities, their style is strongly idiomatic, and their whole tone of discourse is direct, pungent, sincere. Baxter he considers a superior model. Jeremy Taylor, though often disfigured by his exuberant imagination, presents frequently the correct manner. Robert Hall, whom our author calls "the greatest of modern English preachers," is said to have maintained in his ordinary sermons the style here so earnestly recommended. In writing his sermons for the press, he gave them the dress of his literary works. Hence our author prefers, as pulpit models, those which were imperfectly taken down in short-hand from his own lips. He ascribes much of Whitefield's effectiveness to his conformity to these principles. His printed sermons, with all their deformities, have the direct, colloquial style, frequent transitions, and brief images, for which we have contended. The two best

models yet produced by our own church are examples of this style —Summerfield and Fisk. The style of the former was remarkably simple and colloquial—his eloquence was (what all true eloquence is) that of feeling, not imagination. Montgomery, in a letter, prefixed to his biography, says that there was seldom, if ever, poetical imagery in his sermons. He was happy in the use of illustrations, but they were generally metaphors, brief, and directly to the point. The style of Fisk was not so colloquial, but was extremely simple and pertinent—uncommonly idiomatic. His images were numerous, but brief, and mostly similes. Of all English preachers our author gives the preference to South, exclusively referring to his *style*. His fancy more forcible than elegant, his vigorous intellect, shrewd common sense, condensed and direct language, fitted him for the most effective eloquence. A quotation is given, which happily at once asserts and exemplifies the principles here advocated. We cannot better conclude this part of our article than by inserting it :—

"'*I speak the words of soberness*,' said St. Paul, 'and I preach the gospel not with the *enticing words of man's wisdom*.' This was the way to the apostle's discoursing of things sacred. Nothing here of *the fringes of the north star*; nothing of *nature's becoming unnatural*; nothing of the *down of angels' wings*, or *the beautiful locks of cherubim*: no starched similitudes introduced with a 'Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion,' and the like. No—these were sublimities above the rise of the apostolic spirit. For the apostles, poor mortals, were content to take lower steps, and to tell the world, in plain terms, that he who believed should be saved, and he who believed not should be damned. And this was the dialect which pierced the conscience, and made the hearers cry out, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' It tickled not the ear, but sunk into the heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never commended the preacher for his taking voice or gesture; for the fineness of such a simile, or the quaintness of such a sentence; but they spoke like men conquered by the overpowering force and evidence of the most concerning truths; much in the words of the two disciples going to Emmaus, 'Did not our hearts burn within us while he opened to us the Scriptures?' In a word, the apostles' preaching was therefore mighty and successful, because plain, natural, and familiar, and by no means above the capacity of their hearers: nothing being more preposterous, than for those who were professedly aiming at men's hearts, to miss the mark by shooting over their heads."

Having thus shown what should be the character of pulpit discourses in respect to topics and style, we take leave of our author and pass to some remarks, as practical as possible, on *extemporaneous* preaching in particular—a mode of which he declares that

he "cannot but think it the most effective, as it is certainly the most natural manner." It is rapidly becoming national among us, and yet it would seem that some disposition exists in our own denomination to deviate from a usage so well tested by our ministry. At a conference, which the writer attended not long since, it was intimated that notes were becoming customary in some of our pulpits. Quite a spirited but pleasant discussion ensued, which was enlivened by some good-humored anecdotes, and rendered instructive by pertinent remarks from the fathers of the conference. The presiding bishop gave a decided opinion against the innovation; and no doubt a large majority of the members deemed the verdict just. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has formally recommended extemporaneous preaching to its ministry; it certainly ought to be surprising that while they are adopting our own usages so zealously, *we* seem so much disposed to reciprocate the courtesy, and assume the habits which experience has taught them to abandon. We are no sticklers for peculiarities from the consideration of their age; let innovations come, if they be but improvements; but we most heartily remonstrate against the first approaches to a change in the respect referred to, not only because we think that extemporaneous speaking is the apostolic—the most successful mode of preaching—but because we believe it the only mode which fully admits the principles we have been discussing.

There are occasions on which sermons written out and read, or delivered memoriter, may be admissible; but they are few, and the speaker ought always to be commiserated for the inconvenience of a task so irksome and so incompatible with that spontaneous play of thought and emotion, which is absolutely necessary to true eloquence. Though admissible, we would not say this course is necessary, even on such occasions. The most important efforts of oratory have been extemporaneous. The classic orators spoke extempore; their preserved orations were mostly written after delivery. The greatest orators of the British senate did the same; and if we must except a few, like Burke, it will be found that they were not so much eloquent speakers as elegant writers. The energetic and Greek-like eloquence of the American revolution was also extemporaneous. Occasions the most important and the most appalling, involving the interests of states, and presenting the most formidable contrasts of parties and speakers, have been met and triumphantly controlled in extemporaneous discourse; the speakers preferring to be unembarrassed by the particularities of verbal preparation. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the

highest kind of eloquence can be otherwise attained; it is true, at least, that all the great masters of the art, Demosthenes and Cicero, Mirabeau and Chatham, Grattan and Curran, Henry and Webster, Whitefield and Hall, have been mostly "extemporizers." There is, we admit, a species of dramatic eloquence, the eloquence of great actors on the stage, and of the French pulpit in the age of Louis XIV., which may be referred to as an exception. We would not, however, allow it to be even an exception. On the stage, it is generally but poetical recitation; and in the French pulpit it was a similar recitation of poetical prose.

If the highest efforts of public speaking have been extemporaneous, it is certainly to be presumed that the efforts of ordinary occasions can be.

Observing men, who may have little practice in an art which requires genius, are sometimes better judges of the principles of that art than are practical proficients; the latter are beguiled in their judgments by the facilities—the ready intuitions of genius. Genius acts instinctively, and seldom observes the process of its own operations. Hence good poets are seldom good critics; and genuine orators have seldom defined accurately their art. Goldsmith, who knew nothing of it from practice, but much from observation, has given us perhaps one of the best definitions. He says, "A man may be called eloquent who transfers the passions or sentiments with which he is moved into the breast of another." Again, "In a word, to *feel your subject* thoroughly, and to *speak without fear*, are the only rules of eloquence properly so called." He is more explicit in another passage: "Be convinced of the truth of the object, be perfectly acquainted with the subject in view, prepossess yourself with a low opinion of your audience, and *do the rest extempore*. By this means strong expressions, new thoughts, rising passions, and the true style, will naturally ensue." Every successful "extemporizer" will give to the second passage the authority of an axiom. It may be stated as a fundamental rule in eloquence—*feel and be fearless*. The third quotation is but an expansion of the second, with one very defective clause; it is not necessary, in order to "speak without fear," that the speaker should "prepossess himself with a low opinion of his audience;" far otherwise. The importance of his subject, the pre-eminence of higher considerations and motives, (especially in the preacher,) and the consciousness of competent preparation, will lift him above the influence of fear much more effectually than an impression which, in most cases, must be fictitious, and in all should be ungrateful to an elevated mind.

But how command this frame of mind—"*feeling and fearless?*" This is the question. The advocate of notes proposes to protect himself by their instrumentality from fear and embarrassment. This he may do to some extent, but almost invariably at the expense of the other element—"*feeling.*" The hard and minute labor of the preparation, and the mechanical mannerisms of the delivery of manuscript sermons, can scarcely fail to impair the freshness and impetus of thought. The preacher may be didactive and instructive, but he can rarely be eloquent. This method may suit the professor's chair or the lyceum desk; but it is utterly at variance with the spirit and intent of the pulpit. The people might as well read for themselves; they may find better sermons in their libraries. The pulpit ought to be didactive; but it ought to be more—it should be the fountain of *religious sympathies*, as well as religious instruction; it was designed to keep alive the spirit as well as the truth of Christianity in the world, and for this reason no proficiency of the people in Scriptural knowledge can supersede its appointed instrumentality. Preaching is not an adventitious appliance of Christianity, nor would we make it out a sacrament; yet it stands next to the eucharist and baptism—*the third great institution* of our religion, having as much authority and speciality as the sacraments; and were the Bible in every man's hand, still would it stand a high ordinance of God, a source of vivification and impulse to the church, until the end of the world. *This is the main purport of the pulpit*—if not, then the press or the religious academy can supersede it. How can we reconcile with such views that cold and lifeless retail of religious truth from a manuscript, which is misnamed preaching? To us it has the highest effect of the ludicrous, to imagine Christ on the mount, Peter on the day of Pentecost, or Paul on Mars Hill, *reading a manuscript.* How would it look, even at the bar, or in the senate?

If, then, the advocate of manuscripts can prevent by them embarrassment or "fear," (which is not unqualifiedly the case,) still he loses an advantage infinitely more important than the one he gains.

This, we believe, is the main design of manuscript preaching. It is not that the discourse may be more exact, more compact. It is doubted whether this is desirable for popular assemblies; and extemporaneous discourse, with suitable preparation, will admit of the most consecutive thought. There are other and better reliefs from embarrassment, which we shall soon consider. Meanwhile, it may be remarked, that it is no serious reason for discouragement, especially to the young speaker. Animal courage

seldom coexists with strong susceptibilities of the imagination or the heart. Few great captains have been eloquent. Few distinguished poets or orators have shown much bravery. Cicero declares that he always trembled before addressing a public assembly. Demosthenes showed himself a coward, and Whitefield confessed himself one. Of all qualities, animal courage is the least allied with other excellences; and it will be observed that of all public speakers, those bravoes who fear nothing have generally the least of that energy or pathos which frequently makes a trembling man a son of thunder or an angel of consolation. Diffidence in the early career of a public speaker is therefore a good sign. It denotes sensibility; and without sensibility there is no eloquence. In time, it may be sufficiently subdued to have all its advantages without its disadvantages. And it will always have the one advantage mentioned by a classic and accomplished lawyer, the younger Pliny,—"A confusion and concern in the countenance of a speaker casts a grace upon all that he utters; for there is a certain decent timidity, which I know not how, is infinitely more engaging than the assumed self-sufficient air of confidence."

Our remarks thus far apply particularly to sermons entirely written. We object less, but yet strongly, to the use of briefs *in the pulpit*. We can conceive of no reason for it except indolence or imbecility. Neither of these we presume to be the cause. It is habit, at first indulged, but at last fixed. Can it be supposed that a brief sketch, seldom occupying more than a letter-page, can be noted down and then studied, revolved, expanded in the mind, and yet not be sufficiently impressed on the memory to allow the speaker to dispense with his notes? If not, we cannot conceive how such imbecility of memory can coexist with the other mental qualifications which are deemed necessary for the Christian ministry. We know men of the weakest memories for verbal details, who, nevertheless, can study out sermons requiring an hour, or an hour and a half in delivery, so as to recall with accuracy every division, subdivision, illustration, and reference. We repeat, it is habit that leads to the necessity of briefs in the pulpit. The speaker who uses them fixes not in his mind the capital ideas as centres of association for the subordinate thoughts, but, on the contrary, stores his memory with the filling up, and then refers to his manuscript for the leading propositions. This course is contrary to the very philosophy of association, and must cost more labor than the opposite method—not to speak of the interruption of thought and feeling occasioned by such references. Let the speaker go into the pulpit with his subject, in its length and

breadth, printed on his memory; let him see "through and through" it clearly; let him feel that nothing remains to be done but to deliver his distinct and glowing impressions, and will he not have more self-possession and more buoyant freedom than if he enters it with that vagueness of mind which requires the aid of a manuscript? But what if he is inexperienced, or weak of nerve, and becomes embarrassed, and "forgets his place"—what then? Why, let him stumble along, and say Amen as soon as he can. He will much sooner overcome such a liability, by so doing, than by trusting to his notes. A child learns to walk more readily by its own awkward movements than by mechanical supports.

We have mentioned that the chief design of notes is the prevention of embarrassment, and the vagueness which usually follows it, and have said that there are other and better preventives. The rule quoted from Goldsmith omits the most important one which applies to the pulpit, viz., the spiritual support which is pledged to the devoted minister. This thought is usually dispatched with little remark, as presupposed, but we would emphasize it. It is a vast consideration; it is not enough pondered by God's ministers. We have frequently been astonished at the slight moral courage of many who have read the promise a thousand times, and who ought to carry it in their hearts into the pulpit, like an impulse from "the third heaven:"—"*I will be with you even unto the end.*" Blessed is this sentence. Every word is emphatical. "I"—who? He who is God over all, and blessed for evermore; "will be," it is positive; with whom? "*with you;*" "even," it is emphatical; "*unto the end,*" it is definite. And now with such a promise, and with a special commission from heaven for his work, and with all the motives of eternity stirring his spirit, ought it to be expected that the minister of Christ should quail and cower? He may well tremble under his responsibility, but he should be the last to fear the face of man. We have already admitted that he may in his early efforts be diffident, and that it is not a bad indication for him to be so, but we contend that he can, and ought to overcome this inconvenience, without a resort to notes. It is an evil which ought to be overcome—an enemy that ought to be fought down; but let it be conquered, not by skulking under shelter, but sword in hand.

Again, one of the most important remedies of this difficulty is, competent preparation. We have been a little curious to learn the modes of preparation among various preachers, and have been astonished at their diversity. Some we have found who never put pen to paper for the pulpit. This is not right. If a man

could even study, and retain in his mind thoroughly, a subject for the time being, still he cannot preserve it for the future without a record. The indolence and negligence of such are inexcusable. We never knew any one follow this course who was profound or accurate. A second class go to the opposite extreme, and write most of their sermons entirely, and preach them *memoriter*. There are many objections to this course. It consumes too much time. Few faithful pastors can find leisure from more important duties for the composition and memorizing of two sermons per week. It will be almost invariably found that these sermon writers are poor pastors, not only neglecting their pastoral duties, but unsociable, reserved, if not morose, by their sedentary and laborious habits. Extemporaneous preachers ought to write much, not only to preserve their thoughts, but to counteract a tendency to versatility and verbosity—a tendency which will always beset them—but they had better write their sermons after than before delivery. They should be habitual writers, also, on subjects not peculiar to their profession. Some of the most eloquent speakers have been among the most vigorous writers. Cicero is an instance from the bar, and Hall from the pulpit—yet it has been in spite of their oratorical habits and by the closest discipline. Again, sermons delivered *memoriter*, lose their freshness and power. Few are the individuals who can vivify a stale and memorized discourse, and those who can, could, with suitable practice, be much more effective in extemporaneous delivery. There is no eloquence more commanding and sublime than that of the extemporaneous speaker, who, with a mastery of his subject, with the strenuous action of all his faculties, and the full play of all his feelings, stands before his audience unshackled by preconceived details of thought and language.

There are others who write out their discourses, but do not deliver them verbatim, retaining in mind the general train of thought, and using the language only so far as it can be readily recollected. This appears to us an unfavorable mode, for if the speaker is somewhat embarrassed he will be endeavoring to call up his language to his assistance, and not being able to do it, will become the more perplexed; and if he should not be embarrassed, he will be able to speak without such verbal preparation. In the one case, it is an evil; in the other, superfluous. There are other wrong modes of preparation, which need not be enumerated; but what is the right one?

By extemporaneous we need not say we have not meant unpremeditated discourse, but unwritten. *The most thorough study is requisite for success to an extemporaneous speaker.* What is the

best mode of preparation for him? This is the question. We pretend not to answer it fully, but will do so as well as we can. A direct answer should include the *selection*, *arrangement*, and *elaboration* of subjects; a more comprehensive one would take in that prior mental discipline and training in elocution which we at present presuppose.

First, the *selection* and *arrangement* of subjects. There are two modes—the textual and the topical. Both are common; but some use almost exclusively the former. In their ordinary reading of the Scriptures, they fix upon a striking or apposite text, and form their divisions upon its different clauses. There is a kind of expository preaching, and there are some individual texts in which this plan is good—sometimes admirable; but in most cases it is obviously not the best. A text includes frequently as many distinct topics as it does clauses, and all *unity* must be put at defiance, by adjusting the divisions of the sermon to those of the passage. We would not stickle too much for a vigorous use of critical rules in addressing popular assemblies; still they are to be respected, for they are not adventitious; they are founded in the constitution of the human mind, and prescribe the best mode of addressing it—and the pulpit should always use the best. It is not a little amusing to observe with what mechanical regularity some of these textualists lay down their "first," "secondly," and "thirdly," (most generally the *object*, the *means*, and the *motives*,) and finally "taper off" with a well-assorted series of "conclusions." Unity is one of the highest rhetorical excellences of a discourse. 1. The discourse is better remembered than when composed of unrelated parts. 2. One leading truth distinctly and exclusively presented, can be better appreciated by the judgment of the hearer than many of questionable relation. 3. A single truth, especially if a weighty one, (and what truth of religion is not?) illustrated, placed in different lights, argued and enforced throughout a discourse, will make a profounder impression on the conscience of the hearer than a variety, discursively treated. There is sometimes much execution done by a scattering fire; still it is never so sure as that which is well-directed.

Further, this digressive preaching is not only not adapted to the minds of the hearers, but it does not admit of a thorough exhibition of religious truth. Is it not owing to this habit that we have so little doctrinal preaching, the crying want of the times? We have, indeed, a few doctrines stated and reiterated in almost every discourse, and they, fortunately, are the elementary, the vital

truths; but how seldom are they fully defined! We do not advocate controversial preaching—the usual religious controversies in the pulpit, or through the press, we consider, with few exceptions, miserable pugilism; men might as well go at it fisticuff, and decide their theology by black eyes and bloody noses as to decide it by the usual manner in which controversies on Universalism, Unitarianism, &c., are conducted. But we may preach *doctrinally*, and yet not *controversially*. We should *instruct* our people. We should fortify them in the wholesome doctrines of the truth. This we cannot do distinctly and thoroughly without expounding individual doctrines, and we can sufficiently expound them without violating the rules for which we have contended. The discursive preacher is like the specimen seeker, who, with the precious vein beneath his feet, gathers fragments of all surrounding minerals, each, perchance, glittering with particles of the richer element; while the more sagacious discoverer stops not to shape and polish inferior specimens, but only breaks up the surrounding mass that he may dig deeper into the golden depth. The course here recommended would not be barren—it may be rich in variety, but its variety would not be in the leading thoughts,—the "propositions," —but in the filling up. There is a *multum in uno* which displays at once discipline and fertility of mind.

A further objection is, that the stated preacher especially requires a more economical distribution of his resources, or he will soon find himself exhausted, and under the necessity of repeating in substance his old outlines.

There is a paraphrastical mode of preaching, to which these objections do not apply. It consists of a running commentary on a number of passages—it is quite distinct from the above, being expository; not sermonic. It would be in many respects advantageous for our preachers to adopt a more *expository* mode of preaching during a part of each sabbath. How rich in instruction are the narratives and parables of the Gospels, and how ineffectually must they be imbodied in the discussion of an isolated text! The modern or textual mode of preaching was unknown to the first preachers of Christianity. Their method was to read a portion of Scripture and comment or exhort upon it. Again, such discourses might be confined to the lesson of the day for the Bible class or Sunday school; they might tend to illustrate and enforce it, and at the same time be alike interesting to a promiscuous congregation. It is to be feared that in our own churches, especially, preaching is too uniformly hortative. Such preaching is essential —perhaps the most important kind of pulpit discourse—but it

should not be exclusive; a perpetual reiteration of the more spiritual elements of theology may not only interfere with the varied and extensive instruction of the people, but impair, finally, the interest and influence of such a mode of address.

The topical mode of selecting and arranging subjects, is that in which a preacher fixes upon a *subject* or *topic*, and afterward selects a text suitable for it. For instance, he chooses the subject of "religious zeal," and he can take for his text, "It is good to be zealously affected in a good cause." Repentance, faith, baptism, holiness, perseverance, apostasy, &c., &c., &c., are topics for which appropriate texts may be found after the discourse is completely studied. Such a discourse may consist of divisions and subdivisions framed upon the different aspects of the topic, or of a simple series of arguments or illustrations on one of its aspects; the latter being always preferable, as admitting more closeness and more economy of thought. Having prepared his sermon in reference only to the topic, he can apply the text to it so far as it is applicable, without digressing into collateral clauses. Most of the sermons of Chalmers are specimens, while the skeletons of Simeon are examples of the textual plan. As the advantages of this mode are the converse of the disadvantages of the other, they need not be discussed. Its simplicity, unity, energy, and economy are manifest.

We have blended the subjects of selection and arrangement for brevity. Another point remains, viz. the *elaboration* of the discourse, or that study which should follow the preparation of the skeleton—the filling up of the outline. We have several brief observations to make respecting it. First. The filling up, though general, should be so complete that the speaker can see through the *whole* perspective of the discourse. The text is the staple, the divisions are the swivel, and the subordinate thoughts are the links of the chain—the series should be unbroken if the artizan would be sure. We do not mean that the *whole* discourse should be prepared—but that *the different propositions should be connected by leading and well-related thoughts*. An extemporaneous speaker should not go into the pulpit (except in emergencies) without such a clew. These trailing thoughts may be general enough to admit of abundant extemporaneous additions—three or four in a dozen words, between each division, might suffice—but they should always be thoroughly studied and invariably noted in their place on the manuscript. We consider this a most indispensable rule. Many merely sketch the divisions, and trust to the occasion for the intermediate train of thought; such are never safe. If embar-

rassment or temporary lassitude should overtake them, they may state their well-wrought positions only to bring into greater contrast a meagre, spiritless filling up. Next to divine aid, this rule is perhaps the best preventive of embarrassment. It gives the speaker a degree of confidence in his subject, which few embarrassing circumstances can disconcert. Whatever may be his lack of vivacity or fertility when he enters the pulpit, he feels assured that he has provided a stock of solid and instructive thought, which cannot but be received with profit and respect by his hearers; there is little danger of confusion, therefore; not so will he discourse as one who beats the air. We know of successful extemporizers who consider this the prime human security in the pulpit.

Second. Not only would we have a somewhat consecutive train of thought between the propositions *sketched down*, but it is desirable that some specially good thoughts, some apt or striking illustrations, adapted to throw a strong light on the subject, and to arrest the attention of the audience, should be noted—some illustrative quotations of Scripture or apposite passage of poetry—some of our author's "flowerets from the dusty hedge-row"—which will strike the mind as appropriate and even beautiful, provided it be not irrelevant beauty, such as we have proscribed. Let not such a course be despised as factitious or meretricious. We demand such preparation of the political or literary orator; and is the gospel of the grace of God less worthy? No speaker who wishes to make a forcible and vivid impression will neglect it. We do not recommend that such passages, when original, be prepared in their verbal dress; in this respect they should be extemporaneous—but let them be *noted*. The abbreviations given by Gregory of the concluding passages of Robert Hall's celebrated sermon on "Sentiments suitable to the Times" are fine examples. William Pitt pronounced the last five pages of that discourse more eloquent than any thing else on record. The language was extemporaneous, yet those overwhelming apostrophes were well studied.

Third. After thus preparing thoroughly the discourse, the next step is to commit it well to memory. The more it is labored, the more readily can it be memorized; in most cases the two processes are coincident. Those who depend upon manuscripts in the pulpit, cannot be aware of the facility of memorizing after such preparation.

Fourth. There is besides memorizing, a species of reviewing practiced by most, perhaps all extemporaneous speakers, which may be called ruminating. "I never have preached," said Bolton,

"a sermon to my people which I did not first preach to myself." This ruminating process is all-important in extemporaneous discourse; by it the speaker not only refreshes his memory, but excites his thoughts, and kindles his feelings. Combined with an ardent spirit of prayer and a close self-application of the subject, it becomes a most intense and hallowing exercise. There are two important rules respecting it, which are transgressed perhaps by most preachers. One is, that it should be an exercise entirely of *meditation* not of *delivery*. The speaker should review and expand his thoughts, but not try to clothe them in language. He will find himself always tending to this latter point, but should obstinately avoid it; because, 1. Appropriate language will always occur to him in the pulpit, if the thoughts are clear and vivid. 2. If he gives it a premeditated dress, he will probably not be able to recall it fully, unless he can also recall the language. 3. It is frequently embarrassing to depend upon premeditated but unwritten language. The difficulty here is like that of the memoriter preacher whose manuscript is not well committed, and whose ineffectual efforts to recall his language are more perplexing than would be the task of originating it extemporaneously.

The other rule is, that it should never be exercised much immediately before preaching—only so far as to reassure the memory. The fatigue and agitation of mind occasioned by laborious and anxious revision, just before entering the pulpit, must in most cases impair its buoyant play. Let there be, therefore, a full interval of repose between the time of revision and that of delivery. It is said of Rowland Hill, that he usually indulged in mental relaxation before entering the desk, and frequently when called from his study to attend the service, he was found exercising his mechanical taste by taking apart and recomposing the machinery of a clock or watch.

We might enlarge much on these points, but our limits require brevity. The few rules we have illustrated have been learned from a number of the best judges. Various minds require various modes; yet these few and simple principles are of universal and essential application. They are practical axioms. We believe that no one who thoroughly adopts them will find it necessary or desirable to trammel himself with manuscripts. A. S.

Boston, Mass., March, 1843.

ART. IV.—*The Episcopal Church defended—Review of the "Original Church of Christ," by Dr. Bangs.* By JAMES A. BOLLES, A. M., Rector of St. James' Church, Batavia, N. Y.

IN the remarks which may be made upon this strange production, it will be extremely difficult to meet and refute the many misstatements which the reverend author has made, without reflecting injuriously upon his character as a man of candor and a lover of truth. It is certainly no less mortifying than it is derogatory to the Christian character, to find its professed advocates descending from that high elevation on which such a holy cause places them, to dabble in the muddy waters of defamation, trying to fortify themselves by erroneous statements, by contemptuous epithets, and by sophisms as hollow as they are ruinous to the cause they are brought to defend. That the author before us has thus disgraced himself as a writer, and committed the cause he has attempted to advocate, will manifestly appear in the course of these observations.

It seems that in the course of last year a controversy arose between the Rev. Mr. Bolles and the Rev. Mr. Steele, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stationed in Batavia, involving, in its progress, the validity of our ordination, by Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, and Bishop Asbury, in which Mr. Bolles repeats the stale, and often refuted charges which have been made against these men of God for their official acts. With a view to clear himself of all arguments which had been adduced in favor of presbyterian ordination, and against the fiction of uninterrupted succession, he undertakes a review of the "Original Church of Christ," in which we know not which most to admire, his fecundity in inventing false charges, or his ingenuity in evading the force of all my strongest positions, and the proofs adduced to sustain them.

1. In the first place he finds fault with me for asserting that the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized before the Protestant Episcopal Church had an existence in this country. His remarks upon this subject are so exceedingly weak and evasive that they would be utterly unworthy of serious refutation, were it not that they may, by possibility, deceive the ignorant and unthinking portion of his readers.

But how does he attempt to evade the fact? Why, by asserting that "the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., was consecrated in Scotland on the 14th of November, 1784—more than a month before

the organization of a Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore." He might well add, "But enough upon this point." Surely this is enough for any man that has nothing more to give, but it is not enough, certainly, to satisfy the cravings of an honest mind in pursuit of truth.

How stand the facts in the case? They are as follows:—Dr. Seabury was ordained in Scotland on the 14th of November, 1784. On the 2d of September, 1784, Dr. Coke was consecrated a superintendent by Mr. Wesley: here was a priority of time in favor of Dr. Coke of two months and twelve days. Do you say that the mere act and fact of consecration does not constitute a church organization? Granted. But if it prove the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as Mr. Bolles seems to think it does, it surely proves as much for the Methodist Episcopal Church. But Dr. Coke arrived in this country eleven days before Dr. Seabury was ordained. Here, again, is priority. But still no church was organized. This took place on the 25th of December following; but the Protestant Episcopal Church was not organized until 1787, three years after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Now, were these facts known to Mr. Bolles? If they were, as they must, I think, have been, what shall be said of the above assertion? We leave it to his own reflections.

But, allowing the facts, how does he dispose of them? How do you think, reader? He says, the reformers

"were glad of the opportunity not only of pointing to the time when the Church existed in England entirely free from Papal corruptions, but of proving that the Reformation was no more the birthday of the Church than it was of the creation of the world. And so we answer to all such miserable and 'ad captandum' arguments, and tell you that you might as well talk about the discovery of the American continent at the time of the revolution, as to talk about the establishment of the Church in this country *then*."

The force of this argument seems to be this:—The reformers claimed that the Reformation did not produce a new church, but only cleared away the rubbish from the old primitive church; and, hence, that the Protestant Episcopal Church is not a new one, but only a continuation of the old apostolic church. Now, pray tell us to what this all amounts? May not all the denominations claim the like distinction? Have they not all descended through the same line? In this respect, then, they are all of the same age and family, only one has changed its external appearance in one particular, and another in another, but all retaining the same identity.

What a pitiful plea is this for originality, and to prove that the Protestant Episcopal Church had an organization in *this* country prior to the existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, though not organized, in fact, until *three years afterward!* "But enough of this."

2. The next exception which Mr. Bolles takes to my book is, the position which it assumes that the "terms bishop and presbyter, or elder, signified, in the primitive church, the same order of ministers." He does not object to the truth of this position, but only that it is such a truism that no one attempts to dispute it. Very well. Here, then, is one thing gained by controversy, for, be it remembered, that this was not always taken for granted. But why does he find fault with me for taking so much pains to prove so obvious a truth? Truly it was the tenderest sympathy. I might have spared myself so much labor! Thanking my antagonist for the tenderness of his spirit, I will take the liberty of remarking, that he seems not to be aware that in establishing that point I upset, at a stroke, all his arrogant pretensions to a *third order* in the ministry, made such by a *triple consecration;* for if bishops and elders were the same as to order, and if Titus and Timothy were, as they contend, bishops, they were also elders, and nothing more, as to order, and hence elders, or bishops, or presbyters, had the right of ordination. But

"can the doctor prove that the higher office held at first by the twelve apostles, and which all must acknowledge was entirely distinct from either or any of the other—can he prove that this office was not continued in the Christian church, and was not intended to be continued so long as the church shall exist?"

To this I answer, that whether I prove it or not, makes nothing either for or against my position; for, indeed, "that is" *not* "the question;" the question is, whether these apostles were so ordained as to make it their *exclusive* privilege to ordain others; and that these others were ordained three several times, first deacons, then elders, and, thirdly, bishops, evangelists, or apostles, or by whatever name you may please to call them, *before* they were duly qualified to ordain others; and that this practice has been kept up in the church from that day to this? This *is* the question. And in stating it in my book, I made this proposal, which I now repeat,—

That if they will bring any authentic proof of this during the first two hundred years of the Christian era, I would consent, if they would accept of me, to a reconsecration by one of their

bishops, and likewise persuade as many of my brethren as I could to follow my example.

Has Mr. Bolles met this challenge? He has not. And until he does, all his vaunting, caviling evasions, amount to nothing.

Here, let it be remembered, is the ground on which I stand. I proved in my book, and Mr. Bolles has not even attempted to invalidate my proof, that elders, under the general superintendence of the apostles, governed the church, and administered all its ordinances, not excepting that of ordination, in some portions of Christendom, for upward of four hundred years.

Let it be recollected that the question is not respecting jurisdiction, but of ordination. We know that the apostles, during their lifetime, and afterward the evangelists, and after them the bishops, did exercise an extensive jurisdiction over the churches; but that they were inducted into their office by a triple consecration, and thereby claimed the exclusive right of ordination, is what, I think, no one ever did, or ever can prove. And yet, until it is proved, the doctrine of uninterrupted succession of a third order, made such by a triple consecration, must be considered a fiction of man's invention, palmed upon the world, for what purpose I will not say.

This being the true state of the question, all Mr. Bolles' flippery about pointing to the "recorded facts that this office *was* continued" is lighter than the "chaff of the summer's threshing-floor." I will not dispute the question with him. It may, for all that I care for its consequences, stand as an indisputable truth, that the apostolic office was continued in the church; still it will remain a question of momentous consequence in this controversy, Did these apostles, in order that their successors in office might be duly qualified to administer the rite of ordination to others, induct them into office by three several and separate ordinations, and has that practice been kept up to the present time? Prove this, sir, and your work is done. Leave it unproved, and all you may say amounts to nothing.

As this is the point in debate, I may well dispense with an answer to all he has said about what Episcopalians believe respecting the right of ordination being confined to the apostles and their successors. All this may pass with him for sober truth, if it please him so to consider it. But, then, here another question will arise, which he will do well to settle: Who were the successors of the apostles? Were they Timothy, Titus, Barnabas? What were they called? Do you say bishops? But, according to Mr. Bolles, no one disputes but that bishops and elders signified

the same order of ministers, in the primitive church, for the first two hundred years. Bishops, then, or elders, ordained. How were they qualified to be ordainers? According to Mr. Bolles, by a triple consecration. Here I demand proof; and until it is brought, and I fully believe it never can be, I shall rest secure in the conviction that your whole theory is built upon the sand of human assumption.

As to what he says about St. Paul's consecration, it does not touch the point in debate. Allowing that my interpretation is erroneous, and I will not stop here to contend for it, though I am fully convinced of its correctness, the main question remains untouched—I mean, this fiction of a triple consecration. But if Paul was not ordained at that time, we have no account of his having been ever ordained at all by any human hands, and, moreover, let that ceremony imply whatever it may, either a formal induction into the ministry, or a mere setting apart for a missionary work, it establishes the point that the "greater is blessed of the less;" for surely those who laid hands on him, and sent him away, were less in authority in the church, so far as jurisdiction is concerned, than was the great apostle to the Gentiles. Still the question presses upon us—for I am determined that Mr. Bolles shall not lose sight of this main point of debate—Was Timothy, Titus, Barnabas, or any other of the apostolic successors, made such by a triple consecration? Were they higher in *order* than elders? If they were, tell me, sir, *who* made them so? *When* were they made so? *How* were they made so? And *when, how* did these immediate successors of the apostles constitute their successors into this imaginary *third* order? A satisfactory answer to these questions will do a thousand times more for your cause than ever so many pages of ranting about the apostolic office being continued in the church, during all its ages of pollution, perjury, blasphemy, and the most shameful moral degradation.

Mr. Bolles' remarks on 1 Tim. iv, 14 are certainly a literary curiosity. Says he,—

"Now if the casual reader takes it for granted, without examination, that the word 'presbytery' in this passage means a company of ministerial *presbyters*, then the passage will be an evidence to him that presbyters had something to do with the ordination of Timothy; but if he will take his Greek Testament and Lexicon, and study the subject, by looking at the meaning of the word, and the various places where it is used, then he will find that 'presbytery' may have a very different rendering; or if he will examine the best commentators upon the passage, such as Calvin, Grotius, and Macknight, among the dissenters, then he will find, that the word may mean a council of any

elderly persons, apostles as well as presbyters, or it may mean the *office* of the *presbyterate*, and does not refer in this case at all to the ordainers. But if he eschews Greek and commentators, and wishes to understand the matter by himself, and by reading the vernacular, then he may turn to 2 Tim. i, 6, where it is said, 'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, *by the putting on of my hands*;' and here he will find that St. Paul the apostle was the principal and *efficient* ordainer of Timothy; that he even presumes to say that this 'gift of God' was conferred '*by* the laying on of his hands;' that his language is exclusive of all others engaged with him in actually bestowing the gift, and, consequently, that if it was done *with* the laying on the hands of presbyters, then they were only present and assisting, as is frequently the case now, without any body's dreaming that they are the *ordainers*."

Upon this curious passage several remarks may be made. What the writer wished to gain by the reader's taking the "Greek Testament and Lexicon," I am at a loss to determine, unless he meant to impress upon the mind that there was something awfully mysterious couched in the simple term πρεσβυτεριον, which is the word used here, and which, as every body knows who pretends to know any thing about the meaning of Greek, means an *assembly of elderly persons*, and here means *Christian presbyters* or *elders* in the ecclesiastical sense of those terms—I say, what he meant to infer from this solemn request in favor of his doctrine of uninterrupted succession of a *third* order of ministers, made such by a *triple* consecration, I am totally at a loss to determine. But he says it "may mean a council of any elderly persons, apostles as well as presbyters." May it, indeed? Well, then, it may mean an assembly of elderly persons who were neither apostles nor presbyters, in a technical sense, and hence these elderly persons might have assisted the apostle in ordaining Timothy. Or if a company of *apostles* were styled *presbyters* in an ecclesiastical sense, then were the apostles no higher in office than presbyters, and were, therefore, authorized to ordain by virtue of their presbyterial office, which I believe to be the fact; and hence "the *office* of the *presbyterate*" was the same as the *office* of the *apostolate*, so far as the simple designation of order in the ministry is concerned.

But St. Paul says, that Timothy received the gift by the laying on of *his* hands singly. What, does he say that this gift was conferred upon Timothy by the laying on of his hands three several times, first to make him a *deacon*, secondly an *elder*, and thirdly a *bishop*, or an *apostle?* This would be difficult to prove. And yet, until it is proved, the fact that Timothy was ordained by the

hands of St. Paul alone, will make nothing in favor of Mr. Bolles' theory. But allow the plain facts which grow out of these passages, that Timothy was first consecrated a *deacon* by the laying on of the hands of St. Paul singly, and that he was afterward ordained an *elder*, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, and all difficulties vanish, and we have a consistent and harmonious account of the manner in which Timothy was inducted into office.

Let us, however, understand these passages as we may, they make nothing in favor of the exclusive right of ordination by a third order, made such by a triple consecration, termed now bishops, until it can be proved that Timothy was thus qualified for the order and work of a bishop in the church of God.

But why all this solemn pomp about the "Greek Testament and Lexicon?" If the writer understood the Greek, he has practiced a solemn farce upon his readers, as he, in that case, must have known that the Greek word was not used in that connection otherwise than in a strict ecclesiastical sense—unless, indeed, he wished to allow that any company of elderly persons in the church, not in office in the Christian ministry, assisted in the ordination of Timothy to the order and office of an elder. This supposition, however, would hardly comport with the high dignity and exclusive powers which Mr. Bolles wishes to attach to the bishopric of his Church. If he did not understand the Greek, then has he imposed upon the ignorance or credulity of his readers, by striving to make them think that there is some mysterious meaning about the Greek word, from which a skillful linguist might make it favor the doctrine of uninterrupted succession of a third order, so constituted by a triple consecration. In either case he has acted unworthy of a Christian minister.

3. What Mr. Bolles says about my collecting my testimonies from Dr. Miller's Letters is all a mistake, as I never once looked at those Letters while composing my numbers, nor have I since. I informed my readers whence I took my quotations, that is, those of them which I did not derive from the authors who wrote them, namely, from Stillingfleet and Lord King. And here I may as well reply to what my antagonist has said respecting my not quoting any of the sayings of Lord King, after promising such quotations. The fact is, I never, as he avers, promised to quote any of the sayings or arguments of that author, but only that the quotations which followed in that number from the fathers were borrowed from that book, which is true to the letter, his assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. On the contrary, I was so far

from adopting the conclusions of Lord King, that I dissented from him, and pointed out what I considered an error in his account of the primitive church. (See page 131 of my book.)

He also strives to invalidate Lord King's account of the primitive church, because it is well known that Slater had confuted his arguments. Whether he has confuted the arguments of King or not is nothing to me, for I never professed to, nor did I produce a single argument from that author in support of my position, but only borrowed from him some quotations from the early writers of the church. But did I not apprise my readers of Slater's "Original Draught" in the following words?—

"I am aware that *Slater* has attempted a refutation of Lord Chancellor King's account of the primitive church, and in a few particulars he may have succeeded; nor am I pledged for all the conclusions which his lordship draws from the data which he adduces from the early writers of the church. The quotations" (that is, the quotations from the fathers, and which I was about taking from his book, and which I had informed my readers, "the author had fully verified by inserting the originals themselves in the margin of his book") "will speak for themselves, and every one is at liberty to make his own inferences."—*Original Church of Christ*, p. 43. And in page 132 I more particularly pointed out what I considered an error in Lord King's account of the primitive church, in the following words:—

"While he very justly contends that each congregation managed its own affairs, under the direction of a single pastor, denominated interchangeably bishop or presbyter, he seems to overlook the higher and more extended jurisdiction of the apostles and itinerating evangelists, whose actual oversight of the whole church constituted a general superintendency above that of a congregational or presbyterial mode of administration. Hence this most estimable author, to whose labors we are much indebted for a correct view of many particulars relating to the early history and organization of the church, leaned much further toward the Congregational mode of church government than the Scriptural representation of this subject would seem to warrant. While we may admit, what he contends for, that each congregation managed its own internal affairs, under the supervision of their resident bishop, without any interference from a neighboring bishop and congregation, possessing only the same rights and privileges; we may, in perfect consistency with this admission, allow that over and above those bishops and congregations, the apostles, and, in their absence, the itinerating evangelists, exercised a general oversight of the

whole church, thus establishing a precedent for a proper episcopal government, more in accordance with the modern episcopal churches, than it is with either congregational or presbyterial parity."

Thus much for my fairness and honesty, and for the disingenuity of my antagonist in relation to Lord King.

4. The quotations which Mr. Bolles brings from Dr. Bowden make nothing in favor of his hypothesis, even allowing that they touch the point in controversy respecting the superiority of bishops over presbyters, made such by a third consecration, of which they, indeed, say nothing; for they all relate to the third century, when the bishops began their lordly career over the presbyters, not only by enlarging their own jurisdiction and circumscribing that of the presbyters, but also by encroaching upon their right to baptize and ordain; yet even then this right was not yielded by the presbyters without a struggle.

5. But the testimony of Eutychius is attempted to be set aside by proving that he has made some chronological mistakes in respect to the time in which St. Mark came to Alexandria, and the time in which he and St. Peter died. Allowing that Eutychius made these mistakes, perfectly innocent in themselves, provided they were inadvertent, does it follow that he has given a false testimony in so important a matter as that of the manner in which the bishops of Alexandria were constituted? A man may very easily, and very innocently too, make a blunder in regard to dates, more especially when his authorities are either sparse or obscure, while, at the same time, his authority may be unimpeachable on a matter of church usage, and more especially on such a prominent one as that in which a bishop is constituted. I consider, therefore, the testimony of Eutychius unimpeached, when he says, "that the twelve presbyters, constituted by Mark, upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and made him patriarch."

6. This writer, however, accuses me of making a false quotation from Mosheim, or of quoting *two* when *one* only is found there. Now let the reader turn to Mosheim, vol. ii, pp. 115 and 126, Murdock's translation, and he will find the *two* quotations that I have made, only I gave them in Maclain's translation, which I have not at present by me.

7. He also says that I made but one quotation from Eusebius, whereas if he will look at number xiv, pp. 186, 187, and 210, he will find no less than *three* quotations from Eusebius, the two

former of which are somewhat long, while the latter, which is the only one noticed by Mr. Bolles, is quite a short one. In noticing this, however, and my reference to the catalogue of bishops found in Mosheim's History, he makes quite a flourish about my attributing this catalogue to Mosheim, while it was made out by his translator. He is perfectly welcome to all the advantage this inadvertence will afford him, as it certainly does not affect the weight of the argument one way or the other.

8. But he shall not escape so easily from some other gross blunders which *he* has made. Take, among others, the following remarks respecting my quotations from Stillingfleet. After having remarked that Stillingfleet retracted after he became a bishop at the age of forty-five, what he had written while a presbyter at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Bolles says,—

"Now, I ask, was it right, was it honest in Dr. Bangs, who must have known these facts, as they have been reiterated again and again, thus to attempt to sustain his arguments by the *authority* of Bishop Stillingfleet? Did he think that his Methodist brethren were so ignorant and credulous as to allow themselves to be duped and deceived by such a manifest imposition? Must they not regard it as a barefaced deception?"

Here, indeed, is a heavy charge! And, if sustained, would render me utterly unworthy of all or any confidence, not only "as a witness," as this writer avers, in another place, that I am, but of all credit as a man of honor or honesty. But what will the reader think when I inform him that I not only knew that *Bishop* Stillingfleet had retracted what *presbyter* Stillingfleet had said in respect to the powers and orders of the Christian ministry, but that I had apprised my readers of it in the following words?—

"But, to weaken the influence of his arguments, it is said, that Stillingfleet afterward recanted his principles. I may reply to this in the language of Bishop White, that it was '*easier for him to recant than it is to answer his arguments.*' These will remain as a monument of his learning and diligence, and of his impartial regard to truth, when the memory of those honors which were heaped upon him in after days by the hierarchy of England, in calling him to the episcopal chair, shall be forgotten. It is not meant, by this remark, to impeach his sincerity, but simply to show that 'great men are not *always*' the *wisest* in their elder days, even when they attempt to correct the supposed errors of their youth."—See *Original Church of Christ*, p. 190, note.

Was not here an honest confession of the fact that Stillingfleet had altered his opinion? Where, then, let me ask, was the

ground for Mr. Bolles to charge me with "imposition," with "barefaced deception," by concealing the fact of Bishop Stillingfleet's recantation? Many an orthodox clergyman has recanted his orthodoxy, and turned Unitarian, and others Universalists, and some open infidels; and shall we too renounce our faith in what they formerly taught, and follow them in their devious course of error, down the road to destruction?

The arguments of Stillingfleet, and the quotations he has made from ancient authors, and which I have transferred to my pages, will speak for themselves, to none of which has Mr. Bolles made any reply, or attempted to prove that they are not fairly and accurately copied. Let him try his skill at this, instead of attempting to impeach my integrity by such pitiful shifts as those to which he has resorted. An author that will descend to such conduct betrays at once the weakness of his cause, and a consciousness of his inability to defend it by fair and honorable means.

But this charge of dishonesty! Had I given as many proofs of it as Mr. Bolles has done in his pretended review of my book, he might well accuse me of it in the manner he has. "Stop thief!" cries the real thief, to turn off the attention of the multitude from himself, and so to fix the theift upon an innocent person, that he may escape detection. Was this the object of my antagonist? Let the reader judge between me and him.

9. In the next place I am accused of misrepresenting the sentiments of Bishop White, by asserting that he "*proposed the electing and consecrating of a bishop by the hands of presbyters.*" Really, if this be a misrepresentation of Bishop White's proposed plan, then I confess I cannot understand his language. The following are his express words on this subject:—"All the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connection between public worship and the morals of the people, combine to the adopting some speedy measures; if such as have been above recommended should be adopted, and the episcopal succession afterward obtained, any supposed imperfections of the *intermediate ordinations* might, if it were judged proper, be supplied, *without acknowledging their nullity*, by a *conditional ordination*, resembling that of a *conditional baptism* in the Liturgy: the above was an expedient proposed by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishops Patrick, Stillingfleet, and others, at the revolution, and had been actually practiced in Ireland by Archbishop Bramhall."

Now what did Bishop White mean by these *intermediate ordinations?* He must have meant either the ordination of a bishop

by the hands of presbyters, or the ordination of presbyters by other presbyters, and hence he gave his sanction to the validity of *presbyterial* ordination, and which is as manifest an infraction of high-toned episcopal order as would be the consecration of a bishop by a company of presbyters. But that Bishop White ever intended such a departure from the line of episcopacy, is what neither I nor any of his readers ever dreamed of until Mr. Bolles put the spectre into our heads by his broad denial of my assertion, that he designed to recommend the consecration of a bishop by the hands of presbyters. And he thought so little of the line of succession, that he calls it a mere *ceremony* compared to the *substance* to be obtained by other more essential matters. His words are, "In the early ages of the church it was customary to debate and determine in a general concourse of all Christians in the same city, among whom the *bishop* was no more than *president*." And hence he remarks, that, to relinquish the "worship of God, and the instruction and reformation of the people, from a scrupulous adherence to episcopacy, is sacrificing the *substance* for the ceremony."

Do not these words plainly imply that their author was pleading either for the appointment of a presbyter to act in the capacity of a bishop for the time being, or for a *conditional ordination* of one of that order by the hands of others of the same order? Be this as it may, the quotations which I have made from Bishop White fully prove that he had but little faith in the exploded doctrine of the divine right of episcopacy, made such by a triple consecration in a regular line of succession from the apostles down to the present time; and this is the main purpose for which I appealed to him, whose authority, so far as it goes, is not in the least weakened by any thing Mr. Bolles has said. If I have misunderstood Bishop White, it must have arisen from the ambiguity of his language, which appeared, however, so plain and explicit as hardly to admit of a misconstruction; and even now, after attentively reviewing his words, I cannot see any other construction which can fairly be put upon them. Yet, if Mr. Bolles will have it so, I will yield to his own construction; and then it will most inevitably follow that Bishop White was willing to relinquish *episcopacy altogether* for the time being, and admit the validity of a *presbyterial* ordination, and allow that all the acts and doings of these conditionally ordained presbyters were, to all intents and purposes, valid, both civilly and ecclesiastically; for surely the bishop would not have expected that all the baptisms and marriages, and the consecrations and administrations of the Lord's supper, should

have been *conditionally performed* by these *conditionally ordained* presbyters, by the hands of other presbyters who possessed but hypothetical powers! This would have created a strange medley of a church—strange baptisms, marriages, and administrations! And suppose, in the mean time, any of these conditionally baptized persons, and married persons, had died before they could have been rebaptized and married by one of these canonically ordained presbyters, what would have been the consequence! See to what perfect absurdities my misunderstanding of Bishop White leads!

But this is not all, nor indeed the worst part of the consequence. Who should administer confirmation? This, according to the doctrine of Protestant Episcopalians, can be done canonically only by a bishop, created such by a triple consecration. Yet Mr. Bolles will not allow that Bishop White intended to create such a bishop by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Who then was to administer confirmation? A presbyter? Or a presbyter-bishop, acting as *president pro tempore?* Or was this ceremony to be performed also *conditionally?*

Alas! what confusion does this denial of Mr. Bolles introduce into the half-formed Protestant Episcopal Church! And what crudities does he attribute to presbyter White!

Now I cannot but help thinking that my interpretation of Bishop White's pamphlet was the more natural, the more true, and much the more charitable of the two. But I leave it to the reader, or to Mr. Bolles' second thoughts, to choose between the two, whichever pleases him best, without any anxiety as to the result upon my own reputation as an author who was striving to ascertain the truth.

10. Next comes the story of Pope Joan. This is pronounced a fiction by Mr. Bolles, and he refers to the translators of Mosheim, Maclain and Murdock, to Reese's Encyclopedia, the Encyclopedia Britannica, the American Encyclopedia, and to Gibbon, who all agree in pronouncing it a forgery. Well, what of that? I gave it as I found it in Mosheim, at the same time apprising my readers that I was aware its truth had been called in question, while Mosheim believed it, and declared that "during the five succeeding centuries it was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor before the Reformation undertaken by Luther was it considered by any either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church." This was *my* authority, and it is at least as good as any which Mr. Bolles has brought to invalidate it. He has quoted Gibbon as authority against the

credibility of this story; but he neglected to tell us that Gibbon says, that "till the Reformation the tale was repeated and believed without offense; and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sinenna." Though, therefore, he did not believe the truth of the story, he bears testimony to the veracity of Mosheim, that until the Reformation it was generally believed without offense, and repeated without suspicion; and, considering the corruption of the times, he allows that "her amours would have been natural, her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable."

Now the question arises, why this narrative should have been so generally acquiesced in as true for five centuries anterior to the Reformation, never having been called in question by any writer until that mighty event? The reason is obvious. Such was the general licentiousness of the times, (and the court of Rome was by no means exempt from the general corruption of manners and morals,) that such an event was considered no disgrace, nor as at all vitiating the official character of the supreme pontiff; but when the Reformation began to pour its refulgent light upon the moral world, and the controversy waxed warm between the reformers and their antagonists, men began to open their eyes to the enormities of vice, and were thence led to a discovery of the moral degradation to which the ecclesiastics had been sunk; and to render the authority of the pope and his adherents less terrific than it had been, these intrepid reformers tore off the veil which had so long hidden their characters from the eye of true piety, charging home upon them and their predecessors the enormity of their profligacy. Among other things which went to disgrace this holy line of the priesthood, was this profligate act of Pope Joan. How could they withstand these thrusts upon their purity? Why, by denying their truth. This led them to question the truth of this story of Pope Joan, and many since have joined with them in striving to render it incredible. I believe the infidel Bayle was among the first, and perhaps the most successful, among the anti-Romanists, who undertook to invalidate the truth of this item of ecclesiastical history.

Yet, if Mr. Bolles wishes, he may class this among the legends of the darker ages, though I can perceive nothing more incredible in it than in the following, which I quote from Gibbon; an authority which I suppose he will not dispute, since he has already referred to him in support of his unbelief in the pontificate of Joan. He says,—

"The influence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theo-

dora,* was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues: the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre, and their reign may have suggested to the darker ages the fable of a female pope. The bastard son, the grand, and the great-grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin Church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were argued against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the Great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonored by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames which he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might have been the consequence of distress; and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise, that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome, that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor."—See *Gibbon*, vol. v, p. 115, Harper's edition, 1822.

If, then, Mr. Bolles will not allow the stream of succession to have been polluted by the prostitutions of Joan, he must admit that Marozia and her "worthy grandson" poured into its limpid waters no small portion of impurities, and thereby rendered it equally turbid and distasteful to all who wish to slake their thirst from the pure fountain of truth, or disgusting to those who could trace their descent to an honorable parentage.

But neither this, nor any other instance of shameful defection from the laws of propriety, of moral and spiritual purity, is any hinderance to Mr. Bolles avowing his full faith in the unbroken line of apostolic succession. Hear him in the following words:—

"We reply, that even if the story of Pope Joan were true—an undoubted and indisputable fact—still it would not in the least affect the episcopal succession either in England or America, nor would it

* How very modestly does Mr. Bolles introduce his quotation from Gibbon! He says, "In his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire he gives an account of two female sovereigns." Was he afraid to suggest the licentious character of these mothers of those apostolic bishops?

affect the succession, could the learned doctor prove that fifty of the popes of Rome were females, or any thing else which he might choose to call them. For at the time Pope Joan is said to have lived, and for centuries afterward, the bishops of England no more went to Rome for consecration than they came to America; and even if the succession of the bishops of Rome had been utterly annihilated, still it would no more have destroyed the English succession than the annihilation of the English succession would destroy ours. Besides all this, the Church was established in England long before the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Church of Rome either in that country or anywhere else. Thus says Blackstone in his Commentaries, 'The ancient British Church, by whomsoever planted, was a stranger to the bishop of Rome and his pretended authority.'"

These remarks are an evidence that the faith of their author in the line of succession through the bishops of Rome is somewhat weakened, and that he is almost ashamed to trace his genealogy through such degraded ancestors. Hence he wishes to make his readers believe that the English Church, from which the Protestant Episcopal Church has descended, had no connection with the Romish Church, and did not therefore derive her authority from that corrupt source. I rejoice at this symptom of returning to reason and decent respect for purity of character. It is a sign that its author is awaking from the dream of apostolic succession, and that he begins to see the "blackness of that darkness" which for so long a time hovered over the Romish Church, and in a measure hid from human view the enormities which lay concealed beneath the cloak of infallibility.

But let us examine this pretence, that the English Church was not dependent upon Rome for her first bishops. Without entering into the historical details, many of which are doubtless fabulous, respecting the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, during which periods it often fluctuated between hope and despair, it is manifest that it was not until the sixth century that it was firmly established in the British island. This was accomplished through the influence of Queen Bertha, the Christian daughter of the king of France, who was married to Ethelbert, one of the kings of England, about the year 570. In 590 Gregory the Great was created pontiff, and in 596 he sent the abbot of St. Andrews, of Rome, named Augustine, accompanied by not less than forty monks, to undertake the conversion of the English nation. With these he landed on the isle of Thanet, in the county of Kent, where he was met by the king, and was graciously received, and finally succeeded in bringing all the people of Kent nominally to embrace the religion of Rome,

including the king himself. Having met with such success, by waving his banner and silver crucifix, fasting and praying, and chanting hymns, Augustine, in 597, returned to Gaul, was ordained archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of all England, and soon returned with a fresh army of monks. In 598 Pope Gregory, much pleased with the marvelous success of this true son of the Church of Rome, confirmed his jurisdiction over all England, continued to encourage him by his exhortations, advising him to purify the pagan temples with holy water, and thus convert them into churches, around which the people were allowed to erect booths, and there feast themselves as they had been wont to do in their pagan state. Through the indefatigable labors of the archbishop and his army of monks, the Popish religion spread, the pagan temples were transmuted into churches, new churches and monasteries were created, and additional bishops were consecrated, so that by the time Augustine died, which was in 607, nearly the whole kingdom was converted to the Romish faith, monks were vastly increased, and all things were put in a train for the full establishment of that system of Popery which finally obtained throughout Great Britain, and so remained until it was torn to pieces by the Reformation in the days of Henry VIII. and his successors, as the assumed heads of the Anglican Church.—Mosh., vol. i, pp. 156, 318, 380, 384, Murdock's translation.

Though the bishop of Rome had not yet attained to the height of his external splendor, by the possession of supreme power, yet it is manifest that a broad foundation was already laid for it, and that Gregory was even then violently contending with the bishop of Constantinople for the supremacy, and exemplified all the malevolent haughtiness of a lordly and independent pontiff; and from him Augustine received his commission to visit England, was ordained, either by himself or by others who had been invested with the power of ordination by him, to the archbishopric, was confirmed in his office by Pope Gregory, sustained and directed by him in all his movements, and, of course, held himself responsible to the pope for all his acts and doings. And yet Mr. Bolles tells his readers that because the English Church had an existence before the supremacy of the pope of Rome was acknowledged, therefore the bishops of England were not dependent upon Rome for their line of succession!

Whence, then, did they derive it? O, from Gaul. Augustine was a Frenchman, and he brought the succession from France to England, and hence, some have said, the English Church, and, consequently, the Protestant Episcopal Church, did not receive

the succession from Rome but from France! Truly. But allowing that Augustine was a Frenchman, which is by no means certain, from whom did he receive his consecration? Was it not from Pope Gregory, or from one commissioned by him to administer it? Did not Pope Gregory also confirm Augustine in his bishopric, as primate of all England, send the pall, or mantle for the new archbishop, accompanied with numerous presents for the cathedral, including holy relics, with letters to the king and queen? And were not all the monks who accompanied the archbishop, and who followed after him, sent by Pope Gregory, and did they not all, as well as their bishop, act under his direction and control? Did not the Church in England, thus planted, and then watered from the see of Rome, grow up under its nourishment, imbibe its spirit, adopt all its mummeries, bend the knee before its sceptre, and, like an obedient daughter, submit to all its mandates, wash herself in its holy water, venerate its holy relics, and kiss the immaculate cross?

And, during all this time, were any of the bishops of England considered legitimate unless they could trace their descent to the "holy mother," and claim kindred to the "holy father," the pope of Rome, though himself the offspring of a prostitute, and his holiness at the same time living in all manner of profligacy? Moreover, have we any reason to believe that the Roman Catholic bishops of England were any more chaste or holy in their lives and conversation, during the greater part of this period of darkness and desolation, than were the popes themselves? Let him who doubts this read the Life of Wiclif, and listen to the thundering denunciations which he uttered against the licentious clergy of his day and generation.

Yet, according to Mr. Bolles, all these were canonical bishops, true apostolic successors, and fit channels to convey the oil of consecration unvitiated by any foreign admixture of vicious indulgences! I say, therefore, again, as I said in my book, that all the qualification which these ghostly fathers of the succession possessed was derived from the act of consecration—that such is the magical influence of this rite, that it instantly converts a monster in human shape into a canonical bishop.

Now any man who is driven to adopt a doctrine so repugnant to Christianity, so abhorrent to the feelings of piety and morality, must be sorely pressed for arguments to defend himself. Nay, he must have a low opinion of the purity, the dignity, and high moral excellence of Christianity, as well as of the holy character of the Christian ministry. To spend more time, therefore, to prove the

self-evident absurdity of such a dogma, would be as useless as it would be to undertake to prove that purity and impurity can never unite in the same being at the same time.

11. There are only a few more things of a miscellaneous character which I think worthy of notice in the pamphlet before me. I had called John Wesley a *reformer*. At this Mr. Bolles takes fire, and his holy indignation bursts out in a blaze of pious horror. He says,—

"Now, without any comments on the horrible blasphemy here uttered, as though any thing had been left by the Saviour unfinished, which was really '*necessary* for the reformation and salvation of the people,' such blasphemy as is only equaled by Mr. Wesley himself when he asked, in his 'Appeal,' what person could be less liable to objection than myself, whom the Almighty has employed."

This is truly the master-piece of logical acuteness and theological fairness! Merely because I represented John Wesley as an instrument in the hand of God of reforming sinners from the error of their ways, I am accused of uttering "horrid blasphemy!" What shall be said in reply to this? Does not the Rev. Mr. Bolles preach for the purpose of reforming sinners from the error of their ways? If he do not, I will venture to affirm, even at the risk of being called a blasphemer again, that he does not strive to answer the end of his ministrations. And just so far as he succeeds in this work of reformation, and in building up believers on their most holy faith, so far, and no further, does he fulfill his holy calling. And in this sense every true minister of Christ is a reformer. Who was ever accused of blasphemy for calling Luther a *reformer*, and the good work he effected the *Reformation?*

"As though any thing had been left by the Saviour unfinished." Here also I am at a loss how to answer, because the thing itself is so palpably absurd. Is there no difference between reforming the people who had become so sunk in wickedness as to have lost sight of what the Saviour had done and taught, and reforming something which had been left "unfinished by the Saviour?" I am tempted to step beyond the bounds of what I usually allow myself in controversy, merely because I think the occasion calls for it, and say that Mr. Bolles knew perfectly well, when he penned that sentence, that he was doing me an act of injustice. He certainly knew that I neither meant nor had asserted any such thing as he has attributed to me. He knew, I repeat, most assuredly, that I never said, nor intimated, that *the Saviour had left any thing unfinished* which Mr. Wesley was to

supply, and thus to make him a reformer of the Saviour's doctrine or precepts. And knowing this, he has willfully uttered a slander upon his neighbor, and which he has not at all softened by the sneering manner in which he has so frequently lugged in the phrase "learned doctor." Learning is an accomplishment to which I make but little pretension, and yet, I trust, I have enough of Christian principle and gentlemanly feeling not willfully to distort the truth, nor to treat an antagonist with sneering contempt.

12. Equally unfair are his remarks about what I had said respecting the success of Mr. Wesley and the Methodists. Remarking upon this he says,—

"But let the Methodist himself test this doctrine of success. Let him go to the Turk and urge the success of Mr. Wesley as a proof of his divine mission, and exhibit before his eyes, if you please, the half million of followers to which the number has been reduced" (*reduced?* what does this mean?) "in England. What would the Mussulman say? Look at Mohammed, and see the number of *his* followers, amounting to more than a hundred and forty million. And then, if success is really a test of truth, the Methodist would be compelled to fall down and worship the false prophet of Mecca."

Now I must say the same in respect to these remarks as I did of the former. Mr. Bolles must have known, for he had the means of knowing in the book which he was reviewing, that I placed no dependence on the *number* of proselytes merely, but entirely on their being turned from darkness to light, and on their giving evidence of this change in their character and position by bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit, by the holiness and blamelessness of their lives. To prove this point I will here transcribe a paragraph from the "Original Church of Christ," p. 108:—

"Did the Head of the Church call Wesley to this work? I will answer this question by answering another. Was the work in which Wesley engaged so zealously and successfully the work of God or the work of man? If you say it was the work of God, then you allow that God called Wesley to its performance, and that he sustained and sanctioned him in it. If you say it was the work of man, then you affirm that a man, independently of divine grace, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, could, by his own power and influence, reform more sinners from the error of their ways, and build them up in all holy living, than all the clergymen in England beside! Take therefore your choice. If you choose the former, that is, that it was the work of God, then you grant all for which I contend. If the latter, then you allow that sinners may

be brought from darkness to light, and become changed in heart and life, by human power alone. You must either allow, therefore, that John Wesley was called, sustained, and sanctioned by the Head of the church, or turn open infidels, and confess that the power of the gospel is no longer necessary to the conversion and salvation of the world."

Mr. Bolles must now dispose of this argument as pleases him best. The reader, however, will perceive that I placed no dependence upon the mere fact that numbers were nominally proselyted to the opinions of Wesley; but that I put the evidence of his divine call upon the fact of his being made an instrument of really converting sinners from the error of their ways, of *turning many to righteousness*. If Mr. Bolles is disposed to controvert this fact, let him do so, and thereby expose himself to the censure of all those who have borne witness to its truth in the English, the Protestant Episcopal, and every dissenting church under heaven, who have ever referred to the subject.

Now did he not know, when he wrote the above paragraph, that this was my ground of argumentation? He certainly did, or he never read the book he was reviewing, and in either case he forfeits title to confidence. I therefore charge him in this instance also with a most flagrant and willful perversion of my words, which amounts to the sin of slander, or *bearing false witness against his neighbor*.

13. Another accusation this reverend author brings against me, equally false and slanderous. In his second letter to Mr. Steele, p. 16, he has the following words:—

"In one of these tracts," (tracts written by me,) "among other things, our bishops are charged with 'brutal stupidity, ignorance, and wickedness.' And again, 'Such is the magic influence of the oil of consecration, that these men are instantly metamorphosed into saints, into legitimate successors of the apostles.'"

These, I confess, are my words. But how are they misapplied! Mr. Bolles represents me as applying them to the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was as far from my thoughts as this representation is from the truth. No! such a censorious sentence against these worthy men never dropped from my pen, as the reader will be convinced by turning to page 240 of my book, where I was speaking of the stupidity, ignorance, and wickedness of the popes and their clergy of the *ninth*, *tenth*, and *eleventh* centuries, who had no other qualification for the priesthood but the oil of consecration; and yet Mr. Bolles, with this fact before him, for he must have had my book before his eyes to

enable him to transcribe the words so accurately, makes his readers believe that I represented *his* bishops, that is, the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as being thus stupid, ignorant, and wicked.

Here again I charge him with a willful perversion of the truth, for he most assuredly knew that he was making a false impression upon the mind of his reader. And this is the man that boasts of his being in the line of apostolic succession, and excludes all other ministers but those of his own Church from having a valid ordination, and, of course, from being duly authorized to administer the sacraments of Christianity.

I know of but one way in which Mr. Bolles can possibly evade the force of this charge, and that is, by saying that by *our* bishops he did not mean the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but meant to call the bishops of the *ninth*, *tenth*, and *eleventh* centuries *his* bishops. Let him do so if he chooses. If he will recognize those popes, of whom I was principally speaking, as *his* bishops, then he must retract all he has said about his Church existing independently of Rome, place himself under the wings of this "unclean bird," and claim kindred with those polluted fathers of his Church. In this case, I charge home upon him all I said respecting the "stupidity, ignorance, and wickedness" of those bishops, and appeal to the record for its truth.

But no, he meant no such thing. He *meant*, I verily believe, to make a false impression upon the minds of his readers, with a view, no doubt, to render me odious in the estimation of his friends, and the friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and thus to destroy my credit as a writer. It will react, however, upon himself, as he must, most inevitably, bear the reproach of a willful perverter of the truth, and thereby of *bearing false witness against his neighbor*.

But what will not a man attempt to do who will have the hardihood to try to make the world believe that John Wesley was either such an egregious fool or wicked knave as not to intend to invest Dr. Coke with episcopal powers, nor to establish a Methodist Episcopal Church in America! A man that will attempt such an impossible task, and quote documents to prove it, almost every one of which proves directly the reverse, need excite no wonder if he attempt any thing which malignant ingenuity can invent—he may slander the living and the dead without remorse or shame.

I am well aware that by using this strong language, I run the risk of being charged with undue severity, or of violating the rules of Christian love and courtesy. But I cannot help it. I think the

occasion calls for it. I would most gladly find an apology for my accuser if I could. This, however, I cannot do. He had the book before him while he was writing, and he therefore must have known that he was doing me an act of cruel injustice. The reader, therefore, must allow me the privilege of speaking plain truth, such as the provocation calls for, in the fear of God, without evasion or disguise, leaving my antagonist to dispose of it in any way his second sober thoughts shall dictate to be right and proper under the circumstances.

A few remarks will conclude what I have to say on this perplexing subject. Mr. Bolles complains of me and some other writers for bringing heavy accusations against his Church. Alas! alas! he may well complain! Whoever will look into their publications, for more than half a century past, will find almost a continual stream of reproach, of sarcasm, ridicule, and censure, against John Wesley and the Methodists. During most of this time not a word has been uttered on our part by way of replication or in self-defense. At length we have ventured to speak, to defend ourselves against their rude assaults, when, lo and behold, we have been guilty of a mighty offense! For doing what? Why, for showing that their accusations were without foundation, and that our ministry and ordinances were susceptible of a Scriptural and rational defense.

Now we wish our opponents to know, and to understand distinctly, that we do not think it our duty to lie down, and silently let them tread us under their feet;—that we have the means and ability to defend ourselves from their slanderous representations, and that we presume to think that our ministry and ordinances have as good a claim to apostolic authority, simplicity, and purity, as theirs, or any other church in Christendom; and that John Wesley was neither a knave nor a fool, but that he acted the part of a wise, honest, and upright minister of the sanctuary in all he did, and that such are the purity and strength of his character as to be unimpeachable by the tongue of slander or the pen of malevolence. We advise them, therefore, to let him alone. He is an overmatch for their strength.

The unfairness of Mr. Bolles in his professed review of my book must appear most glaring to every one who has attentively read the two publications. Instead of meeting my main positions, and assailing my arguments in their support, he has passed them over in solemn silence, and dwelt upon a few comparatively unimportant particulars, distorting my sentiments, falsifying my words, and denying what is most evidently true, and finally accusing me

of imposture and deceit, unworthy of credit as a quoter of ancient documents. It is most assuredly irksome to dwell upon these infirmities of our fellow-men, and truly mortifying to see these exhibitions of human frailties, not to say moral obliquities. We may, indeed *ought* to apologize for an inadvertent blunder of the pen, for accidental mistakes arising from haste or carelessness of thought; but what apology *can* be made for *willful* perversion, for misrepresentations which could not, in the very nature of things, arise from inattention, from negligence, or want of means of knowing better? These things are not said in anger. If I know my own heart, I have felt not a particle of ill-will for my antagonist during this discussion, although I have been constrained, from a high sense of duty, to speak strongly and plainly, in what I consider just terms of rebuke, which I hope may not be lost on my reverend accuser.

I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Bolles. I only know him from his book; and I honestly confess, had I not been informed that he has a fair standing in his Church, and that his publication would be likely to gain credit among his readers, I should not have thought it worthy of a serious notice. All his arguments have been answered over and over again, and until something new can be brought, it will hardly be worth while for us to pay any attention to any thing he may say or do.

I will conclude by repeating what I have often said before, namely,—

That if our antagonists will bring a single proof, either from the sacred Scriptures, or the writings of the primitive fathers for the first two hundred years of the Christian era, that the officer in the church, called APOSTLE, EVANGELIST, *or* BISHOP, *was ordained* THREE *several times, first a* DEACON, *secondly an* ELDER, *and thirdly a* BISHOP, EVANGELIST, *or* APOSTLE, *then I will yield the point to them, and acknowledge that our ground is untenable.*

This is the real question in debate. And if Mr. Bolles will meet it fairly, and sustain it by unimpeachable testimony, he will render his cause a thousand times more service than all his silly trifling with his readers by publishing the letters of John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Dr. Coke, and the opinions of Dr. Whitehead to prove that Methodist episcopacy is spurious—all of which, except the remarks of Dr. Whitehead, were duly considered in my book, not to a word of which, so far as these letters are concerned, has he deigned to give any answer worthy of the least attention.

ART. V.—*Memoir of the Rev. Charles Nisbet, D. D., late President of Dickinson College, Carlisle.* By SAMUEL MILLER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New-Jersey. New-York: Robert Carter. 1840.

THIRTY years elapsed between the death of Dr. Nisbet and the appearance of this biography. This delay, however it may have been caused, has been productive of some disadvantages. Most of the doctor's associates have followed him to the grave; many traits of his character have lost their sharpness of outline in the recollection of those that remain; much information that might have been obtained at an earlier period is lost for ever; and the community have now only the general interest in the subject which must always attach to the biography of a remarkable man.

But the delay has not been without its good results. The prejudices, both of love and hatred, have passed away. The crowd of little men, who, to use the language of Carlyle, "rush toward a great man's character as soon as he departs, and blink up to it with such view as they have, scanning it from afar, hovering round it this way and that, and each cunningly endeavoring to catch some little reflex of it in the little mirror of himself" have vanished into empty space. Neither the glare of adulation nor the vapors of detraction are likely now to prevent clear vision of the object. We do not know but that the author is right in saying that "the most candid and impartial, if not the most feeling and racy biographies are those which have been formed many years after their subjects have passed from the stage of action." Certainly, in this case, the work has fallen into good hands. Dr. Miller is perhaps as well acquainted with the life and character of the deceased as any living man; and, from his established reputation for good sense, piety, and candor, we have reason to expect that the virtues and faults of the man whose name he commemorates will be fully appreciated and honestly stated. At the outset we may say that the hopes thus excited have been generally met; and if, in some instances, we shall find reason to differ from the author, or even to blame him, we shall endeavor to do so with becoming reverence for his age, his usefulness, and his learning.

CHARLES NISBET was born at Haddington, in Scotland, on the 21st of January, 1736. After studying, under the direction of his father, the Greek and Latin languages, and other branches of elementary knowledge, he entered the University of Edinburgh in 1752. From that time, receiving no pecuniary aid from his

father, he sustained himself honorably by his own exertions. Immediately after his graduation, he entered upon the study of theology in Divinity Hall, where he remained, according to "the excellent habit of his country, for six years." At the end of this time he was licensed to preach. All that we find in the biography in regard to his religious experience up to this period is contained in the following words:—

"On the 10th of March, 1756, he recorded an act of solemn dedication to God, drawn in a spirit of enlightened and ardent devotion. And on the 18th of April, 1759, he drew up another paper, in a different form, but of similar import: both very strikingly evincing that while he was diligently engaged in studying theology as a science, he was by no means forgetful of its practical and experimental influence on his own heart as a Christian."

After preaching about two years in Glasgow, he accepted a call, in 1763, to the church in Montrose, where he remained, first as assistant to the aged pastor, Rev. John Cooper, and then as his successor, until he left Scotland for America in 1785.

In 1766 he married a lady to whom he had been engaged for twelve years, and who contributed greatly to his happiness and comfort to the end of his days. Even at this early period he had acquired an extensive reputation for learning and talent. In 1767 Dr. Witherspoon applied to him to permit his name to be presented among the candidates for the presidency of Princeton College. Indeed,

"the truth is, Mr. Nisbet was now regarded as among the most learned men in Scotland, and was proverbially called the walking library. Nor was this wonderful. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable. His habits of study were singularly diligent. His memory was not only excellent, but bordered on the prodigious. The libraries within his reach were large and rich. And his access to the society of literary men, both in and out of the church, was such as seldom falls to the lot of one so youthful, and who could boast so little of what is called worldly patronage."—P. 28.

The account of Dr. Nisbet's ministry in Scotland, given in our author's second chapter, is the most unsatisfactory portion of the book. Not that it is devoid of interest, for it abounds in exhibitions of his wit and talents. But in an account of a Christian minister's pastoral life we look for more. We should be glad to learn something of his mode of preaching, of the fidelity with which he performed his pastoral duties, of the success which attended his labors, of the character and amount of his personal piety; in short, to learn what were his qualifications of mind and

heart for the great work of *preaching the gospel*, and how he exercised them in that noblest of human employments. Except a few vague and general statements by the author, and the testimonial given to him, at his departure, by the presbytery of Brechin—in which it is stated that he "discharged the several duties of the pastoral office with great faithfulness, diligence, and assiduity: and that his conduct, both in private and public life, has been in every respect unexceptionable, and highly ornamental to his character and profession as a Christian, and a minister of the gospel"—we can learn little on these points from the biography. We draw no unfavorable inference from this, but simply wish to mark the deficiency, and to express our regret that it exists.

But if we have little proof in these chapters of his personal piety and of his zeal in preaching the gospel, we have abundant evidence of his orthodoxy, his learning, and his wit. The Church of Scotland was divided, when he entered upon his ministry, into two great parties, the orthodox and the moderate, of which the former was distinguished for the evangelical preaching of its members and for their opposition to the abuses of patronage. To this party Mr. Nisbet allied himself, and, in its defense, he often displayed, before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, that pungent satire, profound erudition, and abundant wit, which afterward won for him so wide and enviable a reputation. Two specimens of his speeches are given by our author, either of which is sufficient to give plausibility to the strong traditionary statements that remain in regard to his remarkable talents as a debater in the General Assembly. Clear, pointed, and precise, these speeches are models of excellence in regard to style. Abounding in happy quotations, apt allusions, and strokes of wit, they yet contain strong and well-arranged arguments upon the questions in debate. If well delivered, they must have had tremendous effect. Indeed, says our author,

"he seldom failed to electrify the body which he addressed. It appeared as if no argument, no quotation, no *bon-mot* could ever take him by surprise. If any one ever attempted to play the wit at his expense, quick as lightning, flash after flash of superior wit would break from his lips, accompanied with a peculiar expression of his countenance, which, when he chose to indulge it, might be said to blaze with wit, which generally proved irresistible, and seldom failed completely to turn the laugh on his prostrate adversary."—P. 70.

It is clear, also, that Dr. Nisbet was a consistent and zealous friend of civil liberty. In the great contest for American independence, he sided with the colonies, and expressed his opinions

with his usual fearlessness. Having to preach on a fast-day appointed by government, during the war, he took his text from Dan. v, 25, (the handwriting on the wall,) and commenced his discourse with the following words :—

"We are this day called upon by our superiors to fast, and afflict our souls; and they have not called us to this duty till they had given us abundant reason to do so.—To discharge our duty with as little offense as possible, we have chosen the words of this text for the subject of our discourse on this occasion. They served to awaken a mighty monarch, who does not seem to have ever thought before." —P. 75.

On another occasion of the same sort, the town council of Montrose left the church in a body, perceiving, from the beginning of his sermon, that its doctrines were not likely to suit their taste. Mr. Nisbet stretched forth his hand toward the seat they had just left, and said, as they withdrew, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth."

These instances are characteristic. Through life Dr. Nisbet delighted in such extemporaneous sarcasm as that which he leveled at the Montrose town council; and, as the propriety of its exercise in that case may well be questioned, so, on other occasions, his wit frequently got the better of his judgment.

The third chapter contains some fragments of correspondence with the Earl of Buchan, Lady Huntingdon, and the Countess of Leven. It appears strange to us that Dr. Miller makes so much of this correspondence. He seems wonderfully taken with the titles of these good people. The *noblesse*, as he singularly enough calls them, appear to be the most noticeable persons with whom Dr. Nisbet had to do, and are not to be mentioned but with reverence. The letters of the Earl of Buchan are characteristic enough. Those of Lady Leven are just such as any well-bred woman of tolerable understanding and moderate acquirements might be expected to write; and they occupy entirely too large a space in this biography.

The fourth chapter contains an account of Dr. Nisbet's invitation and removal to the United States. Soon after the close of the American war, several gentlemen of high character determined to establish a new literary institution west of the Susquehannah River. Among these were the Hon. John Dickinson, then governor of Pennsylvania, Dr. Benjamin Rush, William Bingham, Esq., and others noted for their public spirit and benevolence. A charter having been obtained from the state, the first meeting of the board of trustees was held on the 15th of September,

1783. The attention of the board was probably directed to Dr. Nisbet, as a suitable person to lay the foundation of the new college, by Dr. Rush, who is believed to have made his acquaintance during his residence in Scotland. Dr. Nisbet was accordingly elected president of Dickinson College, on the 8th of April, 1784. The prospects of the future college were gloomy enough, except in the glowing imaginations of its projectors. A report was made to the board, at the very time of Dr. Nisbet's election, which stated the total amount of the funds of the college, including money, stocks, and lands, to be £2839, 12*s.*, 6*d.*, Pennsylvania currency, the productive portion of which yielded only £130 per annum. The trustees relied, for an increase of their funds, upon the liberality of the public and of the state legislature. And yet they offered Dr. Nisbet a salary of £250 sterling, a house rent-free, and the payment of all his expenses from Scotland to Carlisle. Dr. Rush wrote to him repeatedly, in pressing terms, making the most unqualified promises, indulging in the most sanguine prophecies of success, and pledging the honor and estates of the trustees for the payment of their obligations. To these repeated and urgent solicitations, coming from men whose elevated position in society entitled their word to the utmost confidence, Dr. Nisbet, though dissuaded by many of his friends, finally yielded. On the 23d of April, 1785, he sailed from Greenock with his family, and landed at Philadelphia on the 9th of June following. He reached Carlisle on the 4th of July, and was received with the highest marks of respect. On the next day he took the oath of office as president of Dickinson College, and commenced his duties at once. He was almost immediately taken sick, and, after some months' confinement, resigned his office; but in the ensuing spring, his health having been restored, he was re-elected, and resumed his duties as president, in which office he remained until his death.

The history of his connection with the college occupies the two succeeding chapters. It is a history, if the biographer is correct, of unwearied labors, constant anxieties, and mortifying disappointments on his part; of ignorance, incapacity, and neglect on the part of the trustees. Their splendid promises were forgotten; their fair-built castles vanished; their high-flown assurances of assistance and success came to nothing. This is strong language, but it is deserved. For the mere failure of their enterprise no one could blame the trustees. It was not their fault that the country languished for years after the close of a protracted and exhausting war. It was not their fault, that, from the derangements of com-

merce and the currency, money was so scarce, that men who were disposed to be liberal to the college could not be; and that many parents, who desired it, were unable to give their children a complete education. They did not destroy credit or unnerve enterprise. They were not to blame because the mass of the people thought more about making money than improving their minds or educating their children. But it *was* their fault that they did not foresee these things, at least to some extent; that they permitted their judgment to be blinded by their wishes; that they made promises which they could never fulfill, and excited expectations which could never be realized; and that, after the novelty of the enterprise wore off, and the edge of their interest was blunted, they permitted a stranger—who had been seduced from a comfortable home, and an elevated position in society in an old country, to a sphere of action for which he was unfitted by his habits, his education, and his age, in a new—to toil on, struggling with insurmountable difficulties, in the position where they themselves had placed him, uncheered by their encouragement, and almost unaided by their assistance.

Dr. Nisbet, then, was disappointed in coming to America. But he had more to contend with than the failure of the trustees to fulfill the promises which they had made him. He might have borne all this, perhaps, if he had been allowed to pursue his own course in the instruction and government of the college, and to carry out the elevated views of education which he had imbibed in Scotland. But he found this impracticable. The men with whom he had to deal, with some honorable exceptions, seem to have been meddling, pragmatical, and captious. When, even in 1785, he presented a few hints to them, designed to elevate their notions of education and colleges, not the smallest attention was paid to them, though, as he says, they were approved by many of the trustees in their hearts. "Every thing," to quote his own phrase, "was ordered according to the old *mumpsimus*." He thus writes to the Earl of Buchan:—

"Parents would have their children become learned, but the way in which they are to attain it must be dictated by those who know nothing about the matter. The power of the trustees is absolute, and without appeal. They receive the tuition-money paid by the parents, and allow the teachers what salaries they please; they turn them off when they think proper, and they confer degrees *pleno jure*, the teachers serving only as clerks for drawing up and signing the diplomas, the trustees receiving the money that is paid for them. Nor is the case altered though some of the trustees should be persons of virtue and learning. They will oblige their friends, and take such measures as

may render their college agreeable to the people, and draw students from a distance. What they consider as the ultimate end of learning, is that students may be able to speak readily in public; so that the preparing and delivering their speeches make the greatest part of their employment."—P. 141.

And again, his biographer, with reference to a later period, remarks,—

"Instead of enlarging and improving the system of public instruction, they were rather disposed to make it more narrow and superficial. Accordingly, the trustees, several years before the doctor's death, directed the course of study in the college to be shortened, and required as much to be done in one year as had formerly occupied two years. To this measure he strongly objected, as a kind of literary quackery; as adapted to deceive the public; to impose upon young men seeking a liberal education; and as pandering to popular ignorance and parsimony in a manner disgraceful to the guardians of education. His remonstrances, however, were in vain; and there is every reason to believe that the mortification and discouragement connected with this measure, and some others of a similar kind, and indicating the same spirit, preyed upon his mind, and convinced him, that the great hope which had brought him to the country, that he might be instrumental in raising the standard of knowledge and public improvement could no longer be cherished."—P. 282.

The determination of the trustees to control the course of instruction and government would be sufficient, if no other cause could be assigned, to account for the failure of Dickinson College in the earlier years of her history. It is impossible for any faculty to manage a college successfully if the board of trustees can interfere continually in the internal affairs of the institution. If they are to fix the periods of study, to say what books shall be studied, what students shall be promoted, and what punishments shall be inflicted, nothing else can be expected but continual strife between themselves and the professors. In the nature of things it must be so. If the professors of a college are to sustain its reputation, they must be devoted to its interests, and exert all their energies freely and heartily in its behalf. But they cannot do this if their line of action is marked out for them by others, whom they know to be less capable than themselves of judging in the premises. What justice can there be in holding a man responsible for the character of an institution, and yet binding him hand and foot with regard to every movement that is to form that character? As well require a man to practice gymnastics in a straight jacket or to write in handcuffs.

Accordingly, the history of the college is a record of strifes between the trustees and faculty, of periods of spasmodic success followed by corresponding depressions, of changes in its officers and laws, and of entire suspensions of its activity, until its reorganization, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1834. At that period the disturbing cause above alluded to was effectually removed. The legislature, on the application of the board, made an addition to the charter, by which the discipline of the college was declared to be "essentially vested in the professors and faculty, they being held responsible for the proper exercise of the same." From that period there has been the utmost harmony of action between the trustees and faculty. While the intelligent gentlemen who compose the former body have devoted themselves, with a degree of zeal rarely found in such officers, to the regulation of the finances of the institution, and to the general promotion of its interests, they have wisely left its intellectual and moral discipline to those whose daily business it is to study and employ the best means of training the minds and hearts of youth. The very best feeling has always prevailed; and the success of the college has surpassed any expectations that could have been reasonably entertained at the time of its reorganization.

In the remarks heretofore made upon the early history of the college, we do not mean to be understood as saying that the action of the trustees was in every instance ill-advised and wrong; or that the course of Dr. Nisbet, as president of the college, was always right.

We have no doubt that he adhered somewhat too stubbornly to his own views, which, founded as they were upon the wants and circumstances of a totally different state of society, doubtless needed modification in many respects to adapt them to this country. But in his main principles, he was, in our judgment, entirely correct. In no country, new or old, can the human mind be thoroughly educated in two or three years. Nowhere is it true that the chief end of man is to make speeches. Nowhere, at least on this globe of ours, can science be learned in sport, or wisdom gained without self-denial. It was on general principles such as these that Dr. Nisbet differed from many of the men under whose authority he had to act. In the main they had their own way, and the result was—zero. On one great point the sturdy good sense of the doctor would never yield. He maintained, in the face of all opposition, that the study of languages is one of the best means of mental discipline, and ought to be a principal element of a liberal

education.* At that time the cant of *practical* studies, which has since become so fashionable, was beginning to make itself heard. As if any studies could be more *practical* than those which give the best and surest discipline to the mind! This folly is wearing away, but its influence is yet too strong among us. It has caused the courses of study in many of our colleges to be swelled to their present impracticable extent. It has caused our seminaries to profess to give instruction *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Even our girls' boarding schools teach the young misses logic, and all the *ologies* and *philosophies*, besides the ornamental branches. All this is sufficiently foolish. But we trust that better days are coming; that our colleges will aim more at mental discipline than at an extensive course of study superficially pursued; and that our seminaries will be content to be seminaries, without having every teacher called a professor, and without undertaking to carry on the studies appropriate to the colleges within their own walls. This last is a crying evil which ought to be abated. We get catalogues of seminaries with a faculty of professors, with a long and imposing course of study, and with assurances that students can be prepared for *any* class in college. If they would confine themselves to their proper business of thoroughly drilling in the elements those students who are preparing for college, and giving a good course of training to those who are not, the colleges would be relieved of the number of half-prepared youth that embarrass their classes, and society would be rid of a set of sciolists who, with a smattering of all the sciences, and minds untrained to the severe pursuit of any, think themselves "wiser than seven men that can render a reason."

But to return to our subject. Dr. Nisbet's situation could hardly be called pleasant, at any period. Though he was in labors abundant, lecturing, teaching, preaching, on a variety of subjects, and with an amount of success which could have been rivaled, perhaps, by no man in America at the time, the college never satisfied his feelings, either in its character or condition. He gave vent to his uneasiness, with considerable freedom, in his letters to his friends in Scotland. As his family became settled in life

* "I content myself with expressing the opinion, formed after a good deal of experience and observation, that the usual academic course of linguistic and mathematical studies is fully entitled to the preference which it has so long enjoyed in our higher seminaries. I know not, indeed, what studies can be substituted for these; I do not say with the prospect of equal, or nearly equal, utility, but without endangering the best interests of education."—Dr. Olin's Address at the opening of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary. The manly good sense of this excellent speech has refreshed us not a little.

around him, however, his feelings were gradually softened. His reputation for wit and learning was widely diffused. Though he did not escape slander, (what good or strong man does?) his character was irreproachable. His general health continued good, until about the beginning of January, 1804, when

"he was seized with a severe cold, accompanied with inflammation of the lungs and liver, which gradually gained ground until it terminated his life. After the disease began to assume a threatening aspect, and especially within a few days of the closing scene, he appeared to suffer exceedingly: but he endured it all with remarkable patience and fortitude. He retained the possession of his mental powers to the last. The only faculty which appeared to be strikingly impaired was his memory, which, in health, was among the master-powers of his mind. This prevented his holding much connected conversation with those around him during his last hours. The exercises of devotion appeared to occupy his heart and his lips as long as he was able to utter them. The last efforts of vocal utterance which could be distinguished, were employed in articulating, with great tenderness, the name of his wife, and in saying, with peculiar fervor, 'Holy, holy, holy!' With these words on his lips, he gently fell asleep, on the 18th of January, 1804, having within three days completed the sixty-eighth year of his age."

So only good men die.

An accurate analysis of Dr. Nisbet's character is not attempted by his biographer. From the various notices, however, which are brought together in the concluding chapter, from the incidents of his life itself, and from those parts of the book before us in which he speaks for himself, we can gather a few prominent characteristics.

The extent and variety of his learning will afford us some conception of the powers of his mind. It may be said, perhaps, without exaggeration, that he was the most learned man of his time in this country. Besides a familiar acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, he possessed a knowledge also of Hebrew literature; and in modern languages he was master of French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. He seems to have been acquainted, not superficially, but profoundly, with "the fathers of the Christian church; with the earlier as well as the later historians; with the principal theological writers of all countries and systems; with the history of knowledge; with the leading writers on the philosophy of the mind, moral philosophy, political economy," &c. His thorough knowledge of the progress of German theology is especially noticeable. Few men, on this side of the Atlantic, and very few in England, had

the same knowledge forty years ago. He kept himself well informed of every movement in Germany, that land where every hour has its movement, and every movement is a change. At an early period of his career in college, he delivered "four co-ordinate courses of lectures, one on logic, one on moral philosophy, a third on the philosophy of the mind, and a fourth on belles-lettres, including interesting views, historical and literary, of the principal classical writers, both Greek and Latin. These were all carried on at the same time, and with the greatest apparent ease; the lecture of each successive day being, for the most part, written, so far as it was committed to writing at all, on the preceding evening." And, at a subsequent period, he added to these a regular course on systematic theology, extending over a period of a little more than two years, and comprising, in that time, four hundred and eighteen lectures.

These were the acquisitions and labors of a giant. It is needless, then, to say that Dr. Nisbet possessed a powerful mind; and even the peculiar powers with which he was most richly endowed need hardly be mentioned. Of course, without a strong *memory*, he never could have accomplished what is here told of him. The biography abounds with illustrations of the prodigious extent to which he possessed this faculty. We select a few. He could hear the college classes recite in Greek and Latin without book. He is said to have committed Cowper's Task at two readings. He could repeat a great, if not the greater, part of Homer's Iliad. Dr. Brown relates, that when, in the course of conversation, any difficult passage of Scripture was alluded to, he would refer at once to the connection, and commonly repeat literally, and with the utmost readiness, the whole context.

"Not long after his settlement in Carlisle, when he was dining with a select literary circle, a lawyer of considerable eminence, who prided himself greatly on his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, was of the company. In the course of conversation this gentleman quoted several lines in the original Greek from Homer's Iliad. When he had finished his quotation, Dr. Nisbet said to him, 'Well, mon, go on; what you've left is just as good as what you've taken.' The gentleman confessed that his memory did not serve him for repeating more. The doctor then began where he had ended, and, with the greatest ease, repeated a considerable additional portion." —P. 333.

He was an insatiable reader. Nothing, it would seem, in the shape of a book, came amiss to him. Dr. Miller says that he could read a book in one half or one-third part of the time it cost

any other person of his acquaintance, and that he seemed to forget nothing he had ever read.

Striking as is the testimony to the strength of his memory, it is equally so as to the acuteness and readiness of his *wit*. It is clear also that he, in common with almost all deep and affectionate natures, was not destitute of humor. The mere intellectual play which we call wit is often found in very bad men, and is a dangerous faculty even for the good. But humor, springing from a warm and sympathetic heart, and, in its genial manifestations, seizing upon the feelings of others with a kind attraction, is a very different and far higher endowment, in a moral point of view. Humor sees that the sportful and the sad lie side by side in our human life, and is as ready to laugh with the one as to weep with the other. The acute glance of wit detects the weak, the incongruous, the ridiculous in human nature, and, without sympathy or feeling, delights in aiming its keen sarcasms at these vulnerable points. Dr. Nisbet's wit often got him into trouble. Dr. Green says, "It was satirical, or sarcastic, too often for his own quiet; causing loss of friendship in some who could not make allowance for an overbearing propensity." But the instances recorded by our author are generally harmless; pleasant plays upon words or sportive effusions of humor. Dr. Martin writes: "I carried him one night, through intricate paths and windings, to him, at least, a labyrinth. At the end he exclaimed, 'O Martin! you will make an excellent commentator; you carry one safely and skillfully through dark passages.'" He frequently attended the meetings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia. On one of these occasions Dr. J. M. Mason said to him, "Well, doctor, I find you sometimes come to Philadelphia during the sessions of the General Assembly." "Yes," said he, "I am not a member, but I like to see my friends, and see a little of what is going on." "But do you not sometimes go into the assembly and listen to its proceedings?" "Yes, I sometimes go in for the *benefit of hearing*, and then I come out for the *benefit of not hearing*." "Well, doctor, which is the greater benefit?" "Indeed, mon, it is hard to strike the balance."

It is not an uncommon notion that a man of strong memory must necessarily have a weak judgment. But all literary history disproves it. A man cannot become great in any department of science or literature without a strong memory. To remember retentively is an almost invariable characteristic of genius. But it is not often the case that retentiveness is united with susceptibility and readiness. Dr. Nisbet, however, seemed to recollect what

was casually associated with his thoughts, almost as well as what he had philosophically studied and arranged in his mind. Nor was his clear, sound mind ever burdened by his intellectual wealth. A manly, straight-forward judgment was one of his strongest characteristics.

His moral character was of a high order. That noblest of moral endowments, a loving heart, he appears to have possessed in an eminent degree. "His whole history exhibited him as kind-hearted and sympathetic beyond what is common in those who are popularly called benevolent men." His early attachments kept strong hold on him to the last. From a casual association, he could not shut his windows at night without thinking of his friends in Scotland. He says, beautifully, "When I see the sun, moon, and stars passing over me, I am ready to envy them, and to ask them concerning my friends whom they have so lately visited, and are so soon to see again." Like all men of sanguine temperament and ready wit, he was remarkably accessible and social. But he was too ardent to be prudent. In conversation, he abhorred all disguises, and was unreserved in disclosing his own sentiments. If this be a fault, it is near akin to virtue. It does one's heart good, now and then to meet a clear, candid man, that hangs out no false colors, and abominates cant of all kinds. Such a man, we think, was Dr. Nisbet. Doubtless this temper brought him into difficulties, and, perhaps, as we have before said, he carried it to excess.

Dr. Nisbet's theology was Calvinism of the old stamp. Here, as elsewhere, he did not mince matters. He had no sympathy with new schools or new measures. He had no love for Arminians, and never pretended to have any. Dr. Green says of him, that "though he was a decided Calvinist, he was not intolerant of other denominations, if they held what he regarded as the fundamentals of religion. I never heard him speak with severity of any religious sect except the Universalists." Doubtless Dr. Green had never heard him speak thus intolerably; but the following extract from a letter to Lady Leven, in 1770, smacks strongly of prejudice, if not of intolerance:—

"It would seem that Mr. Wesley, by his preaching and conferences, has been but too successful in seducing many of the ignorant and unwary into his notions. He has been long suspected of teaching doctrines inconsistent with the gospel of Christ, and tending to encourage sinners in a reliance on their own works and merit for justification. In his last conference he seems to have taken off the mask, and openly to inculcate the old Popish doctrine of the merit of good works,

wrought by sinners in a fallen state, in direct opposition to the Articles of the Church of England, which he must have subscribed, and to the doctrine which he has many times preached.—The obscurity and ambiguity with which Mr. Wesley expresses himself, give strong suspicion against his sincerity, as well as orthodoxy.—None can have the vanity to believe that Scripture, reason, and argument will have the effect to enlighten Mr. Wesley, who is a person of great learning and ingenuity, and cannot be supposed to err from ignorance."—P. 72.

On this fine specimen of the effects of a narrow creed, in pouring bitterness into a kind heart, Dr. Miller remarks, apologetically, as follows:—

"If the subject of this Memoir had undertaken to speak of Mr. Wesley and his opinions, twenty or thirty years afterward, when the character of both was more fully developed, he would hardly have called in question the 'sincerity' of that eminent man. His *consistency* and *orthodoxy* he would, no doubt, still have assailed with undiminished confidence; but he would probably have awarded to him the praise of honest zeal, and of no small usefulness, however mistaken and erratic some parts of his system."—P. 73.

This was kindly meant of our author, and we thank him for it. He leaves but little to quarrel with in Mr. Wesley. As for "consistency" in error, it certainly never characterized the founder of Methodism. As for orthodoxy, too, it is a word of such vague meaning, that we never dread it. So long as the right of private judgment lasts, it matters little what is the standard of orthodoxy set up by any individual doctor of divinity, however learned. But we fear that Dr. Miller has not succeeded in making out his case in favor of his friend. It is very doubtful whether Dr. Nisbet's prejudices abated at all with the lapse of years. In 1786, Lady Leven writes to him that she fears he is prejudiced against the Methodists of both classes, and tries to persuade him that John Wesley is a faithful servant of God. Later still, in 1789, she tells him that "it hurts her to find him speaking lightly of the Methodists in general." Nay, even so late as 1800, Dr. Nisbet, in the course of a most learned and instructive letter to our author, which contains as much information as we have ever known to be condensed into the same space, gives an account of the declining state of piety in the eighteenth century, and expresses his joy at the more decisive revival of true religion which had, within a few years

"taken place in England, both among some portions of the dissenters, and still more remarkably in the established Church, under the

ministry, and from the writings of such men as Romaine, John Newton, Simeon, Cecil, Scott, and others, distinguished for the general soundness of their opinions and the fervor of their piety. When Romaine and Hervey arose, in the early part of the century, to plead for evangelical religion, they stood almost alone among the clergy of the Establishment."—P. 279.

Here is an account of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, with no mention of the labors of John Wesley! As well write a history of science, and leave out the name of Newton. As well describe the Reformation without alluding to Luther. "In elevating the moral and religious character of the people of England," says the Edinburgh reviewer,* "the first place is due to the illustrious founder of Methodism." We may certainly, in this case, retort Dr. Nisbet's language upon himself with propriety, and say, that "he was a person of great learning and ingenuity, and could hardly be supposed to err from ignorance." The man, who, in 1801, could trace German theology through all its devious mazes, must have known something of the progress of Christianity in Great Britain. The leader of the host, under God, was John Wesley. This *could* not have been entirely hidden from eyes so keen as Dr. Nisbet's, and yet he could not find it in his heart to mention it. To the very last, then, as far as we can see, his Calvinistic prejudices against Methodism remained as unmitigated as did his gloomy creed.

Dr. Miller has a note upon this subject which demands a moment's notice. We quote part of it:—

"Dr. Nisbet was indeed warmly opposed to the Arminianism of Mr. Wesley and of his disciples; and he also greatly disapproved of the *shouting, falling down, groaning*, &c., so common in their public worship forty or fifty years ago, and no less of their decrying *learning* in the gospel ministry, as they habitually did at that time. The great change which has taken place in the Methodist body in regard to outcries and disorders in worship, and also in respect to the increasing provision made for the literary training of their candidates for the ministry, is known to every one. But in regard to *doctrine*, had the venerable subject of this Memoir lived to this hour, he would have had undiminished reason to express strong dissent from that body. Were he now alive, and to go into a Methodist Episcopal church, in many parts of our country, he would still hear Calvinism denounced by name in the most reproachful and violent language, as a 'hateful, abominable system,' as a 'doctrine of devils,' &c., and our Confession of Faith quoted in a garbled manner, and loaded with the coarsest abuse, as the doctrine of Presbyterians."—P. 354.

* No. cxxxv.

Here again, perhaps, we ought to be grateful to our author. He admits that Methodism has improved, in some respects, within half a century. But yet, this fling at shouting, falling down, &c., was, it seems to us, hardly necessary, as no mention was made of these irregularities in the letter referred to, and as it is clear that Dr. Nisbet's prejudices were more strongly directed against Mr. Wesley's *doctrines* than against any other peculiarities of Methodism. Besides, Dr. Miller is sufficiently acquainted with the history of the (Calvinistic) churches of Scotland and New-England to know that "such things" occurred in the very temples of "orthodoxy" long before they were seen in the humble meetings of the Methodists. This may pass, however, for what it is worth. But our author's assertion, that in many parts of the country, at the present time, "the Confession of Faith is quoted in a garbled manner, and loaded with the coarsest abuse," in Methodist churches, is, to say the least of it, a little extraordinary. We do not charge him with intentional misrepresentation, but we do mean to state, that in all our knowledge of Methodism—and we have had the opportunity of knowing it personally in "many parts of the country"—we have *never* heard the Confession of Faith either garbled or loaded with the coarsest abuse by Methodist preachers. If Dr. Miller *knows* these things to have been done, we ought to have something more definite, in regard to the place and time, than his vague assertion that such things are to be met with in many parts of our country. And even if he has heard of such imprudences in a few cases, we put it to him as an honest question, in all Christian feeling, whether it be right, in a formal book of biography, designed to go out into the world and to live—to make such a representation as would imply, to ordinary readers at least, that such things are common in the pulpits of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

A brief comparison of the career of Dr. Nisbet with that of a distinguished contemporary will close this article.

We have seen that Dr. Nisbet was born in 1736. Enjoying rare opportunities, and endowed with rare capacities for improving them, he acquired vast stores of knowledge at an early period of his life. His mind was polished and sharpened by intercourse with the learned. In the schools of theology he became mighty in the Scriptures; and in the books of philosophy he learned the wisdom of men. The languages and literature of the ancients were at his command; the treasures of every tongue in modern Europe were laid open before him. With a lively wit and a ready tongue he could make the best use of all these acquisitions. Even

in his youth he was a giant. But it was not until years had added experience to his strength, that, in the very prime of his bodily and mental vigor, he was invited to America. A wide field seemed to be opened there for the exercise of his zeal and abilities. The country was just starting in the race of nations, with all the vigor of youthful liberty. The minds of the people were oppressed by no tyranny; no time-honored institutions hindered their development; their habits, their modes of thought, their whole character, were yet to be formed. It was thought that men, unshackled by authority, would listen to reason; and that the public mind, plastic and flexible, might be formed in the mold of truth and virtue. It was thought, too, that Dr. Nisbet was admirably fitted for this task. His personal qualifications were undoubted; and the denomination of Christians to which he belonged was strongly established in the country. A college was offered to him; a liberal salary secured; a church was waiting to attend his ministry. He obeyed the call. In 1785 he left his native land for the purpose of *promoting religion and learning* in the United States of America. His reputation had gone before him, and the great ones of the land welcomed him. He entered upon his duties with high anticipations. His family were around him. A powerful church sustained him. The benefactions of the state were bestowed upon his college. In the discharge of his duties, he studied, taught, and preached, with extraordinary industry. For eighteen years did he continue these labors almost without intermission. Yet he was unsuccessful. He found that liberty did not make men reasonable; and that human nature was as intractable in America as in Europe. His college did not flourish; his salary was irregularly paid; his services were not duly appreciated. He died with the consciousness that he had failed in his undertaking. He did great good, doubtless, in forming the minds of some scores of young men who afterward entered the ministry; but, besides this, all that now remains to tell that he came to America, is the college over which he presided. How would it astonish him to find that even in this, his darling enterprise, he had been laboring to establish an institution of learning whose patronage was mainly to be derived from those very Methodists whom he so despised!

Francis Asbury was born in 1745. His education was obtained in the village school and in the workshop of his master, a maker of buckles. He sat at the feet of no Gamaliel. He never crossed the threshold of a school of theology. In his youth he could not read the books of the ancients; and of modern tongues he acquired none but the vernacular. But in the word of God he was learned,

like Timothy, from a child. At fourteen years of age he was converted, and at twenty-one he began to preach. At twenty-six, in answer to a call from Mr. Wesley, he offered his services to go to America *to preach the gospel.* A great field was there, to be sure, white to the harvest; but the reapers had to fight their way. The society to which he belonged was known there only to be despised. No church was ready for him; no honors awaited him; even his name was utterly unknown. In 1771 he landed in America. The country was on the eve of war. The minds of men were agitated by stormy passions. The years that followed "tried men's souls," yet in patience possessed he his, and amid the strife and din of arms he continued his work of peace. Through dangers and perils he held on his way. The war closed, but his labors were only begun. In 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, and he was elected its bishop. For thirty-two years he performed the duties of that office with apostolic simplicity and diligence. His life was more like that of one of the early missionaries of Christianity than of a church dignitary in the eighteenth century. He came to America to *preach the gospel*, and he accomplished his object. He had no certain dwelling place, it is true, but he desired none; his salary barely supported life, but *none* had been promised him; and when money was offered him, he refused it, lest he should seem to preach for hire. Men appreciated his services far beyond his own estimate of their value. Unentangled by the duties, and uncheered by the joys, of domestic life, he was free to devote all his time to his work: and his celibacy, however it may have originated, was kept up to the end of his life on conscientious grounds. His diocese was greater than St. Paul's. Within the compass of every year, the borderers of Canada and the planters of Mississippi looked for the coming of this primitive bishop, and were not disappointed. His travels averaged six thousand miles a year; and this, not in a splendid carriage over smooth roads; not with the ease and speed of the rail-way; but often through pathless forests and untraveled wildernesses; among the swamps of the south and the prairies of the west; amid the heats of the Carolinas and the snows of New-England. There grew up under his hand an entire church, with fearless preachers and untrained members; but he governed the multitude as he had done the handful, with a gentle charity and an unflinching firmness. In diligent activity, no apostle, no missionary, no warrior ever surpassed him. He rivaled Melancthon in love and Luther in boldness. He combined the enthusiasm of Xavier with the far-reaching foresight

and keen discrimination of Wesley. Comparatively destitute of learning, he was wise to a proverb. With a mind untrained in the schools, he yet seemed to seize upon truth by intuition; and though men might vanquish him in logic, they could not deny his conclusions.

Such was Francis Asbury, who came to America fourteen years before Charles Nisbet, and lived twelve years after him. We have seen the result of the labors of the learned, witty, and orthodox divine. What is the monument of the itinerant Wesleyan? He himself, during his lifetime, saw the followers of Wesley in America increase from four preachers and three hundred and sixteen members to nearly seven hundred preachers and over two hundred thousand members. Twenty-seven years have passed since his death, and the church which he founded numbers three thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight traveling preachers, and more than a million of communicants!

This comparison is made with no invidious purpose. While it does not disparage Dr. Nisbet, it illustrates the great principle and practice of Wesley and of Methodism, that *the means must be adapted to the ends.*

Dickinson College, 1843.

ART. VI.—*The School and the Schoolmaster.—A Manual for the Use of Teachers, &c., in Common Schools.* In two Parts: Part I—By ALONZO POTTER, D. D., of New-York. Part II—By GEORGE B. EMERSON, A. M., of Massachusetts. 12mo., pp. 552. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS work realizes what has long been a favorite conception of ours; and we confidently anticipate that its publication will constitute the commencement of a new era in the history of common-school education in this country. In a country like Prussia, having a despotic government, vast improvements may be made in systems of education if only the monarch and a few of his leading ministers be enlightened and benevolent, because *there* whatever has been conceived and decreed in the cabinet may be enforced, thoroughly carried into execution in all its details, by the strong arm of absolute power. But in this country the people are the sovereigns; and whatever may be the power of the few to control the many for *certain purposes*, yet no great object needing co-operation in every

district and family can ever be accomplished among us otherwise than upon the voluntary principle, that is, not otherwise than by first creating among the people such an amount of information and interest as will induce them to unite in demanding and enforcing the necessary reform. So long as the people remain in ignorance and in apathy respecting their common schools, and respecting their true interests in education, or so long as their conceptions of the improvements to be desired, of the excellence capable of being attained, are only vague and narrow, too feeble to arouse them from their habitual indifference, or to prevail over their love of money, and consequent love of cheap instruction, so long will it be found impossible to move their representatives to undertake any wise and thorough legislation on the subject. Should these representatives, more enlightened than their constituents, or acted upon by a special influence, be induced to legislate in a higher spirit, to call for better instruction, for more worthy qualifications and efforts in teachers and inspectors, for a nobler zeal and liberality in employers, their enactments, being unsupported by popular sympathy, or even by popular consent, would remain buried in the statute book, a dead letter. No laws can accomplish any thing in this country, no laws can be executed, unless they are sustained by the general convictions of the people; and especially is this true of laws such as those which relate to the improvement of common schools; because they demand that sort of pains-taking, that minute attention to details from year to year, that liberality which nothing but a warm and enlightened zeal can produce.

Now, though there has long been prevalent throughout our country a vague impression that our common-school system requires amendment, yet we fear there has been no distinct idea as to *what* is needed in the way of improvement, or of the *amount* of the present deficiency, as compared with what has been done elsewhere, and may be easily effected by us. It has, therefore, long seemed to us that we greatly needed two things: *First*, something like a *beau ideal*—a standard of attainable excellence—something which should be definite, distinct, and feasible to aim at: and, *second*, we want to know what has been done by others; this knowledge would abate our self-complacency, put an end to our passive acquiescence in the present state of things, and animate our parents, teachers, and rulers to well-directed exertion. Accordingly, we suggested to a friend, several years ago, the importance of circulating thoroughly in every school district *two tracts;* the first to contain a succinct, popular statement of what had been done abroad in the way of improving common schools, so far at

least as similar features might be adopted in this country; and the second to exhibit a brief exposition of the right method of instruction and management in relation to different branches of study and to the operations of the school generally. These two tracts being in the hands of every man in the state, all descriptions of persons would have a better understanding of their duties; the teacher would know what he ought to be and to do; the parent would know what he had a right to expect; inspectors and superintendents would know what qualifications, arrangements, and methods of instruction they ought to demand; and the legislature would be qualified to act wisely and efficiently. Having opened a perfect communication between our people and foreign countries as to intelligence, as to information about what is passing in their systems of common-school education, it can scarcely be doubted, that our standard of excellence would quickly rise to at least an equal level with theirs. The idea of publishing these tracts passed away like a thousand other projects, good and bad, which are conceived, but never executed; and although we have had at different times many excellent things, such as Professor Stowe's Report, and detached pieces of valuable information, published in our journals of education, which were well calculated to accomplish partially the work that the said tracts were intended to perform more thoroughly, yet until the appearance of the "SCHOOL AND THE SCHOOLMASTER," we have had nothing that could lay claim to much completeness either in design or execution, and certainly nothing that could be expected to produce that effect on the public mind which we have been in the habit of deeming essential to any great and general improvement of the common schools of this country.

The work of Professor Potter and Mr. Emerson is, of course, far more elaborate and complete than any thing that could have been attempted in the projected publications we have referred to: the writers are well known not only as gentlemen of education and distinguished ability, but also as practical teachers of long experience, and they have combined with great skill the results of their own observation and reflection, with the suggestions derived from the schools and the works on education of foreign countries. A mere glance at the table of contents is sufficient to show that, in their excursion through the great field of education, they have examined almost every subject that ought most to interest the parent, teacher, school inspector, and legislator, as well as those general readers, who, though belonging to neither of these classes, must have a powerful influence, direct and indirect, over them all,

and who cannot but feel a lively concern in efforts affecting so vitally the intelligence and welfare of the country.

The first part, entitled the SCHOOL, which is the work of Dr. Potter, treats in the first chapter of the *nature and uses of education*, viewed in all its different aspects, under the following heads :—

I. What is education?

II. Prevailing errors in regard to the nature and end of education, embracing three sections.

III. What is the education most needed by the American people?

IV. The importance of education: 1. To the individual; 2. To society.

In the second chapter Dr. Potter discusses the subject of *common schools*, their present state, the best means of improving them, their relation to other means of education, including a vast variety of most valuable strictures and suggestions respecting school-houses, manners, morals, intellectual instruction, female teachers, monitorial and other systems, class books, education of teachers, high schools, &c.

The second part, entitled the SCHOOLMASTER, and written by Mr. Emerson, treats with great minuteness of the *qualities* requisite to constitute a good teacher, of the *studies* which he ought to pursue as a means of rendering his instructions and the general influence of his mind more thorough, comprehensive, and elevating; and of the *duties* which, as a teacher, he owes to himself, to his pupils, to his fellow-teachers, to parents, and to the community.

In addition to these topics, Mr. Emerson devotes one whole book to the *school*, its organization, government, and methods of instruction in the several branches of study; and another book to the *school-house*, its situation, size, position, and arrangement, including also some excellent remarks on the too much neglected subjects of *light*, *warming*, and *ventilation*.

These topics are treated with the union of philosophical depth and practical judgment, as to details, which might be expected from writers whose lives have been devoted with so much success to the cultivation of letters and to the every-day business of instruction. Of course, in a book which touches almost every question that can be raised respecting the nature and influence of education, and the different methods of promoting its interests, it must be presumed that there are views presented concerning which there will be different shades of opinion. And this is doubtless the case with the work now under consideration. Nevertheless, we feel

quite confident that, on the whole, it will meet with the decided approbation of all who bring to its perusal a tithe of the reflection and experience which dictated its pages; and we are equally confident, that were it generally read with serious attention by the parents and teachers of the land, the effects would be speedily seen in a growing disposition in families to sacrifice luxury to education, to call for more adequate provision for the intellectual and moral culture of their children, and in a juster appreciation, on the part of teachers and inspectors, of the high and momentous nature of the duties to be discharged in the common school.

To present even a condensed summary of the facts and arguments contained in this work, together with such reflections of our own as are naturally excited by the perusal of its several parts, would be to write, not an article merely, but a book, and a large one too; but as we aim at nothing more than to commend the very important matter contained in this volume to the earnest attention of our readers, we shall content ourselves with a mere specimen, calculated to exhibit the spirit that pervades the work, together with a few hasty remarks of our own on some of the topics discussed.

One of the most interesting and valuable features of the "School and the Schoolmaster" is, the careful and judicious reference constantly made in all its suggestions to the peculiar circumstances, social, political, and religious, of this country. It would not have been very surprising had writers so capable of general speculation, and so familiar with the systems of education adopted in foreign countries, been tempted to build up splendid but somewhat impracticable theories, or to propose remedial measures, sanctioned by foreign usage, but unsuited to the genius of our government and people. Nothing, however, of this sort is to be met with in any of their discussions, which are severely practical and thoroughly adapted to the wants and capabilities of the country. While they are very far from making the least concessions to popular error; while they keep ever in view the largest conceptions of the true aim and end of education, yet in pointing out what is practicable in our circumstances, and what is most important to be attempted, they evince a judgment at once comprehensive and discriminating, such a judgment as could result only from a thorough insight into the philosophy of education in general, and an intimate practical acquaintance with the business of instruction as modified necessarily by our institutions.

Professor Potter having answered the question, "What is edu-

cation?" and having exposed certain "prevailing errors in regard to the nature and end of education," proceeds to inquire, "What is the education most needed by the American people?"

That his general statements respecting the kind of education needed in this country are both true and highly important will scarcely be denied; and followed up, as they are in subsequent parts of the work, with minute and definite explanations of the particulars, in which consists the culture that befits an American citizen, they cannot fail, if attended to, of producing a salutary effect upon the country. In continuing the subject, Dr. Potter urges the importance "*of more thorough instruction in the first principles of politics.*" This is certainly desirable; for, as things are managed at present, the majority of the people gain their first acquaintance with politics through the distorted representations of party newspapers, or from the petty conflicts of rival village cliques. This is surely wrong. It must be esteemed a great misfortune to any country when its politicians, or any large portion of them, receive no education in general principles before they become involved in details. They will infallibly be conceited and headstrong, prompt to propose rash measures, and ever ready to fall in with new and plausible theories, and to unsettle the best-established maxims of government. Let, then, the young be taught the elements of political science; let them inform and discipline their own minds; let them read the lessons of history; let them try to settle great general principles, moral and political, and to study their bearing and application to the circumstances around them, before they enter the field to guide or influence others.

Dr. Potter maintains, also, that "the state of our country, and the character of the age, call loudly for *a more elegant and humanizing culture*" than has been common among us. A taste for the fine arts, for the beauties of nature, and especially for music, he thinks would do much to moderate the passion of our people for high excitements, and for gross sensual indulgences, would soften their feelings, and elevate their sentiments, and add a new charm to social and domestic life. And certainly he who can doubt this must be ignorant alike of the nature of man and of the state of the country. Can we wonder at the tendency to intemperance, to commercial and religious excitement, when we consider how few resources for simple, cheerful enjoyment, there are in most American homes?—how little music; how little poetry or imagination; how few of those pleasant fire-side or neighborhood festivals, which, in other countries, do so much to render people cheerful and contented with none but simple and innocent

gratifications—gratifications that humanize while they refresh, causing to grow up in every bosom the unalterable feeling, that the pleasantest place in the world is home? In Germany, so universal is the taste for music, that every family of three or four inmates can get up its little concert, or, by calling in a few neighbors, provide a musical feast, which, with us, would be the theme of admiration for a month. Why do our young people learn so early to think of cheerful gratifications as something which they must seek elsewhere than at home? Why do they live so much away from the paternal presence? Why do they so frequently fall into wild, frivolous, extravagant, and vicious courses? Why is life so often turned into a stupid, blank, or morose existence, fatal alike to the intellect, the moral feelings, and the social affections? Alas! Is not the answer to be found in the absence of homebred delights? in the absence of those gentle, but healthful and unfailing excitements, which come from music and minstrelsy; from a taste for the beautiful in nature and art; from pleasant domestic customs and associations; from social habits formed upon the principle that genuine piety and virtue are best promoted, not by austerity and gloom, but by a cordial hilarity, tempered with gentleness and affection? We recommend this part of the work before us to the special attention of our countrymen, trusting that the day is not far distant, when, in the rural districts of our land, and indeed in families everywhere, those tastes and employments which contribute to embellish life, to relieve its monotony and gloom, to render youth and manhood contented with simple and innocent pleasures, to glorify home as the scene of all that is heart-cheering in the intercourse of young and old, of master and servant, blended into one beautiful picture of duty and enjoyment, will no longer be deemed superfluous or unbecoming.

The remarks of Dr. Potter on the influence of education in promoting "*usefulness and success in life*," and in contributing to the *happiness* of the individual, are striking and just. In connection with this subject he observes,—

"In estimating the happiness to be derived from education, let us not overlook the vast addition which may thus be made to *domestic* and *social enjoyments*. Without the facts and ideas which are supplied by reading, how meagre and spiritless would conversation prove! In rearing children, and in the difficult task of making home pleasant and attractive, books form an unfailing resource, and many who now waste life and talent in a round of harassing dissipations, or in low vice, might have been both happy and useful if they had early imbibed a taste for good books."

Dr. Potter discusses, at considerable length, the question which has been so often agitated, how far education tends to diminish crime and to promote virtue. Taking education in the sense in which he advocates it, viz., as including intellectual and moral instruction and training, and considering, moreover, that the moral culture is the fruit of a sound religious influence, there can, of course, be no doubt that it is the only effectual means of making good citizens and good men. But whether mere secular knowledge, whether the education of the intellect merely, without a right moral culture, will contribute to such a result is not quite so certain. In practice, indeed, the problem which we have to solve is a complex one. It is scarcely possible that intellectual education should be carried far without involving, incidentally and unavoidably, much moral culture. Few teachers can be so perverse or so stupid as not to appeal sometimes to the conscience and moral feelings of their pupils. Again, the books which are put into the hands of the child to teach him to read, as well as a majority of those which will afterward engage the attention of the youth and the man, especially in such a country as ours, will be sure to contain many excellent moral and religious precepts, more, much more, we may safely presume, of good than of evil. Besides, considering the present character, moral and religious, of the educated classes in this country, it seems highly probable, that, by educating a child, even though the education be confined for the most part to his intellect, we introduce him to the society of persons whose moral influence will be more salutary than would be the influence of the classes among whom he must fall if entirely uneducated. To all this it must be added, that education, even of the intellect alone, seems to impart to the subject of it some powers of reflection, of foresight, and of self-restraint.

If we consider the case of a person who has been left in gross ignorance, we generally perceive that his mind is dark, narrow, and inactive. His passions and sensual appetites are predominant. He lives in the midst of the lowest and grossest images. When his brutal propensities are aroused, when evil is placed just before him, he acts impulsively, from a sort of blind instinct. He *sees nothing at a distance*. He cannot restrain himself while his eye glances forward to the fatal consequences of the sin, to the distant rewards of virtue, or while he can listen to the monitor within. Such habits of forecast are entirely foreign to his dark, sensual existence. He sees nothing, thinks of nothing but the object of passion or the lure to sin in his immediate presence, and rushes to

crime and ruin as a wild beast in pursuit of his victim would rush down a fatal precipice.

Dr. Potter adduces various facts to show that "the average amount of crime is almost exactly in the inverse ratio of the average amount of instruction." The testimony of the directors of the Ohio penitentiary, quoted by him, and applicable, we imagine, to all similar establishments, conveys a sad lesson. They say,—

"It is an erroneous impression that the convicts are intelligent, shrewd men, [we know not where such an impression has existed, certainly never in our minds,] whose minds have been perverted by vice, rather than blunderers into low and vicious habits, and ultimately into the commission of crime, from idleness, ignorance, and opacity of mental vision. It will be seen that nearly the whole number of convicts are below mediocrity in point of information; and, indeed, our inquiries and observations have long since satisfied us that, not only in our own prison, but in others which we have visited and inquired after, depraved appetites and corrupt habits, which have led to the commission of crime, are usually found with the ignorant, uninformed, and duller part of mankind. Of the two hundred and seventy-six, nearly all are below mediocrity; one hundred and seventy-five are grossly ignorant, and in point of education scarcely capable of transacting the ordinary business of life."

Upon this Professor Potter propounds a query which ought to sink deep into the hearts of our rulers, legislators, and people generally. "Is it not," says he, "a question for grave reflection, how far society, after thus suffering individuals to grow up in ignorance and incapacity, retains, in respect to them, the right of inflicting punishment?" For ourselves, we have long been persuaded that it is one of the most solemn and momentous questions that can be presented to the consideration of any people. This view of the subject long ago made us a thorough convert to the wisdom and soundness in principle of the Prussian law, which first provides amply for the efficient education of every child in the nation, and then enforces their attendance upon the schools for a certain term of years. A government, or, if you please, a society, has the same interests and the same duties to impel it to *secure* the education of its children, that a parent has to make him insist upon his offspring receiving instruction. What sort of a parent would *he* be who should say to his children, "Yonder is the school! You must consult your own pleasure about attending it! I advise you to get an education; it will benefit you in such and such ways; but I shall use no constraint; you must judge and act for yourselves; and prepare to abide all the consequences of your choice!" Are children competent to judge and act for themselves

in such matters? Are all parents fit to be intrusted with the power of educating their children or not as they please, and as little as they please? Consider their ignorance; their avarice; their thoughtlessness. If we would regard that man as unworthy of the name of parent, as deeply criminal, who should leave his children in utter neglect, without education, and then, when, through ignorance, they stumbled into vice, should turn round upon them, inflicting the severest punishment, and casting them for ever away from him, what are we to think of the state, which, using no paternal constraint to secure the attendance of its children at school for a competent term, making no provision for the case of those who not only need gratuitous instruction, but other assistance to enable them to avail themselves of such instruction, doing nothing of all this, but leaving them to grow up, if they and their parents please, in ignorance and stupidity, with undisciplined passions, till they become "blunderers into low and vicious habits, and ultimately into crime, from idleness, ignorance, and opacity of mental vision," then hastens with a sort of vindictive zeal to drag them to prison or to the scaffold? Wherein is such policy more virtuous or praiseworthy in a state than in a parent? We shall be told that the Prussian law is unsuited to the genius of our free institutions, and that the people of this state would never submit to be coerced in regard to the education of their children. If this be so, (and we have no doubt the latter part of the objection is well founded,) all we have to say is, *So much the worse for the country!* As to the idea that the law in question is incompatible with any liberty which the subject ought to possess, which would be useful to him or to the state, we consider it sheer nonsense. But we are not going to argue the point.

On the subject of the influence of education in diminishing crime and promoting virtue, we have two remarks to make before we dismiss the question. In the first place, we believe that just in proportion as the education imparted is confined to the intellect, the prospect of benefit to the moral character of the individual is diminished and involved in doubt. To educate the intellect without educating, at the same time, the conscience and the moral feelings, is to create a more powerful engine, without doing any thing to determine the direction in which it shall move. The intellect, in itself considered, has no moral character. It is neither good nor evil. When developed it will be guided by that moral power which is predominant, whether it be conscience or vicious inclination. But the conscience will not be educated and rendered controlling by mere intellectual culture. Such culture, if ex-

clusive, will leave the moral powers depressed and enfeebled, while the passions are becoming turbulent and strong; while excitements are stirring up vicious inclination; and while the individual is carried by his intellectual energies into the midst of conflicts and temptations, which require for his preservation a power of moral control as well matured and developed as have been the powers of the intellect. It is sometimes supposed that the development of the intellect supersedes the necessity of any special culture for the moral faculty. But the reverse is the truth. The more thoroughly the intellect is developed the more necessary it becomes to take particular care to invigorate the moral powers. A thoroughly enlightened and controlling conscience is even more needful for the man of cultivated intellect than for others—just for the same reason that more powerful means of direction and control must be provided for the ship that is to encounter the stormy winds and waves of the broad ocean, than are required to secure the safety of the cockboat that only moves back and forth within the sheltered harbor. The man of intellectual power has a wider and more exciting, and, therefore, more perilous sphere of action than ordinary persons, so that the moral influence that would suffice to keep inferior mortals steady would be totally inadequate to preserve him from being ruined by passion and temptation. Great intellectual power and cultivation, then, demand a corresponding degree of efficiency in the education of the moral nature.

We observed, a few pages back, that education, though merely intellectual, would generally introduce the individual to an acquaintance with books and to the society of cultivated persons, whose *moral* influence would be salutary. But this would not always be the case, at least not always in the same degree. Suppose a young man to have come forward with a cultivated mind, but without moral or religious training, just previous to the French revolution! Such cases were not uncommon. Would the writings of the living men most likely to be encountered by such a person at such a period be certainly or even probably of a character to promote his virtue? What more probable than that his exclusively intellectual education, having puffed him up with a pride of freethinking, and armed him with no settled aversion to impiety and immorality, would result in his becoming a devoted reader of Voltaire and Rousseau, and the associate of their disciples? Is it not manifest that intellectual culture at such a period might increase the danger to which the virtue of a young man would be exposed, and that the only way to impart such culture with the least safety would be to throw over it the

sanctifying and controlling influence of an early moral and religious discipline?

Our second remark is, that, with few exceptions, the system of education most in vogue in this country, both in families and in schools, is chiefly remarkable for the supreme importance which it attaches to secular knowledge, and for the very inadequate attention paid to thorough moral and religious training. In the first place, there is little or no systematic moral and religious instruction of an elementary character. Children are treated to a few vague and desultory exhortations, or to extravagant appeals to their feelings, when they ought to be learning the ten commandments, and gaining a clear insight into their duties, and giving themselves up in a simple, reverential way, to the love and obedience of God. All that is lacking in this early discipline, it is supposed, will be supplied by some great and sudden transformation at a subsequent period. And what is the consequence? We do not undertake to set limits to the goodness and power of God. We gladly acknowledge that his grace has often transformed persons who had known little of early moral and religious culture into consistent and beautiful Christians. But is this the ordinary course of his providence? As a consequence of the too prevalent neglect in schools and families of careful instruction in early childhood in duty, in the holy law of God, in the blessings of the Christian covenant, as a consequence of the early neglect of that moral and religious discipline which would make the conscience discriminating and authoritative, and the passions submissive, do we not see a great deal of high religious profession in union with very loose moral notions and habits? Is not the proportion of erring consciences among us, of unlovely and unstable Christian characters, a large one? Do we not see men making mistakes on moral questions, which look very much as if they had not learned their catechism when they were young, or else had studied one that was quite defective? Has there not been within the last ten years a wide-spread defection from honest dealing between man and man, a betraying of sacred trusts by persons of lofty pretensions, a lack of moral firmness and sagacity to perceive and resist the encroachments of an evil spirit of gain and extravagance, which should make us jealous, lest there be some fatal error in regard to that early moral training which constitutes the groundwork of the national education and of the national character? Of course, considering the infirmity and corruption of human nature, we are not quite so unreasonable as to suppose that the best system of early moral culture would ever cure all the evils to which we

have referred: but we do believe it would have great effect in diminishing them; and we are strong in the assurance, that at this moment, the great remedy for the loose morality, for the capricious, excitable, unstable character so prevalent among us, is to be found less in those imposing agencies which act so potently, but so impulsively, upon the adult population of the land, than in a general return to a more thorough system of moral and religious education for the young.

We are free to confess that we look with some distrust, or at least with a satisfaction that is not without its alloy, upon those reports respecting the character of state-prison convicts, which are used to show the beneficial effects of the education generally given in the country upon the moral character of its subjects. It is said that the proportion of convicts in our prisons, who have received even a tolerable education, is exceedingly small. This is doubtless true; but it is not very conclusive. We are not so churlish as to deny that the elementary education common among us has in it more of moral good than of evil. But the real question for us to consider is, Has it enough of good, is the good so abundant and effectual as to satisfy our reasonable expectation? Is the moral good of such a nature that, in looking forward to future improvements, we may concern ourselves chiefly with devising better methods of promoting intellectual development without seeking for any *radical change* in the character of the moral culture? For ourselves, we think not. It is true, a very moderate share of education, and that, too, very deficient in a moral point of view, will stand a good chance of keeping people out of state prisons. This is a benefit; and we desire to be thankful for it. Yet when we consider it more closely, we are constrained to doubt whether this benefit be quite so certain, or so unqualified, as we might be inclined at first to suppose. One is sometimes tempted to suspect that society would be quite as well off if a few of the simpletons within our prisons could give place to some more cunning and skillful rogues who are without. It is quite evident, from the general character of the convicts, that in a majority of instances their stupidity, their lack of foresight, and cunning, and caution, and dexterity, had quite as much to do with their conviction and confinement as their want of moral principle. Their want of foresight and self-control, their dark, impulsive, sensual nature led them to stumble into crimes which were of such a nature and committed under such circumstances as to render their conviction nearly certain. Had their intellectual faculties been a little sharpened by an education which left their moral principles and

feelings no better than they were at the time they committed their several crimes, it is probable they would have avoided those crimes; would have passed for pretty respectable people; and would have diffused around the influence of their depraved but plausible characters from the centre of commercial or political life. Whether just such characters as they would have made with a little exclusively intellectual training are not to be found in goodly numbers among our scheming and plotting politicians and office seekers, among our commercial gamblers and our libertines, and among our pseudo-saints who make a gain of godliness, is for those to judge who are most conversant with such circles. Now it seems to us that we need an education for the young, which will not merely render them too sharp-witted to be caught in state-prison offenses, which will not only remove them, in a good degree, from the temptation to commit such crimes, but which will go further, and render them just, and true, and self-denying, and high principled, whatever may be the sphere in which they move, or the temptations to which they are exposed.

Let it ever be remembered, that when there has been proper instruction in childhood, there is great reason to hope that, though there be many wanderings, a time will come when the heart will be softened; when the mind will be disposed to serious reflection; and when the *characters that were written on the infant memory* will rise up before the soul, and teach it the way to peace and holiness, and life everlasting. But when no such instruction has been given, the sinner may be stricken down by disease, may be driven into the secret chamber to spend days and nights in silence and solitude, may hear from books and from friends words of admonition; but they awaken no holy recollections, they appeal to no familiar ideas; they can only appear mysterious and repulsive; the wretched spirit has no simple truth to which it can turn; there are no long-forgotten habits of prayer to be revived; and the season that might have been one of grace and salvation is too often passed in vague and fruitless horrors, only to be succeeded by a hopeless death, or by another equally hopeless course of sinning.

It will naturally be presumed that such a work as "the School and the Schoolmaster" must contain a great deal of discussion relating to the character, duties, and influence of the teacher. Nor will such expectation be disappointed. We might, did our limits permit, quote from either of the experienced and intelligent authors many admirable passages, which would speak with power to the hearts and consciences of both teachers and parents: but

we must content ourselves with referring the reader to the work itself.

If the parents of our country had adequately conceived how much depends upon the character of the teacher to whom they intrust their children, upon his manners, his real goodness of heart, his love of children, his general intelligence, his ability to preserve order and respect by his mere presence, his power of applying himself wisely to the intellectual and moral faculties of his pupils, they would spare no trouble in searching for such a teacher, and no expense or attention in making him, when found, comfortable and contented. We do not hesitate to express the opinion that the influence of the teacher's character in school is vastly more important than any amount of positive information which he can impart from books. Especially is this the case in secluded parts of the country, where children have few opportunities of seeing any thing that is beautiful and noble in human character. In such neighborhoods how blessed is the influence of an intelligent, refined, self-denying, benevolent man, who is interested in his work, and content to labor and pray for the temporal and eternal welfare of rising generations! How many rude and reckless children will gain from such a character their first conceptions of exalted goodness, of true moral dignity and refinement, their first glimpse of

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn!"

How many will gain from such an example their first notions of what it is to think intelligently, nobly, beautifully; what it is to speak the English language as it deserves to be spoken! In such a presence how many will first become conscious of feelings of deep reverence, and learn to practice, habitually, an unreserved and willing obedience! What *virtue* goes out from such a character to cure evil dispositions and to awaken lofty aspirations! Let such a teacher remain for years in the same neighborhood, holding himself aloof from party dissensions, shedding around him a soothing and conciliating influence, showing himself unselfish, the patient, gentle, cheerful, dignified friend of all, going from house to house in trouble and in joy, imparting counsel and encouragement in reference to the plans of the young, and what a revolution would he accomplish all around him in one short life! What a life for himself and for them! Should any neighborhood find itself capable of estimating such advantages, and earnestly desirous to enjoy them, let it consider that they are worth more than can ever be paid for them. Let it remember that no human

virtue can maintain its ground, and work with the faith and love which are necessary to success, in the midst of neglect, and injustice, and contemptuous treatment, and unchanging hardships, and baffling ignorance and parsimony. Let it erect a school-house which, by the convenience and propriety of its arrangements, and the beauty of its groves and prospects, will teach children and employers to think of education as a beautiful and noble work. Let them do an unheard-of thing. Let them erect a neat and commodious cottage, and adorn it with garden and shrubbery, and endow it with ample privileges, and send to it, as occasion shall serve, a little of the sweetest of their butter, and of the finest of their flour, and let them say to the worthy man whom they have taken pains to find, and to induce by liberal promises (promises destined to be ever punctually fulfilled) to come among them: "Here, my dear sir, is your home; look upon us as your friends; aye, more, as your kinsmen; you are to be intrusted with the education of our children, an arduous and responsible duty, upon the successful performance of which depends more of happiness or misery, more of good or of evil, to us, and to those who shall come after us, than heart can conceive or tongue express. We pledge to you our prayers, our sympathies, and our cordial support. We charge ourselves with the care of your temporal interests and comforts. Every effort which you make to promote the intellectual and moral well-being of our children shall be acknowledged as a service which we can never adequately repay. At our firesides and our boards you will ever find a cordial welcome and an honored place; you shall share in whatever of good Providence may bestow upon us; and when age shall cause your labors to become irksome, should you continue your faithful duties so long, it shall be our care, and the care of our children, to render the evening of your days as serene as their meridian will have been useful and honorable." Let any neighborhood pursue such a course, (alas! when will one be found with the wisdom and the liberality to think of it?) and we hazard nothing in pledging ourselves, that, at the end of ten years, they will find themselves repaid a hundred-fold for all that they have done.

Having confined our attention to a few of the general topics brought forward in the work before us, we are sensible that we have conveyed to our readers no idea, and that we can convey none, within the narrow limits of an article, of the great amount of practical instruction which it contains in relation to the details of the business of education. We shall not now make the attempt. Mr. Emerson's "Schoolmaster" is crowded with minute sugges-

tions, the number and value of which, separately considered, defy efforts at condensation. We acquiesce the more willingly, because we trust the whole work will be generally circulated, and consulted as a manual, by both parents and teachers, not only in this state, but in every part of the country.

Before concluding this article, however, we desire to call the attention of our readers to one feature of the work which we consider to be of great practical importance; we mean the views which are repeatedly enforced by both writers, of the duty of aiming in all systems of education at a vigorous and healthy development of the imagination. We are constrained to say, that on this subject we think there is throughout the country a great deal of error and a great deal of neglect. Because flimsy fictions are very silly and very injurious things; because a morbid, ill-educated, and ill-regulated imagination is a great foe to common sense and to enjoyment; because the aid to be derived from this faculty in making money, and building rail-roads, and in getting up in the world is not quite obvious, therefore it is very sagely concluded, not only that the imagination is unworthy of systematic culture, but that its growth is a thing to be especially dreaded and guarded against. And what is the consequence? The spirit that pervades the land, and breathes upon all our firesides, is cold, dry, unpoetical. We have some good poets; but popular minstrelsy we have none. Ours is a matter-of-fact sort of world, in which physical improvement, money getting, and what is called solid instruction, are the great objects of interest. It is impossible to compare ourselves in this particular with such a country as Scotland, whose mountains, and rivers, and dells, are all alive with the spirit of poetry and romance; where even the poorest peasant has a memory and imagination teeming with the effusions of forgotten bards, a soul perpetually excited by the marvelous, the tender, the heroic, the humorous, the pathetic; and to observe how much these poetic tastes and associations do to promote the happiness of the common people, to prevent them from falling into sordid and vulgar or vacant habits of mind; how much to impart beauty and creative power to the cultivated intellect of the country, without lamenting that our circumstances, the absence of poetical influences among us, and our peculiar views of education, leave the young, especially of our rural districts, with so little to excite and nourish the finest powers of the mind, and with so little hope of ever being enabled to derive from the imagination either gratification or efficient aid.

The remedy for these defects, so far as we can remedy them,

must be sought for, in the first place, in the nursery and in the common school. It is recorded of the ancient philosopher Diogenes, that having been sold into slavery, and coming into the possession of a master, who, perceiving his powers, gave him his children to instruct, he, among other things, made selections from the finest poets, and caused them to be committed to memory. Would that our families and our schools could be persuaded to substitute such exercises, which refine the language of the child, and familiarize and fill his mind with the beautiful and the moral, for some of the weary, uninspiring, unfruitful generalities, mere husks of low information, with which they now waste the time, and deaden the mind, and break the spirit of their children. On this subject the sentiments of Dr. Potter and Mr. Emerson are enlightened and worthy of profound attention. We must now conclude our imperfect notice of the work, earnestly commending it once more to the consideration of all who feel interested in the intellectual and moral well-being of their country.

ART. VII.—1. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding; and a Treatise on the Conduct of the Understanding. With the Author's last Additions and Corrections.* By JOHN LOCKE, Gent.

2. *Communication from the Rev. Dr. Beasley on Locke's and Cousin's Philosophy.* Methodist Quarterly Review for October, 1842.

THE speculations contained in the following pages have occupied more or less of the author's attention for several years past, while engaged as an instructor of mental science. But they would not probably have been presented to the public so soon had they not been called out by the "Communication" we have placed at the head of this article. We know not, indeed, but that we shall incur the censure of spreading them prematurely before the public. Be that as it may, for ourselves we have but little concern. We claim only that we are sincere inquirers after truth; and though we may not have been able to satisfy even ourselves as to "*what is truth;*" yet we think the candid and generous will not fail to accord to us the privilege of giving expression to the difficulties that have obstructed our path, while we have endeavored to follow in the footsteps of one of the great masters in philosophy. But

from those bigoted souls, whose every thought revolves within the circumference of some theory, the basis of which they little understand, and about whose fundamental principles they have no mental misgivings, we have nothing to ask, nothing to expect.

We have endeavored to "define our position" with clearness and precision; and also in the statement of our difficulties to exercise the frankness and candor of lovers of truth. If these difficulties can be removed, and the system remain unimpaired, the person who shall successfully accomplish such a work will do great service to the cause of a sound and rational philosophy. No one will more sincerely rejoice at its accomplishment than ourselves; for we frankly confess that we find but an unsatisfactory remedy for our mental misgivings, either in the refined spiritualism of the present day, or in that mockery of common sense, transcendentalism.

This is an interesting era in the history of metaphysical science. That science is in a state of transition. The authority which, for a long time, has been held by the system of Locke, has, in a measure, become impaired; the spell which seemed to environ it as the *sanctum sanctorum* of philosophy has been broken, and even the name of its author has not a charm sufficiently potent to protect it from the closest scrutiny and the most rigid requisitions of reason. The philosophical spirit awakened by the labors of Reid and Stewart has met with a response from the kindred spirits of Royer Collard, Cousin, and Jouffrey in France, and not only a stronger impulse, but, in some sense, a new direction, has been given to philosophy. Of the strength and power of this movement, and of the kindred sympathy it has awakened in almost every part of the philosophic world, no one can doubt; but what shall be its result? Will philosophy rise to a higher eminence, and shine forth with clearer light, or shall it be a mere *revolution*, unmarked by *progression?* This is not a question of slight importance. Not merely the speculative notions of men, but also religion, morals, and the general improvement of society are interested in the solution which time, and future, as well as passing events, shall give to it. If philosophy may not be entitled the "twin-sister" of religion, yet may it be its handmaid and coworker in working out the great interests of humanity. A sound philosophy and a pure theology never disagree. It is not, however, our object at present to discuss the nature, the tendency, and probable results of this philosophic movement. We can only say that it is but a feeble heart that quails when the elements are in motion;

and but a feeble faith that distrusts the power of *truth*, or the capabilities of mind to work out its own emancipation.

We had thought, at first, to offer, by permission of the editor, only a brief notice of the "Communication from the Rev. Dr. Beasley," to correct some of the erroneous impressions it was calculated to make; but we found the question involving some of the fundamental principles of the "Essay on Human Understanding;" and we have, consequently, been led into a critical examination of them. With those who never question the correctness of a principle which has the sanction of Locke, we can hope to avail nothing. We cannot, however, withhold the conviction that Locke is more praised than *studied* in the present day: but if we should not succeed in putting our arguments in a clear and convincing form, we hope to be able to show that our objections are not groundless. Let us, however, premise that we claim for ourselves a place among those who venerate the name of Locke. His independence of spirit, the straightforwardness of his course, and the value of his contributions to the science of mind, command our homage; while the candor and ingenuousness of his acknowledgments, the modesty of his deportment, and the unassuming simplicity of his style, secure to him our highest commendation. When forced to question some of the principles of his philosophy, our reverence for him may in some measure be abated; but we can never call into question the great service he has done to the cause of truth and science.

Rev. Dr. Beasley's Communication.

The article which called forth this "Communication" was a review of Cousin's philosophy, which appeared in the April number of the Quarterly for 1842.

The author of that article was not, nor did he profess to be, a disciple of the "new school in philosophy," as it is called; nor did he design, in detail, to approbate the philosophical writings of Cousin, for on many points he expressed his strong and decided dissent from his views. But believing that the general scope and tendency of his philosophy were greatly misunderstood in this country, he attempted to vindicate it from some of the unfounded aspersions cast upon it, especially that of pantheism and atheism. This, indeed, was the main object of that article, and it was no small gratification to the author that the voice of the press, so far as we observed, united in pronouncing it a successful vindication. Dr. Beasley is also explicit on this point: he says, "I entirely agree with you that he is in heart opposed to the pantheism of

Germany, as well as to all materialism, atheism, and fatalism of the French school." So far, then, we agree; nor have we any right to complain if others think that to be "absolute jargon," out of which we flatter ourselves we are able to make tolerable sense. There is, indeed, much that is objectionable in the style of Cousin; but we sometimes feel constrained to smile at the professions which some make of inability to understand him; nor indeed do we profess much sympathy with those who are ever and anon deprecating the departure from the style observed in what they are pleased to call the "golden days of philosophy"—the days of Clarke, Cudworth, Butler, and Locke.

But the primary object of the doctor seems to be the vindication of Locke from what he considers to be an unjust reflection cast upon his philosophy in an incidental allusion we made to it. While referring to the state of metaphysical science in France, prior to the recent revival of philosophy there, we spoke of sensualism, using the term in its philosophical sense, as tending to materialism, and thence to atheism. That such was the tendency of the sensualist philosophy in France, we believe is not questioned; therefore it will be unnecessary to waste time in argument on this point. In the subsequent part of the article, designing to convey the idea that Locke's philosophy *tended* to sensualism, and thence to materialism, we used the following language:—"To accuse Locke of being a sensualist or materialist, because his system led to this, would be doing him injustice; for perhaps he never discovered the tendency of his doctrine of the origin of knowledge."

This, then, is the sum of our sinning against Locke. We have asserted that "his doctrine of the origin of knowledge" tends to sensualism, and also to materialism, as this is but the last result or final consequence of sensualism. This is the plain construction which a careful observer of all we said with reference to this subject would not fail to put upon it. The doctor intimates that "Locke is accused of maintaining this doctrine," [sensualism.] But do we not expressly say that to accuse him of it "would be doing him injustice?" The sum and substance of our charge was, that *such is the tendency of Locke's doctrine of the origin of knowledge.* Before undertaking to prove that this inference is not unwarranted, it may not be amiss to bestow a passing notice upon the doctor's defense of Locke. With regard to materialism he says,—

"We may be assured, that if any one of his doctrines led to materialism, it would not have escaped his discernment, more especially when it is recollected, that by this means it would be brought into

direct conflict with another part of his works, in which he asserts the immateriality of God and the human soul."

Let us analyze this argument, and see how much it weighs, and what it is worth. It rests upon two points:—1. His doctrines could not have led to materialism, because, if they did, "it would not have escaped his discernment." On this we can only remark, that much as we reverence Locke as a great philosopher and a conscientious Christian,* we have never felt it within us to subscribe to his infallibility, or to ascribe all knowledge to him. We think it *possible*, at least, that there might have been *tendencies* of his system which he did not discover. Dr. Beasley says that not one of his doctrines could have led to materialism without his discernment; Dr. Reid, the distinguished Scottish philosopher, says, "Des Cartes and Locke take the road that leads to skepticism without knowing the end of it."† Which of the doctors is "in the right" we shall not undertake to say; but we must certainly dissent from the opinion of one who was a better historian than philosopher, that the system of Locke "has served to introduce a universal system of skepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals."‡ But we are not alone in the opinion that the tendencies of Locke's system are such, that not only the French sensualists, but even David Hume has strong claims to call him *master*. Indeed, we think it is admitted that Locke did not perceive all the tendencies of every feature of his system. Did he perceive the tendency of that very "slight error" which Bishop Butler "detected in his philosophy, when he maintained that personal identity consists in consciousness?"§ 2. The second argument is, that such could not be the tendency of any one of his doctrines, for in that case it would conflict with doctrines clearly and explicitly avowed, viz., "the immateriality of God and the soul of man." This objection also presumes that Locke had observed all the tendencies of his system; and that contradiction in him was impossible. We cannot see the force of the argument; and if Locke is on several points clearly convicted of error, even

* "In his religious belief Locke belonged to the Socinians."—*Henry's Hist. Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 39.

† Reid's Inquiry, p. 257. ‡ Russell's Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. ii, p. 297.

§ Bishop Butler remarks that this doctrine, viz., the doctrine that *consciousness constitutes personal identity*,—"involves as an obvious consequence, that a person has not existed a single moment, nor done one action, but that he can remember; indeed, none but what he reflects upon"—"consciousness presupposes, and therefore cannot constitute, personal identity."—See the *Dissertation on Personal Identity*, subjoined to Butler's Analogy.

by the admission of his most profound admirers; and if, on other points, his philosophy is contradictory in itself,* we cannot see any impossibility in the case, *per se*, why his doctrine of the origin of knowledge, when followed out into its legitimate consequences, may not lead to that which would be contradictory to his doctrine concerning the "immateriality of God and the soul of man."†

Dr. Beasley may be correct in his view, but we think him unfortunate in his arguments. They are indeed such as we might have expected from a disciple of Pythagoras in defense of his master; but not such as we should expect from a disciple of Locke, in an age when every one claims it as an inborn right to think and reason for himself—instead of resting upon the *ipse dixit*, or presuming upon the infallibility of any man.

We will now turn to the other part of the vindication, that which relates to sensualism. This was our starting point. We believed Locke's "doctrine of the origin of knowledge" *tended* to sensualism, if it do not in its very idea constitute sensualism itself. If sensualism, as a system in philosophy, does not tend to materialism, then we have mistaken its tendency, and need only to be convinced of the fact that we may abate so much from the obnoxious passage we have penned concerning Locke's philosophy.

Let us, then, for a moment notice the doctor's argument upon this point. The following, though not in his precise language, we believe to be a clear and candid statement of it:—"Sensualism makes sensation the only source of knowledge. Locke traces two sources or inlets of human knowledge, sensation and reflection. Therefore Locke is not a sensualist." We believe the doctor's argument has lost nothing of its force by being placed in this form. But how does the conclusion quadrate with our own? We said distinctly, that to accuse Locke of "being a sensualist would be doing him injustice;" the doctor says he is not a sensualist.

* We would very respectfully ask the doctor if Mr. Locke is consistent or correct in his doctrine—"that the *ideas* of primary qualities of bodies are resemblances of them."—B. ii, ch. 8, § 15. Or, again, whether there is any inconsistency in stating that objects set before mirrors produce "images or *ideas*" therein.—B. ii, ch. 1, § 25.

† "You say," says the bishop of Worcester, "in that chapter about the existence of God, you thought it most proper to express yourself in the most usual and familiar way, by common words and expressions. I would you had done so quite through your book; for then you had never given that occasion to the enemies of our faith to take up your new way of ideas, as an effectual battery (as they imagined) against the mysteries of the Christian faith."—*Second Letter to the Author of the Essay on Human Understanding.*

On this point, then, we shall not differ; we grant him all he asks: "Locke was not a sensualist." But whether Locke's doctrine led or *tended* to sensualism we shall consider by and by.

The doctor having delivered himself of his formidable argument, immediately launches out into a metaphysical rhapsody, whose application to the topic under discussion we find it as difficult to understand as it is for him to decipher the "splendid paradoxes" and "absolute jargon" of Cousin. Take, for instance, the following passages:—

"There can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any intelligent man, that through the operation of our [its] external senses the child derives its earliest notices of light, colors, sounds, and odors. If Locke be a sensualist, then, so is the great Contriver of nature; for he most indubitably communicates a knowledge of the external world solely through the instrumentality of our corporeal organs."—*Quarterly Review for October*, 1842, p. 625.

The doctor, we presume, does not mean to convey the idea that the whole cyclopedia of human knowledge is circumscribed to the notions which we form of the external world; and yet he here entirely overlooks that large portion of our ideas which are not immediately connected with the external world. It is not for referring the former class of ideas to the senses as their origin, that we think Locke's views tended to sensualism; but for, indirectly at least, referring the latter class to the same source, and thus virtually making but one origin or inlet of ideas, namely, sensation. The doctor will now perceive that we have, in our objections, but little to do with "the fanciful theory of Malebranche, that we perceive all things in God," or with "the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz." And, indeed, we are determined to contest stoutly our claims to some little share of "common sense;" for with us, in philosophical speculations, it is regarded as a prime commodity. But let us look at one passage more:—

"We have now proved, by incontestible evidence, that Locke was not the broacher of sensualism, as it is lately called; and until philosophers shall discover some method by which mankind can obtain ideas of sound without ears, of light and colors without eyes, and of odors without noses, his system upon this point ought to be considered as irrefragable."—*Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct.*, 1842, p. 625.

Here, again, we can only compare the doctor's metaphysical engine to a car "off the track." He has mistaken wholly the

grounds of our charge.* We never had the least doubt but that our first knowledge of the *material world* was derived through the external senses, that of colors through the sense of sight, of odors through the sense of smell, of sounds through the sense of hearing, &c. But does this comprise all our knowledge? Are they, indeed, the *first* ideas that originate in the mind? These questions have an important bearing not only upon our present discussion, but also upon the fundamental characteristics of philosophy itself.

We have now cleared away enough of the rubbish, perhaps, to bring us directly to the main question, as to the tendency of Locke's doctrine of the origin of knowledge. But lest we should again be misunderstood, as Dr. Beasley has evidently mistaken us on that point, we would reiterate, that we think it tends to sensualism, not because he attributes our knowledge of the external world to the senses, (for who that has common sense would not do this?) but because, according to his theory, reflection, though an accredited source of ideas, becomes such only by virtue and in consequence of sensation, which thus becomes not only the first, but the fundamental source of all our knowledge. The soul, indeed, thinks or reflects, but it thinks only after "the senses have furnished it ideas to think on;"† and, moreover, its reflection is limited to the ideas derived from sensation, for even our most "abstruse ideas are only such as the understanding frames to itself by repeating and joining together ideas that it had either from objects of sense or from its own operations about them."‡ Hence, in the last analysis, all our ideas are traced up to sensation. This we believe to be an inevitable conclusion from the above data.

Let it now be premised that we are not inquiring into the validity of sensualism, or even of Locke's view "of the original of knowledge." Those points we propose to consider before we close the discussion. We now propose to discuss simply,

The tendency of Locke's theory concerning the origin of knowledge.

Perhaps we cannot introduce the subject better than by presenting the following question for consideration: Does Locke

* The doctor, we presume, had not seen the article on Cousin's Psychology in the April number of the Review for 1841, in which the subject was stated more explicitly; hence this misapprehension of the question was quite natural.

† Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 20. ‡ Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 12, § 8

consider "reflection" an *independent* and *primary* source of ideas? or does he not, while he nominally recognizes it as a source of ideas, virtually resolve it into, or make it dependent upon, sensation, so as to render the latter, *de facto*, the only primary source of ideas?

1. *Locke's theory concerning the origin of ideas.*—In order to discuss understandingly the above question, it will be necessary for us to take a cursory view of the doctrine of Locke concerning the "original of ideas." On this point he is very explicit:—

"*All ideas come from sensation or reflection.*—Our observation, employed either about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the only fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 1, § 2.

Again, he says,—

"The understanding seems to me not to have the least glimmering of any ideas, which it doth not receive from one of these two."—*Ib.*, § 5.

This is, perhaps, sufficient as a mere statement of Locke's theory on this point. The correctness of the theory we do not propose now either to question or discuss.

2. *Office and nature of reflection according to Locke's theory.*—Perception, according to Locke's theory, is a generic term, including two species under it, sensation and reflection; sensation, by which we become acquainted with the qualities and operations of the exterior world; and reflection, by which we become acquainted with the properties and operations of our own minds.* A new question here necessarily arises, namely, What are the conditions under which these two sources are developed? Are they developed simultaneously and independently; or is there an order of succession, and a dependence one upon the other? If so, what is that order? or, in other words, which is subsequent and dependent?† For it must be evident, that just so far as one is dependent upon the other, or takes a subordinate place to the other, just so far it ceases to be an independent or primary source of ideas. Perhaps we may illustrate this statement by referring to memory as a source of ideas. Concerning this, Professor Upham very clearly remarks:—"In reference to the great question

* Search of Truth, ch. iii, p. 123.

† Meth. Quar. Rev., July, 1841, p. 346

of the origin of human knowledge, the memory is to be considered a source of knowledge, rather in its connection with other mental susceptibilities, than *in itself*."* Memory, then, cannot be considered a primary source of knowledge. The same may be said of the reasoning, or comparing and deducing faculties of the mind. They are occupied about ideas that the mind *already possesses*. Up to the absolute origin, the fountain head of knowledge, they cannot go; for "reasoning implies the existence of antecedent or assumed propositions," [ideas.†]

The order of sequence and dependence, which Locke would institute between sensation and reflection, or the relation he supposes them to hold, may be readily gathered from the following passages. After having spoken of sensation as the first source of ideas, he remarks,—

"The other fountain from which experience furnisheth the understanding with ideas, is the perception of the operations of our own mind within us, as it is employed about the ideas it has got."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 1, § 4.

It will be observed that "reflection" is here limited to "the perception of the operations of our own mind, as it is employed about the ideas it has got" through sensation. Hence reflection is limited to a mere cognizance and contemplation of the mental activity produced by sensation. Beyond this it cannot go, and upon this it is wholly dependent. Therefore it would be as absurd to consider *reflection* a primary source of knowledge, or a source of knowledge "*in itself considered*," as it would memory or any other relative and dependent power. The same order of sequence and the same relation of dependence are repeatedly insisted on by Locke:—

"I see no reason, therefore, to believe that the soul thinks before the senses have furnished it with ideas to think on; and as those are increased and retained, so it comes by exercise to improve its faculty of thinking, in the several parts of it, as well as afterward by compounding those ideas, and reflecting on its own operations; it increases its stock, as well as its facility in remembering, imagining, reasoning, and the other modes of thinking."—*Ib.*, § 20.

And again,—

"If it shall be demanded, then, when a man begins to have any ideas, I think the true answer is, when he first has any sensation. For since there appear not to be any ideas in the mind, before the senses have conveyed any in, I conceive that ideas in the understand-

* Ment. Phil., vol. i, § 244, p. 309. † Ib., § 274, p. 317.

ing are coeval with sensation; which is such an impression or motion made in some part of the body, as produces some perception in the understanding. It is about these impressions made on our senses by outward objects, that the mind seems first to employ itself," &c.—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 1, § 23.

Again, he says,—

"In time the mind comes to reflect on its own operations, about the ideas got by sensation, and thereby stores itself with a new set of ideas, which I call ideas of reflection.—All those sublime thoughts which tower above the clouds, and reach as high as heaven itself, take their rise and footing here; in all that good extent wherein the mind wanders, in those remote speculations it may seem to be elevated with, it stirs not one jot beyond those ideas which sense or reflection have offered for its contemplation."—*Ib.*, § 24.

We think it will be unnecessary to quote further. The above passages clearly evolve two of the leading principles in Locke's theory of the origin of ideas. 1. That our first ideas are conveyed into the mind by the senses. 2. That all mental activity is dependent upon sensation,—first, as its original excitant; second, as furnishing the materials about which it is employed. The mind is indeed a fruitful soil; but it only nourishes and brings to maturity the seed which the senses have sown.

3. *Reflection not a source of ideas in itself considered.*—The truth of the above proposition might indeed be inferred from the very term employed by Locke, *reflection*. Thus, to reflect, it is evident that the mind must possess some ideas upon which it reflects; nor can its sphere of action extend beyond that stock of ideas and their mutual relations and dependences; for upon these it is dependent, and by these it is limited. Locke, it is true, admits two distinct sources of ideas; he does not confound the operations of the soul with sensations; but he limits the sphere of reflection to the "operations" of the soul; and these operations do not take place until after sensations, upon which they are dependent.* It remains to see what these operations are, and what are their proper functions; upon what, and in what sphere, they are carried on; what is their extent, and whether, supposing them not to enter into exercise till after sensation, they are, or are not, condemned to act solely upon the primitive data furnished to them by the senses.† The answer to these queries may be seen in the office which Locke assigns to reflection, that is, to observe the operations of the mind excited by the senses. Hence reflection is only a natural consequence of sensation; and the understanding only an instru-

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 20. † Cousin's Psychology, ch. iii, p. 73.

ment, whose whole power is exhausted upon sensation. This is the view of Locke. It is the view of his school even to the present day; for though it has been somewhat modified, especially by Dr. Brown, whose classification of external and internal intellect has been adopted by Professor Upham, yet the same order of sequence and relation of dependence forms a prominent feature. He distinctly declares, "The process which is implied in the perception of external things, or what is commonly termed by Mr. Locke *sensation*, may be justly considered the *occasion*, or the introductory step to all our knowledge."*

4. *Hence, Locke's theory leaves us, in fact, but one primary source of ideas.*—Sensation is made the condition of all knowledge, the main-spring of mental action. Locke, to be sure, has not confounded sensation and the faculties of the mind; he has most explicitly distinguished them; but he makes our faculties sustain a secondary and insignificant part, and concentrates their action upon the data furnished by the senses. From this to the point of confounding them with the sensibility itself, is but a step. Take this step, and you are encircled in the folds of *materialism*. Here is the germ of Condillac's theory of *sensation transformed*, of sensation as the sole and single principle of all operations of the mind.† We have to pass only a little beyond the "theory of transformed sensations" to reach the ulterior point of *sensualism*. Thus do we find both sensualism and materialism interweaving their fibres with the doctrines of the Essay. And let it be remarked, that this is no forced construction of those doctrines. It may be justly called their terminating point. The following extract is not inappropriate to the subject, inasmuch as it exhibits not only the tendency of Locke's system to sensualism, but also the agency Condillac had in developing that tendency in France:—

"The theory of Locke was developed in France by Condillac, according to whose principle ideas are nothing but sensations transformed.

"Locke had admitted two sources of ideas, sensation and reflection, or the consciousness which the soul has of its own operations. Condillac maintained, in the first place, that all operations of the soul are reducible to a single one, namely, attention, which exists in various degrees, and under various relations, and that reflection is itself only a mode of attention. But what is attention? According to Condillac, it is nothing but the effect of a predominant sensation. Every thing, therefore, becomes resolved into a

* Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 228, § 174. † Cousin's Psychology, p. 76.

single element, sensation."*—*Henry's History of Philosophy*, vol. ii, pp. 42, 43.

We think we have now established conclusively the fact, that while Locke nominally recognizes reflection as a source of ideas, he virtually resolves it into, or makes it dependent upon, sensation, so as to render the latter, *de facto*, the only primary source of knowledge. And having established thus much we are warranted in saying that his doctrine of the origin of knowledge *tends* to sensualism.

Dr. Beasley accuses the sensualists of abusing Locke's theory, and perhaps the same charge may be applied to ourselves; but we think all we have said, and all our inferences concerning his philosophy, have been amply sustained by the quotations we have made from the "Essay" itself. We neither revive nor indorse the objections of Bishop Stillingfleet; nor do we care now to summon to our aid those urged with such force and power by Reid and Stewart, or still later by M. Cousin, against the pernicious tendencies of some of the doctrines of the Essay on Human Understanding. It should, however, be remarked, that the high estimation in which Locke's philosophy was ever held by the sensualists of France, is at least a pretty strong indication that there was some affinity between their respective systems, or that one would readily run into the other. O, but they were "not masters of Locke's whole system!"† This, to us, is not a satisfactory solution. We think they gave good evidence of having mastered some portion of it at least; and had they not found in it some kindredship with their own doctrines, it would soon have met with a rejection. We dislike the solution on another ground: we think it hardly comports with modesty in pretension, especially when we take into account the great number and the high respectability, both as to scholarship and metaphysical acumen, of those who have ever objected to some of the fundamental doctrines of Locke. If, indeed, we are, *a priori*, to take it for granted that there can be no vicious tendency of Locke's system because "it could not have escaped his discernment;"‡ and, furthermore, that every objector to it is "by no means master of his whole system;" we may as well cut short all controversy at once, by pronouncing father Locke infallible.

Let us not be accused of a bigoted opposition to Locke. Our views of some portions of his system do not diminish our respect

* Harper's Family Library, vols. 143, 144.

† Dr. Beasley's Communication, Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1842.

‡ Ibid., p. 624.

for him as a man and a philosopher; we most sincerely believe and most frankly avow that, in our estimation, no other philosopher has done more to place metaphysical science upon a firm and rational basis than John Locke. But that philosophy has made no progress since his day, that the master minds that have since appeared upon the stage have been able to contribute nothing to the transcendent brightness of his light, and so far as they have departed from him, have only wandered into the labyrinths of error, or plunged into the quagmires of skepticism, we cannot, we will not believe. The science of astronomy owes much to Copernicus and Galileo, but it was not perfected by them. Mathematics and its kindred sciences owe much to Newton; but who believes that they were carried to their complete acme of perfection by him? Indeed, who now would advocate the use of Newton's Works in our schools of learning? But because Newton has been laid aside, in this respect, are we therefore to infer that philosophy is on the retrograde? We should suspect that the person who could make such an inference had but few claims to philosophy, except a bigoted discipleship of Newton. Disciples, indeed, but such as he, were he now brought back to life, would be ashamed to own. Locke, however, has been superseded in a more striking manner. Not only has the general style and manner of treating metaphysical subjects been improved since his day, and many of his principles been more fully developed, but new and fundamental principles in philosophy have also been brought to the light of reason. Locke is indeed one of those fortunate authors whose works all praise, few read, and still fewer understand.

Of the nature of ideas.

The nature of ideas, or the *thing* designated by the term *idea*, is an important consideration in the study of Locke's philosophy. It is the key that unlocks the passage-way to its penetralia.

The author introduces the term into his work by the following modest, apologetic definition:—

"I must here, in the entrance, beg pardon of my reader for the frequent use of the word 'idea,' which he will find in the following treatise. It being that term, which, I think, serves best to stand for whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks; I have used it to express whatever is meant by phantasm, notion, species, or whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking; and I could not avoid frequently using it."—*Locke's Essay*, b. i, ch. 1, § 8.

Again he says,—"Idea is the object of thinking;"* and this is frequently repeated in the subsequent part of his Essay. And if we take the definition in itself, it is perhaps unexceptionable; only that terms are used which are themselves susceptible of various and diverse meanings. The word *phantasm* may denote something widely different from *notion;* and *species* something widely different from either. The question then arises, whether Locke always uses the word *idea* in the same sense; or whether it is used merely to denote a *genus*, whose individual subjects differ widely, not only in the manner of their origin, but also in their nature. Any one who reads with care his book† upon the genealogy of ideas, will not fail to discover that sensation is the author of not only a numerous, but widely diversified progeny.

It would be a Herculean task to point out all the characteristics of all this progeny. This, however, it would be necessary to do if we would obtain a clear understanding of the import or meaning of the word "*idea*," as it is used by Mr. Locke, since the definition he employs conveys no definite knowledge of it.

If, however, Locke is to be understood to maintain that our ideas of primary qualities of bodies are resemblances of those qualities, then, we think, we have foot-hold within the precincts of his system, and that too in a place which holds close proximity to *materialism.* For if ideas which are in the *mind* resemble the qualities of bodies which they represent, it is but a plain and obvious inference that the mind which receives and holds those ideas, is, in itself, a material substance. But let us appeal to the Essay for Locke's decision upon this point:—

"Whatsoever the mind perceives in itself, or is the immediate object of perception, thought, or understanding, that I call idea."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 8, § 8.

Here it will be observed that the *idea* is something independent of and distinct from thought, something which "the mind perceives in itself." It seems to be a something, in whose manufacture the mind had no agency, nor does the mind appear to have any control over it, any further than to perceive it, after the mechanical agencies of the system have introduced it within the mind's inclosure.

But, again,—

"To discover the nature of our ideas the better, and to discourse of them intelligibly, it will be convenient to distinguish them as they are ideas or perceptions in our minds, and as they are modifications

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 1. † Ib., b. ii.

of matter in those bodies that cause such perceptions in us; that so we may not think (as perhaps usually is done) that they are exactly the images and resemblances of something inherent in the subject; most of those of sensation being in the mind no more the likeness of something existing without us, than the names that stand for them are the likeness of our ideas, which yet, upon hearing, they are apt to excite in us."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 8, § 7.

It seems not a little strange to me, that this very passage has been quoted as a triumphant vindication of Locke, as proof "demonstrative" that he held to no such doctrine as "that ideas are images in the mind."* The very fact that he claims this to be the case only with regard to *most* of our ideas, is a presumptive evidence, at least, that he believed it to be the case with regard to some. But let us come to his own language, in which he speaks explicitly on this point:—

"Ideas of primary qualities are resemblances; of secondary, not.—From whence [that is, from what he had said concerning secondary qualities being nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce sensations in us, and depending on the primary qualities] I think it easy to draw this conclusion, that the ideas of primary qualities of bodies are resemblances of them, and their patterns do really exist in the bodies themselves; but the ideas produced in us by these secondary qualities have no resemblance of them at all."—*Ib.*, § 15.

Primary qualities of bodies had been defined in a previous section. They are "such as are utterly inseparable from the body," viz., "solidity, extension, figure, motion, or rest, and number."† Locke denominates secondary qualities those "which in truth are nothing in the objects, but powers to produce various sensation in us by their primary qualities, that is, by the bulk, figure, texture and motion of their insensible parts, as sounds, colors, tastes,"‡ &c. I am aware that many a special plea has been made in behalf of Locke on this point; and arguments "presumptive" and "demonstrative" have been laboriously formed and aptly fitted to prove that Locke meant something different from what he is supposed to express with regard to our ideas of the primary qualities of bodies being resemblances of them. Dr. Beasley, too, has entered this Augean stable;§ but though he "laid on" lustily, and that too in full confidence of being fully able to convince the philosophic world,‖ the result proves him to have been neither a Hercules nor a prophet.

* Beasley's Search of Truth, p. 160, *et seq.*; also Blakeley's History of Moral Science, vol. i, p. 135, *et seq.*

† Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 8, § 9.

‡ Ibid, § 10.

§ Search of Truth, p. 142, *et seq.*

‖ Ibid, p. 120.

We will not undertake to vindicate Dr. Reid from doing injustice to Locke; but with regard to our ideas of the *primary* qualities of bodies, there can be no dispute about the language, if there can about the meaning of Locke. He expressly affirms them to be *resemblances of these qualities;* and if there is one passage in the whole Essay in which his statement of a doctrine is explicit, considering the immediate language employed, and also the context, it is this.

We will not undertake, at this late day, to enter into a refutation of this gross absurdity. We might indeed speak of forming images within the *dark* cavern of the skull; but we choose rather to leave the subject till the science of anatomy shall be carried to such a degree of perfection, as, in its dissections of the human brain, to unhouse these little filmy creatures (ideas) and expose them to observation. Then will they doubtless come forth to the complete vindication of Locke's theory, and also assert their genuine phrenological paternity. When this shall have transpired, we shall be prepared, per force, to bow our necks to the yoke of materialism.

We have now taken up the great question which called forth the doctor's Communication, and if we have not said all that might be said upon it; and if what we have said is not put in its most convincing form, still we hope our remarks may call attention to a theme which is of far greater importance than any mere question of individual skill and accuracy. It is due to ourselves, before passing to consider the validity of Locke's theory, to notice one or two of the minor criticisms which the doctor bestowed upon our article; we will not, however, tire our readers with a useless detail of them. We have no recollection of introducing Condillac as an atheist, or even a materialist; we only spoke of him as an expounder of Locke in France; and one whose exegesis of his system tended to the development of sensualism.* Such we believe to be the fact; and that we have not misjudged him, may be seen from the following extract, translated from his Treatise on Sensations:†—"If we consider," says he, "that to remember, to compare, to judge, to distinguish, to imagine, to be astonished, to have abstract ideas of number and duration, to know truths, whether general or particular, are but so many *modes of being attentive;* that to have passions, to love, to hate, to hope, to fear, to will, are but so many different *modes of desire;* and that attention in the one case, and desire in the other case, of which all these feelings are modes, are themselves, in their origin, nothing more than modes of sensation; we cannot but conclude that SEN-

* See Upham's Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 227. † Ibid.

SATION involves in itself ALL the faculties of the soul."* Can it be possible that one who has read Condillac's Treatise on Sensations can doubt whether Condillac belonged to the sensual school in philosophy?

As to the bug-bears, "me" and "not-me," over which the doctor, in his "surprise that so sensible a writer as this reviewer could commend or justify" the use of them, stumbles, we would modestly hint to the doctor, that reviewers, even more "sensible" than the one he criticises, are very much in the habit of using the same offensive terms. We, however, used them quite innocently, not as terms of our own choice, but as terms very extensively used by philosophical writers of the present day, and indeed we could hardly avoid their use, from the fact that they were technical phrases, and also of very frequent application in the work we reviewed. We did not then, nor do we now, see any particular reason, notwithstanding the doctor's homily, for entering our protest against them.

We will next proceed to consider another question concerning Locke's theory of the origin of knowledge, a question which cannot be considered unimportant by the lover of truth, nor indeed by any one when we consider the extensive authority and influence that are attached to the very name of Locke. Indeed, such is the great authority of a name, that he who questions Locke must subject himself to the suspicion of heresy in philosophy, if not to skepticism in theology.

Validity of Locke's theory of the origin of knowledge.

The theory of Locke has perhaps been sufficiently indicated in the quotations we have made from his Works. That theory is,—1. There are no innate ideas; 2. Our first ideas are of external origin, that is, are derived through the medium of sensation and perception; 3. That portion of our ideas which is of internal origin, or is derived through reflection, is subsequent; 4. All our ideas come through either sensation or reflection.

1. *There are no innate ideas.*—There are certain intuitive perceptions of the human mind, so simple in their nature, so early in their origin, and so universal in their prevalence, that many philosophers, as well as the bulk of mankind, had, without further evidence, consented to consider them innate. That is, they endowed the mind not only with a susceptibility of perceiving, and of acquiring ideas, but also supposed that there were stored up in it, antecedent to any action of its own, certain fundamental ideas and

* Traité des Sensations, part i, ch. 7, § 2.

principles. This notion Locke very justly explodes; and by arguments, in the main sound and incontestible, shows that we may claim no more for the mind than an original susceptibility of acquiring knowledge.

This notion we said Locke explodes. We are not, however, so confident with regard to the qualities of his explosive mixture. That the doctrine of "innate ideas" received its quietus with Locke is clearly evident, as it has been scarcely agitated in the philosophical world since his day. Locke undoubtedly urged strong objections to the doctrine; and, at the same time, ingeniously drew the public mind away from it to another, viz., the theory of the origin of knowledge, which he makes the fundamental principle, the starting point in philosophy.

Setting aside the doctrine of innate ideas, the student will here find a radical error of method in the order in which Locke proposes to consider the questions which compose a complete system of psychology, or (to retain his favorite term, idea) of *idealogy*. He proposes to treat of the *origin* of ideas before investigating what they are; he goes directly to the question of their origin, while yet their nature is unexplored, and their character and limits undefined. This fundamental error of method, and the chances of error in theory it involves, are clearly pointed out and urged with great force by M. Cousin.* The reader will also find a few suggestions on the same subject in an article on Cousin's Psychology in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review.†

2, 3. *Ideas of sensation first, those of reflection subsequent.*—We have already quoted enough from the "Essay" to show that this is a correct statement of Locke's theory, and also to show the specific meaning which he attaches to the terms, sensation and reflection.‡

The true idea of this theory is, that the mind at first possesses no ideas, is like a piece of white paper;§ but is endowed with organs of sense and susceptibilities of mental activity—these organs of sense are first acted upon or excited by their proper objects, as the organ of sight by the light that breaks in from the window—

* History of Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii, Lec. 16.

† Vol. i, July, 1841.

‡ M. Cousin is evidently in error in asserting that Locke "confounds reflection with consciousness;" (see Lec. 17, vol. ii, or Psychology, p. 72;) since reflection is occupied about not only those ideas that are present in the mind, but indeed seems to cover our whole mental activity, past as well as present operations of the mind.

§ Locke's Essay, b. i, ch. 2.

the mind at this moment is roused from its dormant state to a state of activity, an *idea* has found lodgment in its domains, it has now the notion of some sensible object, or an "*idea of sensation*"* —its next essay is to "reflect" upon the mental activity excited by the "ideas of sensation" it has received, and hence results a new class of ideas, ideas not of sensation, but of reflection.†

It is undoubtedly true that our senses form one of the great inlets of human knowledge; and that we are much dependent upon them, especially in the early period of our lives, for our ideas. It is also true that they not only furnish the understanding with ideas, but also that the understanding, by reflecting upon these ideas, gains other ideas. Thus: I gaze upon a beautiful landscape, and that mental activity which we denominate emotion of beauty is excited. Here I evidently have a perception, an *idea*, if you please, of colors, in gazing upon the landscape; but in reflecting upon the mental activity thus excited, I gain an additional idea, viz., that which comprehends the mental activity, as simple perception evidently does not, an idea of beauty, or of an emotion of beauty. This much we admit, because it accords with experience and common sense. But when we would go on to make the broad, the comprehensive inference, that this is the natural or logical order of ideas, we are restrained by the fact that there is not enough contained in the premises to warrant the conclusion.

The fact that this is the order in which knowledge seems generally to be acquired, is no proof that sensation furnishes the primary data of mental activity, or even that our first ideas are those of sensation.

Our objections to this doctrine are,—

1. *That it wants proof.*—To say that this accords with human experience, and therefore needs no further proof, is not satisfactory. How shall we know it accords with human experience? Shall we turn our thoughts within, and test it by our inward consciousness? Consciousness reveals no such fact. It apprises us only of our present mental operations, without giving any indication of their moving cause, unless, indeed, it reveals the *me*, the *soul*, as their cause. Shall we then call in memory to our aid, and interrogate it concerning the past?‡ We may, it is true, discover, or think we discover, that our ideas in the early period of our lives were few, and, for the most part, had reference to external objects, and, consequently, were received through the senses. But memory teaches nothing more; it determines not whether our first mental

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 3, 9, &c. † Ibid, § 4, 8, &c.
‡ Upham's Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 62.

activity resulted from sensation, or whether it was the spontaneous offspring of the soul itself. Who, indeed, can follow up the mighty stream of his thoughts till he reaches their fountain head, and there define the circumstances under which they began to flow, and the agency by which they were called forth? Equally absurd is it to appeal to the infant mind, till some mode of communication, aside from sense, be discovered. Who, indeed, can lift the veil that envelops the infant mind, and discover to us its operations from their very first origin? And yet all this must be done before we can with certainty assert that our "ideas of sensation are first, those of reflection subsequent."

Again: perhaps it will be urged that there is a logical necessity for this consecution and dependence of our mental states, inasmuch as *reflection* implies the subsequent possession of ideas; for there can be no reflection without ideas to reflect upon.* Now, if we go one step further, and admit that all our ideas come through either sensation or reflection,† the logical necessity will be fully established. Without this it will not. But it so turns out, that this is a feature in Locke's theory that we stoutly deny, and our reasons for that denial will be assigned under their appropriate head.

2. *That it involves the absurdity of supposing the mind to be the recipient of an idea, or of ideas, before it possesses any knowledge of itself or consciousness of its own existence.*—This theory contemplates the mind as a kind of reservoir, perfectly passive in the reception of ideas of sense, which are unceremoniously thrown into it; and it is only after these ideas have been received that the mind is aroused to conscious action and life. We are not even allowed to suppose that our ideas of internal origin are simultaneous in their origin with those of sense, for our theory distinctly declares them to be "subsequent." That the mind can thus receive an idea, as of color, or of solidity, for instance, while yet it possesses no consciousness of *self*, seems to border more upon the chimeras of the imagination than upon the deductions of philosophy. We can readily conceive of an article of merchandise deposited in an unconscious ware-room; but to suppose the mind, while yet it has no knowledge of its own existence, to entertain ideas of sense, obtruding themselves as unbidden guests, and receiving the mind's notice ere yet it had ever bestowed notice upon itself, is a little too paradoxical. Yet such are the requisitions which this theory makes upon our credulity.

3. *That other ideas, especially that of existence, are received by the mind simultaneously with, if not prior to, ideas of sensa-*

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 20. † Ibid, § 5.

tion.—Admitting that all sensation is in the mind*—a doctrine which the followers of Locke particularly insist upon, but one which, to say the least of it, has rather been assumed than proved to be true†—we say, admitting this to be the fact, then we shall have the mind passive in sensation, but active in perception. Now it is evident that the mind can have no idea of sense till it perceives, or, in other words, puts forth the act of perception. For instance, we have no idea of color till perception is exercised; for this exercise of perception is the receiving, or, rather, the forming of the idea of color. Now we apprehend that we are so constituted that whatever mental activity is called forth, we are directly conscious of that activity, and also that it is the *I, self*, or the *me*, if you please, who is active. This idea of *self*, of existence, we believe to be inseparable from mental activity; it is indispensable to every act of consciousness. Hence the idea of *existence*, which is not an idea of sensation, must have been originated in the mind simultaneously, at least, with the first beginnings of mental activity, since the mind does not act without a consciousness of the *me* that acts. Thus it is that we are led from *activity* to *being*, from psychology to ontology.

That we have not misconstrued the facts and nature of consciousness as it really exists in the human mind, must be evident to all who will take the trouble to "look within" and interrogate *themselves* upon the subject. That we have not misconstrued it as it is exhibited in the speculations of philosophers, we will present a few quotations to show. Professor Upham says, "Every instance of consciousness may be regarded as embracing in itself the three following distinct notions at least: (1.) The idea of *self* or *personal existence;* (2.) Some quality, state, or operation of the mind; (3.) A relative perception of possession, appropriation, or belonging to."‡ Dr. Rauch says, "Self-consciousness is the root of all our knowledge; it must accompany our mental activities,

* Schmucker's Philosophy, p. 111.

† This doctrine, too, involves some rather curious consequences. If, as Professor Upham says, sensation is wholly in the mind, (*Ment. Phil.*, vol. i, p. 77,) then we naturally infer that whatever experiences sensation possesses *mind*. Have we not clear and indubitable evidence that the brute creation, in all its varieties and orders, are capable of sensation? The veriest reptile we crush beneath our feet, the insect so minute that microscopic power only can reveal its existence, and the oyster luxuriating in its native element—all are endowed with sentient life, are capable of sensation. Have they, therefore, minds?

‡ Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 256.

and, without it, it would be in vain to investigate the nature of the soul."* Cousin says, "Consciousness is a witness which gives *us* information of every thing which takes place in the interior of our minds."† Dugald Stewart says, "The moment that a sensation is excited, we learn two facts at once:—the existence of the sensation and our own existence as sentient beings;—in other words, the very first exercise of my consciousness necessarily implies a belief, not only of the present existence of what is felt, but of the present existence of that which thinks and feels; or (to employ plainer language) the present existence of that being which I denote by the words *I* and *myself*."‡

Again, admitting that the mind is passive in sensation, or, as M'Cormac says, is provoked to activity by it;§ and also that it is involuntary in its first perceptions, or in the reception of its first ideas of external entities, still we cannot but suppose that it receives them knowingly, it must know itself, the receiver, as well as the idea that is received.

4. *That it is incompatible with a correct interpretation of our mental phenomena.*—It represents the mind as first embracing an idea, then reflecting upon, or taking cognizance of, its own operations. Whereas both operations are simultaneous. The soul feels and thinks at once. Sensation cannot precede our cognizance of sensation; for the cognizance comes along with the sensation, and is inseparably connected with it. We are not to look upon man as exercising first one of his faculties, then another, and another. This would be a factitious, not a real man. "The intellectual life implies the simultaneous working of several faculties, very much as the organic life is conditioned by the simultaneous working of many organs. There is in both an intimate unity which cannot be constructed piecemeal."‖

Our limits do not admit of our pursuing this subject further. But we have already said enough to, at least, lay the foundation of an important philosophical principle. For, admitting that the internal intellect is developed simultaneously with the external, we infer that it is a primitive and independent source of knowledge. It is primitive, because nothing precedes it. It is independent of sensation, because originating simultaneously with sensation, it cannot be dependent upon it.

5. *That it contemplates our material organization as the prin-*

* Rauch's Psychology, p. 46. † Cousin's Psychology, p. 163.
‡ Philosophical Essays, Works, vol. iv, p. 54.
§ The Philosophy of Human Nature, p. 10.
‖ Henry's Hist. Phil., vol. ii, p. 44.

ciple or cause of our mental activity, thereby making the soul the instrument used by the senses, instead of considering the material organization, the brain and nervous system, the instruments used by the soul.

We are, by this theory, taught to look upon the soul as in a dormant state, safely housed in its material home, and excited to activity only by some impression made upon the organs of sense.

"In this part (the reception of simple ideas, either of sensation or reflection) the understanding is merely passive; and whether or no it will have these beginnings, and, as it were, materials of knowledge, is not in its own power. For the objects of our senses do, many of them, obtrude their particular ideas upon our minds, whether we will or no; and the operations of our minds will not let us be without, at least, some obscure notions of them. No man can be wholly ignorant of what he does when he thinks. These simple ideas, when offered to the mind, the understanding can no more refuse to have, nor alter, when they are imprinted, nor blot them out, and make new ones itself, than a mirror can refuse, alter, or obliterate the images or ideas which the objects set before it do therein produce, [objects producing *ideas* in mirrors!] As the bodies that surround us do diversely affect our organs, the mind is *forced* to receive the impressions, and cannot avoid the perception of those ideas that are annexed to them."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 1, § 25.

"The soul, considered in its relationship to external nature," says Professor Upham, "may be compared to a stringed instrument. Regarded in itself, it is an invisible existence, having the capacity and elements of harmony. The nerves, the eye, and the senses generally are the chords and artificial framework which God has woven round its unseen and unsearchable essence. This living and curious instrument, which was before voiceless and silent, sends forth its sounds of harmony as soon as it is swept by outward influences."* Mr. Locke says, "In bare naked perception, the mind is, for the most part, only passive; and what it perceives, it cannot avoid perceiving."† Now, we apprehend it to be a very important question, and one that has a very important bearing upon the freedom of the will, whether the mind be active or passive in perception; or, rather, whether the organs are the principle or the instruments in the production of the phenomena of sensation. But, says one, would you urge that a man can see without eyes? By no means, any more than we would assert that a man could walk without feet, or chop without hands. But does a man walk because he *has* feet, or because he voluntarily determines to *use* his feet for that purpose? The principle involved

* Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 60. † Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 9, § 1.

here is not of slight importance. It is none other than the question of *free activity*. It is the question whether the activity of the mind in sensation and perception is *forced* or *free*. And, indeed, if we do not find free activity here, where shall we find it? Follow the theory out into its details. Allow to the mind only a forced activity in sensation and perception; direct the order, the consecution of our mental states, or the trains of our ideas by the controlling influence of the laws of mental association; let these two principles be premised, and though we may still claim for a man that he acts *freely*, yet it is in the same sense that the watch acts freely when its parts are aptly fitted and well greased; we shall be on the high road to the conclusion that "*liberty belongs not to the will*."*

But what are the facts in the case? Let us appeal to the consciousness. Are we not as fully conscious that it is the free act of *self* when we see or hear as when we think or reason? Interrogate the soul on this point. Does it, or indeed can it, give any other solution to the phenomena of perception than that which renders itself the principle rather than the instrument?† Consciousness must be belied, and its authority set aside, before any other solution can be received. But perhaps it will be objected, that if free activity be essential to perception, a man might choose only those sensations and perceptions which were agreeable; and, again, than the organ of sense may be so powerfully affected by its proper excitant as to render it impossible for us not to notice the impression, just as violent bodily suffering necessarily produces a perception of pain. We will not undertake to enter into the minutiæ of the subject, and trace it out into all its details. Our limits will not admit of it. Nor indeed is it necessary, if we admit the primitive data of consciousness, and also that we have reported that data correctly. We can readily enough conceive of a palace, whose outer courts being accessible to all, are thronged with innumerable guests, none of whom can gain access to the palace without a notice and reception from its owner and master. Just so the outer courts (if we may so speak) of the mind are thronged with guests, not in the form of *ideas*, but of organic impressions. Some of these guests may be good, others bad; some pleasant, others disagreeable; this, however, is to be determined by information concerning the guests themselves. Some may be clamorous for admittance, and seem almost to force from the master the

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 21, § 20.

† "The native activity of the soul prompts us to action."—*Schmucker's Psychology.*

prompt attention they receive; others wait quietly till he attends to their claims; or, perhaps, if long neglected, pass away unnoticed.

Now let us attend well to this fact as it is exhibited in the following passage, in which Locke seems to have leaped quite out of the traces of his theory:—

"How often may a man observe in himself, that while his mind is intently employed in the contemplation of some objects, and curiously surveying some ideas that are there, it takes no notice of impressions of sounding bodies made upon the organ of hearing with the same alteration that uses to be for the producing the idea of sound! A sufficient impulse there may be on the organ; but if not reaching the observation of the mind, there follows no perception; and though the motion that uses to produce the idea of sound be made in the ear, yet no sound is heard. Want of sensation, in this case, is not through any defect in the organ, or that the man's *ears are less affected* than at other times when he does hear; but that which uses to produce the idea, though conveyed in by the usual organ, *not being taken notice of in the understanding*, and so imprinting no idea in the mind, there follows no sensation."—*Locke's Essay*, b. ii, ch. 9, § 4.

So, then, *attention*, ("*taking notice of*,") according to Locke's admission, is essential to sensation. But what is attention? Does it not imply a volition? an exercise of the will, directing, condensing, and confining the mental powers?* This, we presume, will hardly be questioned. The inevitable conclusion, then, to which we are led is, that without attention, without the free activity of the mind, there can be no sensation. Without this indispensable prerequisite all impressions made upon the senses go no further, at their utmost limit, than the brain. Without the mind's notice, they acquire no higher character than mere organic impressions.

This part of the subject we can pursue no further; we will now bestow a passing notice (for it is all our limits will admit) upon the fourth leading feature of Locke's theory of the origin of ideas.

4. *All ideas either from sensation or reflection.*†—We need not delay to point out again the technical meaning of the words sensation and reflection; but will proceed at once to weigh the theory in the balance of *ideas*.

Let us instance the idea of *self-existence*. That such an idea finds place in the human mind, it is unnecessary to argue. How, then, does it get there? by sensation or reflection? Not by sensation, evidently, since we neither see, hear, feel, smell, nor taste it. Again, the mind receives it not through reflection; for, "the

* See Upham, vol. i, p. 198, *et seq.* † Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 2.

ideas it (that is, reflection) affords are such only as the mind gets by reflecting on its own operations within itself."* Reflection, then, implies the antecedent idea of *self*, for how can the mind "reflect on its *own operations within itself*," while yet it had no knowledge of its "*own*" self! Just imagine yourself reflecting upon the operations of a steam-engine, without a knowledge of the existence of such an engine! But, again, Mr. Locke says, "By reflection, then, in the following part of this discourse, I would be understood to mean that notice which the mind takes of its own operations, and the manner of them; by reason whereof there come to be ideas of these operations in the understanding."† Reflection, then, gives us a knowledge of the *operations* of the me, or of self, and not of its *existence*.

It comes, then, to this, the idea of self is not innate, is not derived through the senses, nor yet through reflection; and to completely bar the ingress of such an idea, we have only to admit that "all ideas are either from sensation or reflection,"‡ and the work is done; every avenue is barricaded by the bars and bolts of theory. But then is not the idea of *self* in the human mind? Most certainly; it got in before Locke's theory closed the doors against it. The true solution of this is, that the ideas of *existence*, *self-existence*, and *personal identity* are spontaneously suggested in the mind and are inseparably connected with the *fact* of existence. "At the very earliest period they flow out, as it were, from the mind itself; not resulting from any long and laborious process, but freely and spontaneously suggested by it."§ "Such is our nature that we cannot exist without having the notion of existence."‖ "Nature has implanted within us this spontaneity of thought, this intuitive directness of perception, and thus taken care to furnish important elements of knowledge, which could be possessed by no other."¶

We will not now pursue this subject further. We will only ask the reader to bring this theory to the test of our ideas of SPACE, of INFINITY, of RIGHT AND WRONG, of GOD, and also of various other ideas, of which we are the undoubted possessors.** C.

Amenia Seminary, Dec., 1842.

* Locke's Essay, b. ii, ch. 1, § 4. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, § 2.
§ Upham's Ment. Phil., vol. i, p. 235. ‖ Ibid, p. 234. ¶ Ibid, p. 237.
** On this subject see also Cousin's Psychology, ch. 2, *et seq.*

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Memoirs of Mr. Wesley's Missionaries to America. Compiled from Authentic Sources.* By Rev. P. P. Sandford. 12mo., pp. 390. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

The history of the labors and sacrifices of the holy men employed by Mr. Wesley in the great work of spreading the gospel in this country must increase in importance and interest with the lapse of time. In this history we see the great work of God, which has brought such vast multitudes to the knowledge of the truth, in its incipient stages. And when we look back from our present position to the infancy of American Methodism, we are led, with devout admiration, to exclaim, "What hath God wrought?"

The present work is compiled from authentic documents, by Rev. P. P. Sandford, who has spared no pains to make it acceptable and useful. The matter in general is left, as it is fit that it should be, in its original state; and having been composed by plain, practical men, who were more concerned to relate such facts as would magnify the grace of God, than to gratify the taste of mere scholars, they did not, in their narratives, affect the graces of composition. The style of these Memoirs, consequently, will not always bear the test of a comparison with the models of modern taste. All this, notwithstanding, it may be presumed that the work will be joyfully greeted by the members and friends of our church as a fine illustration of primitive Methodism, and will remain, to the end of time, among the permanent records of the rise and progress of that great revival of Scriptural holiness, which we devoutly pray may never decline, until the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters fill the great deep.

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2. *Methodism in its Origin, Economy, and Present Position.* By Rev James Dixon, D. D., ex-president of the Wesleyan Conference 18mo., pp. 360. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

The basis of the present work was a sermon delivered before the British Conference of 1842. Being requested by the conference to publish his discourse, the author has wisely expanded it into a volume. The origin and character of Wesleyan Methodism are subjects of deep interest and animated discussion at the present time. Though the Wesleyan Connection in Great Britain have, ever since the organization of the conference, developed all the attributes of a *church*, in the true Scriptural sense of that term, yet such has been their regard for the national Establishment, that they have refrained from assuming that title, and contented themselves with the modest appellation of a "connection." The recent movement in the Establishment, and the aggressive measures against the Methodists, which have been some of its legitimate fruits, have finally compelled them to take different, and, as we conceive, more legitimate ground. Dr. Dixon openly and conclusively maintains the true *church* character of the *connection* from

the indubitable testimony of Holy Scripture; and in prosecuting his argument, meets high-Church claims with a most triumphant refutation and withering rebuke. The work is timely, and, as a whole, for scope of thought, conclusiveness of reasoning, and purity of style, will scarcely find a rival in the mass of excellent productions which have emanated from the Methodist press in England since the days of Mr. Wesley. We can have no doubt but this most excellent and timely production will be eagerly sought for and read.

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3. *Annals of the Christian Church. In Familiar Conversations. For Young People.* By Mrs. PARKER, author of "Decision and Indecision," "Features of Social Life," &c. 18mo., pp. 347. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THE history of the church is daily assuming additional interest. All classes of people must enter more or less into the study of the various changes which the church has passed through, and the various heresies with which she has been afflicted, in order to form a rational judgment of many questions which are constantly pressed upon their attention. The young, as well as the old, should, as far as circumstances will admit, participate in this study. To supply such portions of this history as are of primary importance, in a dress which will entertain and please youth, is the object of the present manual. And we most cheerfully award to the fair writer the credit of complete success in her undertaking. We hope this beautiful and interesting little volume will be extensively circulated and read among our people. As an introduction to the study of ecclesiastical matters it will be found admirably adapted.

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4. *Practical Considerations on the Christian Sabbath.* By Rev. PETER M'OWAN. 18mo., pp. 200. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

RIGHT views of the nature and obligations of the sabbath are eminently important at the present moment. The desecration of this holy day is so common, and the ruinous consequences of this evil so rife in our country, that no effort should be spared which gives promise of bringing about a better state of things. We welcome this manual as timely, and we most heartily recommend it as an able and thorough exposition of the subject. We hope it will speedily find its way into every family in the connection, and would not object to its going much further.

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5. *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.* By the Rev. W. M. HETHERINGTON, author of the "History of the Church of Scotland," "Minister's Family," &c. 12mo., pp. 311. New-York: Mark H. Newman. 1843.

THIS is a work of no ordinary interest. After a bold sketch of the English Reformation, the author proceeds to an account of the cir-

cumstances which called into being the famous Westminster Assembly. He enters into a detailed account of the controversies upon church polity which so long and painfully agitated the body, and the results and bearings of all their labors. The work contains much valuable historical matter. Though we except to some of the author's views, yet we have been amply compensated for our labor in perusing his book; and we doubt not but all who feel an interest in the stirring events of the eventful times, and the momentous matters of which he treats, after a thorough reading, will say the same.

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6. *Manual of Classical Literature.—From the German of J. J. Eschenburg, Professor in the Carolinum at Brunswick. With Additions, embracing Treatises on the following Subjects: Classical Geography and Topography, Classical Chronology, Greek and Roman Mythology, Greek Antiquities, Roman Antiquities, Archæology of Greek Literature, Archæology of Roman Literature, Archæology of Art, History of Greek Literature, History of Roman Literature.* By N. W. Fiske, Professor in Amherst College. Fourth edition—six thousand. 8vo., pp. 690.
7. *Supplemental Plates to the Manual of Classical Literature.* 8vo.,—52 in number. Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle. 1843.

The extensive use which has been made of the "Manual of Classical Literature" in our academies and colleges, is, of itself, a sufficient recommendation of the work, and a sufficient guaranty to the publisher for the sale of another large edition. The American public owe a debt of gratitude to the learned translator, and the publisher, for so truly valuable an assistant in the department of ancient literature, which we have no doubt will be repaid by liberal and continued patronage. The volume of "Supplemental Plates" should, by all means, be obtained with the original work. The mechanical execution of the work is highly creditable to the publisher.

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8. *Lectures on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.* By Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. Second edition. 8vo., double columns, pp. 521. New-York: Robert Carter. Pittsburg: Thomas Carter. 1843.

This is a *great* book, upon a *great* subject, from a *great* man. Though, considering the author's theological views, it cannot be expected that we would agree with all his expositions; yet we are perfectly free to recommend his work, with some exceptions and abatements, which will easily be detected by the reader. As we have not space to give it an adequate notice in the present number, we must waive our impressions in relation to the work to a future occasion, when we hope to bestow upon it all due attention.

9. *Classical Studies: Essays on Ancient Literature and Art. With the Biographies and Correspondence of Eminent Philologists.* By BARNAS SEARS, President of Newton Theological Institution; B. B. EDWARDS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary; and C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University. 12mo., pp. 413. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1843.

THIS volume is a high tribute to classical learning and philological research. It contains some of the best efforts of the age upon the character and value of the classics, with correspondences and biographical notices of several of the leading German philologists. A rare treat to a classical student.

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10. "*The Episcopal Church Defended*" *Reviewed: being a Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy.* By ALLEN STEELE, of the Genesee Conference. 12mo., pp. 264. Batavia: Frederick Follett. 1843.

THIS is an answer to a weak, puerile attack upon the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the Rev. J. A. Bolles, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. We have not space to give our impressions with regard to this controversy. We are always sorry to see matters merely personal mingled in the discussion of topics of general interest. In this case, however, the responsibility seems clearly devolved upon Mr. Bolles. His impertinence and effrontery, which are quite unbounded, are well chastised by our brother, and his errors ably refuted.

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11. *Essays on the Church of God.* By JOHN MASON, D. D. Edited by the Rev. EBENEZER MASON. 12mo., pp. 258. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.

THIS book contains a sketch of the nature, organization, &c., of the church, drawn out, as every thing from Dr. Mason was, with a bold hand. Many points of the important subject are clearly, and, as we conceive, truly stated; but, as a whole, it cannot claim to be a perfect treatise on the church. Indeed, the man who will execute such a work upon the proper basis will do what has not yet been done.

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12. *Geological Cosmogony; or, an Explanation of the Geological Theory of the Origin and Antiquity of the Earth, and of the Causes and Objects of the Changes it has undergone.* By a Layman. 18mo., pp. 167. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.

THIS is an effort to show that the geological theory, which gives a higher antiquity to the earth than that which is given in the Mosaic account, is "not well founded." It is a clever little book, but will not convince "the philosophers."

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13. *Prayers for the Use of Families; or, the Domestic Minister's Assistant.* By WILLIAM JAY, author of Sermons, Discourses, &c., &c. With an Appendix. 12mo., pp. 311. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1843.

THESE prayers are beautifully appropriate, and breathe a holy, heavenly spirit. We cannot recommend any set forms of prayer, however excellent, as superseding extempore prayer, coming from the deep feelings of the heart. But, in addition to this, we doubt not but such prayers as these may be read in the family circle with great profit. They will supply the young and inexperienced with appropriate language, and expand their views as to the proper matter of prayer.

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14. *Memoir of Mrs. Mary Howe, of the City of New-York. Containing Selections from her Letters and Diary.* By her Husband. 18mo., pp. 282. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1843.

THE author of this little work has executed his delicate task with no mean skill. The work abounds with pious reflections, and will no doubt be read with great interest and profit.

15. *Missionary Labors and Scenes in Southern Africa.* By ROBERT MOFFATT, twenty-three Years an Agent of the London Missionary Society in that Continent. Fourth edition. 12mo., pp. 406. New-York: Robert Carter. 1843.

THE present work is both instructive and highly entertaining. It presents an account of the most glorious successes of the missionary enterprise among the most deeply degraded of our race. He who has any doubts remaining with regard to the suitableness and efficacy of the gospel to restore fallen human nature from the lowest depths of ignorance and sensual abasement, will do well to read the work of Mr. Moffatt. Here are also many strong exhibitions of the true missionary spirit. What self-denial! what Christian heroism! what bowels of mercy are here displayed! If the curious are not to be influenced by higher motives to peruse this work, the descriptions of savage life—the miraculous escapes—the romantic adventures, will, we doubt not, invite their attention.

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16. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia.* By EBENEZER PROUT, of Halstead. First American edition. 12mo., pp. 416. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1842.

THIS work is a history of the labors, sacrifices, and successes of one of the most devoted missionaries of modern times. The subject of this Memoir was for twenty-three years identified with the South Sea Missions. The book is full of incident, and records the glorious triumphs of the cross among the poor islanders, the intelligence of which has so often gladdened the churches in every part of the Christian world. The fall of Williams was tragical, but glorious. Murdered, and probably devoured by cannibals, some might be disposed to say, "Died thou as a fool diest." But he fell at his post—in the field of conflict—and that God who made "the blood of the martyrs the seed of the church" in the early ages of Christianity, can make the mysterious death of this devoted missionary upon the shore of an island, inhabited by the rudest savages, the means of the moral regeneration of thousands of these poor besotted heathen.

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17. *The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Nonconformists; from the Reformation in* 1517 *to the Revolution in* 1688. *Comprising an Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their most considerable Divines.* By DANIEL NEAL. Reprinted from the Text of Dr. Toulmin's edition. Revised, corrected, and enlarged with Additional Notes. By JOHN O. CHOULES. With nine portraits on steel. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a timely publication. The work of Neal is now scarce and costly, and the times now loudly call for all the light that can be shed upon the history of the English Reformation. The history of the Puritans is an essential portion of the history of Christianity in Great Britain from the days of Elizabeth, and is connected with the history of the settlement of this country and of our religious institutions. We have no fears that any new elements of sectarianism have been infused into the work by the editor; but confidently expect from his well-stored mind much valuable additional matter. The work is not yet published, but will be forthcoming soon. A formal review of it may be expected on a future occasion.

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18. *Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By ALBERT BARNES. 12mo., pp. 335. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

WE have not been able to examine this volume very extensively. As far as we are able to judge, we should think the industrious author in this volume fully sustains his high reputation as a practical commentator. It is upon an important portion of Scripture, and we hope may do much good. We presume he succeeds better upon most parts of the Hebrews than upon the sixth chapter. Here we see he stumbles; but we expected nothing else.

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